Ethnocentrism and Multiculturalism in Contemporary Philosophy

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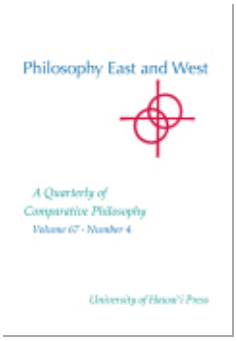

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Ethnocentrism and Multiculturalism in Contemporary Philosophy

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Introduction

There has recently been much talk of the dangers of implicit bias and speculation about how to diminish it.[1] I took a couple of the implicit bias tests on the Harvard website[2]—tests on bias toward women and toward African Americans—and found to my dismay that I am not as unbiased as I would hope to be. My own implicit bias can have significant ramifications toward my colleagues and co-workers and especially toward my students—I don't want my personal biases to negatively influence their education. Similarly, we wouldn't want any such kind of bias, scaled up to the level of the profession, to hamper progress in the profession.

We call bias in regard to gender "sexism," against other races "racism," and against other ethnic groups "ethnocentrism." There is a fairly strong recent movement in philosophy to help reduce and remediate sexism.[3] There are also strong calls recently across universities, not just in philosophy, for more diversity among faculty.[4] Increasing diversity among faculty is generally understood as increasing representativeness of identities, which includes race and ethnicity—to ensure that identities of the faculty more accurately reflect those of society more broadly. I would like to suggest that something is left out of the push for diversity in university hiring, particularly in the field of philosophy. In regard to its emphasis on identity of the individual, it neglects the diversity of subject matter that the scholar may bring to the university community. I'm speaking specifically of the lack of non-Western philosophy in the philosophy discipline. Imagine a philosophy program with twelve full-time faculty of diverse identities and all twelve specializing in Aristotle. That group of philosophers would very likely be great for Aristotle scholarship but would, of course, drastically reduce the diversity of philosophy taught in the program.

In what follows, I will make a case for diversifying philosophy in regard to subject matter. I'll do this in several steps. First I will motivate the project by describing a certain generic model of ethnocentrism. Like the implicit bias project, this model of ethnocentrism demonstrates a depressing fact about human decision making, but rather than leaving it at the level of the individual, it considers the effects of individual action at the level of the group. What is especially distressing about this model is that the decision-making mechanism leverages the strategy of cooperation to implement exclusionism, thereby masking discrimination beneath the self-congratulatory appearance of altruism. The second step will be to give a justification for the benefits of diversity in problem solving, drawing largely from the work of Scott Page, a

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specialist in political philosophy and complex dynamic systems. Next, I will highlight the benefits of multiculturalism at the individual level from the perspective of experimental psychology. For this, I will draw on the work of psychologist Ying-yi Hong 康螢儀 among others. From these three mathematical and empirical resources, I will conclude that increasing diversity in philosophy by increasing its multicultural content is instrumentally desirable for students and for the profession. Having established the need for cultural diversity, I show how micromotives biased by ethnocentrism in philosophy are having macroeffects on the field. Finally, I suggest ways to act to help promote cultural diversity in the field of philosophy.

I. Ethnocentrism

In a series of articles in the 1980s, Robert Axelrod demonstrated that in a world of egoists (without central control), cooperation emerges as the most effective long-term strategy for survival.[5] On top of this, he shows, two hallmarks of winning cooperative strategies are niceness (the willingness to cooperate from the outset) and forgiveness (the willingness to cooperate even after being cheated). This was an apparent vindication for altruism and a major contribution to the burgeoning literature on the evolution of altruism in human society. A third component of the winning cooperative strategy has received less attention. Axelrod called it provocability—the recognition of being cheated and eventually, perhaps after attempts at forgiveness, withholding cooperation. In a society of pure altruists, cohesion will disintegrate under the stress of free-riders, hence the necessity of provocability and of sometimes withholding cooperation. So altruism holds—but a qualified altruism.

In a small society, it is easy enough to recognize free-riders by their past actions, but what about in a larger society, where a free-rider can cheat someone for the first time and then move stealthily on to the next victim? More recently, Ross Hammond has worked with Axelrod, modifying a key assumption in their modeling to reflect a move from smaller societies to larger, or from isolated groups to societies of interactive groups.[6] The results are revealing.

In his early agent-based models, Axelrod begins with the prisoner's dilemma, in which an agent has to choose to either cooperate with or defect from another agent. Defection has the highest individual payoff but works only if the other agent attempts to cooperate. It has a low payoff if the other agent also defects. Cooperation results in the lowest possible score (zero) if the other agent defects, but pays off handsomely if the other agent cooperates (see table 1). When the scenario is run repeatedly with the same agents—called the iterated prisoner's dilemma game—an optimal strategy emerges. While in the short term defection may occasionally have the highest payoff and cooperation the lowest payoff, in the long-term cooperation proves to be the most effective way to maximize gains for oneself, provided cheating can be detected.

But what if cheating is not easily detectable? The change that Hammond and Axelrod brought was to move from an iterated setup to a "one move" setup. After

Table 1. Payoffs for choices in the prisoner's dilemma. Adapted from Axelrod 1980

		Player 2	
		Cooperate	Defect
Player 1	Cooperate	3, 3	0, 5
	Defect	5, 0	1, 1

one move, each player has a chance of replicating and a chance of dying. The next round then starts from scratch, with no memory of what occurred previously and thus no way to detect cheaters. This change necessitated one more significant change—each agent now has a tag that marks it as a member of a group (representing common culture, language, dress, or some other kind of in-group marker). So now each agent can distinguish agents of their own kind from agents of other kinds. In this setup, cooperation again emerges as the best strategy; but with no past and no future, niceness, forgiveness, and provocability become irrelevant traits. Instead, it becomes a question of inclusion versus exclusion, and the results are not as encouraging.

Within each group the results are similar to the iterated prisoner's dilemma—cooperation pays—and because of this cooperative clusters form. In-groups grow by working together. Encouraging so far, but these in-groups are vulnerable to cheaters, and without a way to detect them the groups eventually destabilize and disintegrate. Pure altruism collapses under the weight of free-riders. Something unexpected occurs, however. Under Hammond and Axelrod's setup, in addition to pure altruists and pure egoists, two other strategies are available, each of which discriminates in-group from out-group. One is the traitor, who defects from members of the in-group and cooperates with members of out-groups. The other is the ethnocentric, who cooperates with the in-group and defects from members of out-groups. The unexpected result is that as the game progresses from one generation to the next, the ethnocentric strategy proves the most successful.

The moral of this story is: form groups, cooperate with members of your own group, and exclude members of other groups—balkanization as survival. The point of Hammond and Axelrod's work on this is to highlight a possible evolutionary mechanism underlying inherent tendencies toward unjust group discrimination, such as implicit bias. My point in describing it here is to demonstrate why we cannot rely on the open-mindedness of the philosophy community to be naturally inclusive. There are forces acting against inclusion, one of which is inherent in each individual—and that is to exclude the alien voice—and at its most visceral it can be experienced as a matter of survival.[7]

To make this point more vivid, we can advert to a computer-generated agent-based simulation. This was created following Axelrod and Hammond by Uri Wilensky[8] in a software program of Wilensky's creation called NetLogo.[9] The

simulation uses different colored shapes to signify the four different kinds of agents and their ethnicities. Shapes representing the four kinds of agents are:

- ● Solid circle: the altruist—cooperates with everyone
- □ Hollow square: the egoist—defects from everyone
- ■ Solid square: the traitor—cooperates with members of out-groups and defects from the in-group
- ○ Hollow circle: the ethnocentric—cooperates with the in-group and defects from members of out-groups

The world these agents populate is a 51 x 51 wrap-around grid randomly populated at the outset by these four kinds of agent groups, each of which occurs as one of four distinct ethnicities—each represented by an arbitrary color: blue, green, yellow, and red. Call this starting setup the ecosystem at maximal entropy. As one generation advances to the next, clusters of colors self-organize, and the initial chaos transforms into undulating blotches of color (see figures 1 and 2) (Black and white versions of figures and colors appear in the print edition of this article. Color versions appear in the electronic edition).

In addition to the visual depiction of the the evolution of the groups, the simulation provides a dynamic graph of the number of individuals of each kind of agent—of each strategy (not each ethnicity). The colors of the lines of the graph denote strategies as follows: Green (CC): the altruist (solid circle); Black (DD): the egoist (hollow square); Yellow (DC): the traitor (solid square); Red (CD): the ethnocentric (hollow circle) (see figure 3). At about 100 generations, there are clear clusters of individual colors, and the numbers of individuals of each strategy begin to clearly depart, with the ethnocentrics (red line on graph) winning, the altruists (green line) second, and the traitors and egoists heading downward. By the 200th generation, a clear discrepancy has arisen, with the ethnocentrics the clear winner and the other three together at the bottom (see figure 4). If we let this run for two thousand generations, the differences become only more stark, until the proportions fall into a dynamic equilibrium, with the ethnocentrics standing at about 75 percent[10] of the total population.

The takeaway from Hammond and Axelrod's evolution of ethnocentrisms is recognition of a very basic force at work in human decision-making that is working against diversity of subject matter in the field of philosophy. Without recourse to normally expected mechanisms such as reciprocity, reputation, conformity, or leadership, each agent in the model acts individually, and, through interactive group dynamics, in-group favoritism—that is, ethnocentrism—evolves as the dominant strategy. From the perspective of members of the in-group, the cooperative behavior on the part of the ethnocentric appears helpful, even self-sacrificing, and yet the overall effect is rank balkanization. Even assuming pro-social motives, we cannot infer a tendency toward an even distribution of goods over time. Axelrod and Hammond's model, assuming that it provides a legitimate insight into tendencies in human decision-making, shows that there is a built-in drive toward exclusionism.

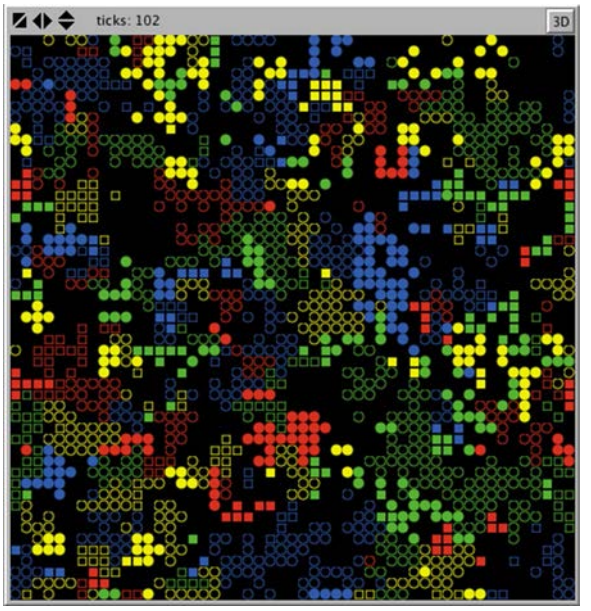

Figure 1. Simulation at 102 generations.

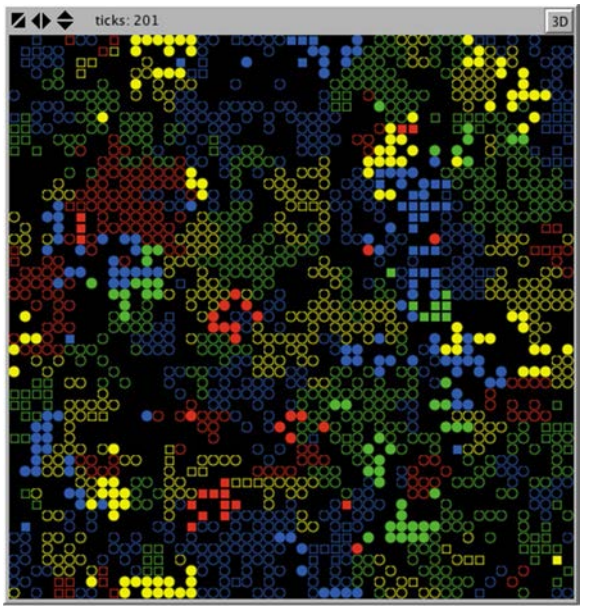

Figure 2. Simulation at 201 generations.

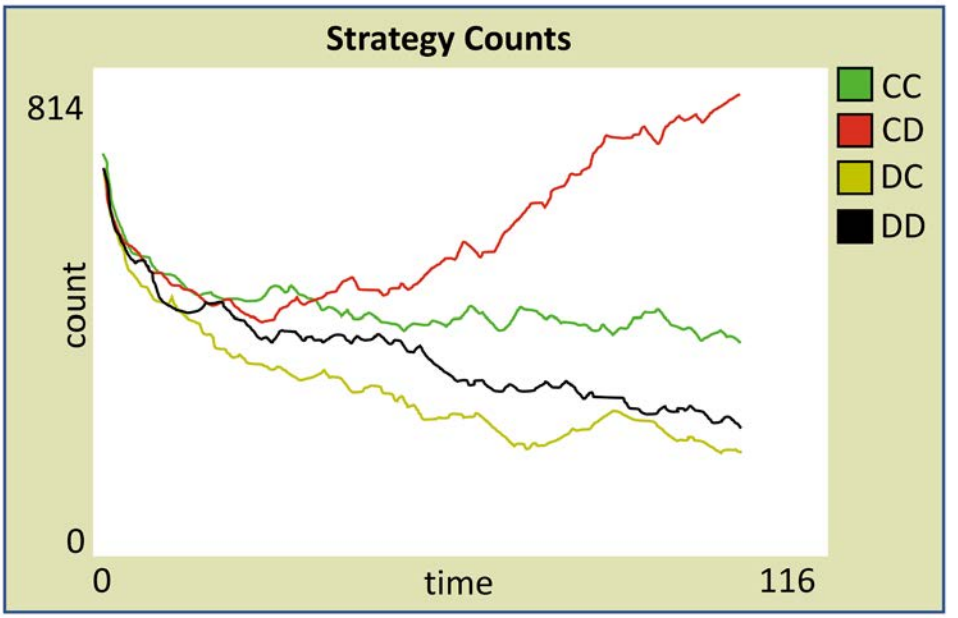

Figure 3. Graph at 102 generations.

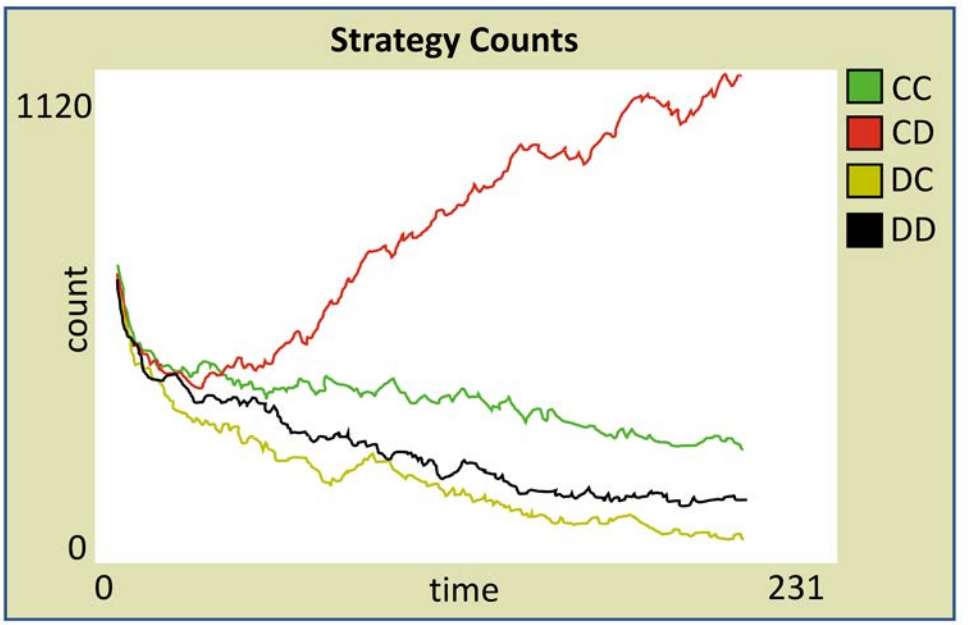

Figure 4. Graph at 201 generations.

II. Diversity

What should philosophy programs look for when they hire? A common construal of philosophy is that there are discrete philosophical problems (such as the mind-body problem or the trolley problem), and philosophers spend their time trying to understand and solve them.[11] There are also more open-ended approaches that consider how philosophy may help refine, reconsider, complicate, or simplify problems, as appropriate. Alternatively, some prefer to say that philosophy is more about asking better questions than about solving discrete problems. Whichever way you look at it, philosophers marshal intellectual resources and apply them to particular concerns. I will use the shorthand moniker of "problem-solving" for this enterprise, understanding its broad range from direct applied models to more open-ended, aporetic, and interrogative pursuits.

It makes sense to assume that the best way to solve a difficult problem is to recruit some really smart people to work on it. Therefore, it seems to make sense for philosophy programs to simply look for the smartest philosophers when hiring. In this section, I follow Scott Page, who offers mathematical and empirical arguments for the position that diversity trumps ability when it comes to solving difficult problems.

The push in universities currently is to increase identity diversity, specifically with regard to race, ethnicity, and gender. The presumption is that identity diversity will necessarily result in diversity of experience, perspectives, and personal narratives. Some members of minority groups understandably resist aspects of this presumption, however, and want to be known as scholars first, not as ethnic scholars. For example, at a diversity panel at the Eastern APA in January 2016, a logician who also happened to be Asian American protested against the presumption that philosophers of Asian heritage should necessarily be interested in Asian philosophy.

Page distinguishes *identity diversity* from *cognitive diversity,* by which he means a diverse set of cognitive tools, including perspectives and heuristics. *Perspectives,* Page says, are "internal representations of problems," and *heuristics* are "algorithms used to locate solutions."[12] I submit that no argument is necessary to conclude that non-Western traditions will bring diverse perspectives and heuristics to bear on current problems in philosophy—but more on multiculturalism below. For now, we must ask how Page concludes that diversity trumps ability. Page's preferred method is something called computational experimentation—like the agent-based modeling above. Page teamed up with the mathematical economist Lu Hong to create a formal mathematical proof.[13] Their highly complex mathematical methods are beyond the scope of this article, but the idea can be stated fairly easily, and a couple of examples should suffice.

This idea is this. If ten really smart people try to solve a difficult problem from the same perspective and with the same heuristics, it is not much different from one really smart person trying to solve the problem. They will all construe it more or less the same way, take the same route, and get stuck in the same places. They may very well get to the solution, but they may just as well get stuck at some point distant from it. Now remove nine of those people and add in nine merely smart people but with

distinct perspectives and heuristics, and you have that many more perspectives on the problem and that many more opportunities to come to a correct solution. Where one gets stuck, another may find a way around.[14] They don't all have to be the best because they have their own unique tools to contribute to the project. The diverse group won't get the best answer every time, but on average, it will outperform the smarter group.[15]

To demonstrate this point, let's look at a real-life example. In 2009, Cambridge University mathematician and Fields Medal winner Timothy Gower used his personal blog to invite anyone interested to collaborate in solving an unsolved problem in mathematics, specifically, "a combinatorial proof of the density version of the Hales-Jewett theorem."[16] He called the project Polymath. Almost immediately, Terrence Tao, a UCLA mathematician and himself a Fields Medal winner, joined up. Together, Gowers and Tao accounted for almost half of all contributions to the subsequent group collaboration. And although they were the two smartest people "in the room," they did not solve the problem on their own. In all, there were thirty-nine participants, ranging from high school math teachers to graduate students to university professors. Comments by contributors were ranked by each other in importance, and there was no correlation between seniority and importance of highest ranked comment for each contributor,[17] showing that without diversity, the problem would not so easily have been solved. Ten subsequent Polymath projects have been launched, resulting in at least three more solutions.[18] There are now six publications under the collective pseudonym D.H.J. Polymath.

The Polymath projects are a kind of crowdsourcing, a practice that has become popular since the rise of Wikipedia. Another problem solved through crowdsourcing was the shape of a specific enzyme that had stumped experts for ten years and which a crowd of non-specialists managed to solve in three weeks.[19] The idea of crowdsourcing itself has its origins in the so-called wisdom of the crowd, which goes back to the unlikely source of Francis Galton, the man who coined the term "eugenics" and who hoped to prove that certain people—most people—were unfit for participation in a democratic society.[20] Galton stumbled upon a contest at a local fair to judge the weight of the meat of an ox. After the contest, Galton collected all 787 guesses and computed the average. Together, the crowd was just one pound off. To his credit, Galton published his results.[21]

Since Galton, there have been many reproductions of his findings in a wide variety of experiments. James Surowiecki popularized the idea in his best-selling book *The Wisdom of the Crowds.* Crowds are not necessarily diverse, but the underlying mathematical feature that gives crowds in general their advantage, as Hong and Page show, is diversity where it occurs. From this perspective, there seems to be wide agreement that diversity trumps ability.

As I said, Page shows that what accounts for the success of diverse groups is the variety of perspectives and heuristics, and in the following section I will discuss how individuals can accrue multiple perspectives and heuristics. Before doing that, however, I want to introduce a study that links this section on the benefits of diversity

back to section one on ethnocentric tendencies. Ethnocentrics not only want to help their own kind; they also want to keep "the other" out. What happens when the other is allowed in but does not differ in terms of perspective or heuristics?

Katherine Phillips, Katie Liljenquist, and Margaret Neale conducted an experiment in which small groups were composed of either fraternity or sorority members and were tasked with solving a difficult problem.[22] Groups of three were meticulously formed in which members strongly identified with each other and either agreed with each other in regard to the solution to the problem or did not agree with each other. Then a fourth member was introduced. The fourth member, who either agreed or disagreed with members of the group, also either was or was not a member of the same sorority or fraternity. From self-reports, the in-group / out-group identification difference was quantitatively stark, so there was clearly a sense of homogeneity versus diversity in the minds of the participants, and yet since they were all members of the Greek system, real diversity (as commonly construed) was negligible. In the end, the groups that *perceived* themselves as homogeneous fared poorly compared to the groups that *perceived* themselves as diverse. The diverse groups were much more likely to reconsider their opinions and come to the correct solution after the introduction of the out-group member, whereas the groups that perceived themselves as homogeneous were more likely to continue on their wrong course. Tellingly, however, the homogeneous groups reported their interactions as more effective and were more confident in their solutions than the diverse groups.

This study shows that, setting aside the real benefits of diversity in terms of cognitive tools, the mere inclusion of perceived outsiders sparks constructive skepticism, even if the process may not necessarily be perceived as constructive. And what is frightening but perhaps not surprising is that the homogeneous groups, such as the ethnocentrics in section one, do worse but are confident that they do better.

III. The Multicultural Mind

The models and studies elucidated above point to an inherent human tendency toward ethnocentrism and an argument for increasing diversity. The argument for diversity relies on the pragmatic advantages of diverse perspectives and heuristics in problem-solving. It seems safe to assume that multiculturalism can provide the necessary differences in perspectives and heuristics. In fact, I suggested as much above. But we need not settle for this assumption because there is evidence to support the inference. There are two parts in putting together the evidence. The first is to demonstrate a phenomenon called the "multicultural mind," and the second is to show that the multicultural mind has certain advantages in problem-solving.

A common approach to cultural studies is to view cultures as having essences—general characteristics that define a culture and that help one understand the behavior of agents in that culture. This view is supported by a large body of literature in cross-cultural psychology conducted by researchers such as Richard Nisbett, Shinobu Kitayama, and Hazel Markus. Gradually, however, this view is giving way to

a more dynamic view in which culture is understood as a resource, or as a means. Chi-yue Chiu and Ying-yi Hong, for example, say, "People are not passive carriers of culture. Instead, they express and exercise agency via culture, and apply cultural knowledge flexibly and discriminatively across situations. . . . Culture can be compared to a toolkit that can be put to manifold uses."[23] The easiest way to grasp the idea of the multicultural mind is to observe the behavior of bicultural individuals, "people who have internalized two cultures."[24]

Self-reports and objective studies have shown that bicultural individuals possess simultaneous sets of domain-specific categories and implicit theories that are used separately and not simultaneously to interpret cues and prompt cognition and behavior.[25] For example, given an ambiguous motive in an agent, a typical Chinese person will attribute a collectivist motive, a typical American person will attribute an individualist motive, and a Chinese American bicultural individual will attribute a collectivist or individualist motive depending on contextual cues.[26]

Intraperson diversity in bicultural individuals—the multicultural mind—has payoffs in terms of problem-solving and creativity. Carmel Saad and colleagues[27] found that bicultural individuals scored higher on a standard creativity test than monocultural individuals. The underlying cause was found to be an increase in ideational fluency, or the generativity of novel, context-relevant ideas—just the kind of thing that Page suggested as a way to more effective problem-solving. According to Saad and colleagues, their "findings indicate that contexts that facilitate the perceived and real blending of cultures . . . (e.g., multicultural education) . . . may enhance the creativity of its individuals."[28]

Malgorzata Gocłowska and Richard Crisp,[29] in reviewing a large body of relevant cross-cultural and cognitive studies, conclude that multicultural minds allow the "development of a broader idea base [which] should allow [individuals] to free themselves from restraints associated with prototypical problem solutions available within their initial group and enhance their chances of producing more creative and innovative ideas."[30]

Research on the multicultural mind is relatively new and has focused primarily on how bicultural individuals differ from monocultural individuals. A major difference between the two is that bicultural people are also generally bilingual, but Gocłowska and Crisp also look at what they call dual-identity individuals, people who identify with different cultures but who are not necessarily bilingual—for example, African Americans who navigate both black subculture and the predominant American culture, third-generation Chinese Americans, and female engineers. In each of these different kinds of cases, individuals need to be good at switching between distinct conceptual frameworks, involving specific terminology, concerns, and norms. This kind of frame switching is thought to allow for "a wider range of semantic categories"[31] that increases their creativity. As far as I know, there has not been any research on how multicultural education may enhance creative problem-solving, but it seems a short leap to infer that it would. Philosophy already prides itself on expanding perspectives. To introduce a multicultural dimension would be a logical step in the same direction.

IV. Preliminary Conclusion

In section one, I showed how it makes sense to view human beings as having a natural tendency toward ethnocentrism. Because ethnocentric individuals appear altruistic to the in-group, ethnocentrism is insidious in its self-congratulatory aspect. In the second and third sections, I showed that the homogeneity of ethnocentrism is pragmatically less productive than cultural diversity, and yet homogeneous groups may have a false sense of confidence in their productivity. When we apply these lessons to the field of philosophy, it should come as no surprise that not only are non-Western cultures largely excluded from mainstream philosophy but that members of mainstream philosophy congratulate themselves on their own abilities and think they are better off without the inclusion of these other traditions.[32]

This is the situation in which we find ourselves. Yes, the very people who are supposed to excel at thinking abstractly and considering all angles of an issue objectively and penetratingly are working, in this case, from base instinct. And we should not shy away from calling out this ethnocentrism. There are legitimate hurdles to the inclusion of and use of non-Western philosophical traditions in the academy, but they should be viewed as challenges to be overcome, not as excuses to preserve a bigoted status quo.

Before concluding, I want to highlight continuing obstacles to progress and recommend paths to achieving a remedy.

V. The Micromotives and Macroeffects in Philosophy

Philip Quinn once said that when a graduate program in philosophy aspires to improve its visibility among philosophers and graduate students, it will naturally carve out a niche for itself in unrepresented specialties.[33] I think that this force does, indeed, exist, especially when there are opportunities in the job market for graduates in such unrepresented fields. So why isn't it happening in non-Western philosophy? The job market in non-Western philosophy in undergraduate institutions is good.[34] In fact, the University of Hawai'i's philosophy program, which by a large margin produces the most specialists in non-Western philosophy,[35] has a tenure-track placement record rivaling those of the top universities in the country.[36] Based on self-interest alone, one would think that other Ph.D. programs would be setting up their own niches in non-Western fields. On top of this, there is a huge push across universities for more multiculturalism, more diversity, and more globalization. It would seem that the stars are all aligned for elite Ph.D. programs to create positions in non-Western philosophy.

If ethnocentrism is indeed involved, how is it manifested? As we know from history, bigotry does not need to be overt in order to have widespread effects. It doesn't even have to be structural in a concrete sense of law or policy. As economist Thomas Schelling says, micromotives can affect macrobehavior. Schelling wanted to model how housing segregation arises in a city.[37] It's true that there were structural reasons for segregation, such as so-called redlining rules. It's also true that there was overt

racism in the sense that some people didn't want to live around people who were unlike them and so would move away from certain areas as they grew more diverse. But the numbers didn't seem to add up. Schelling built a model to mimic human behavior in terms of housing preferences and found something astonishing. If each person in a community prefers on average that only 30 percent of their neighbors be like them, the community will naturally arrange so that 70 percent of one's neighbors will be similar. In other words, a little bit of bias can result in a large social impact.

Figure 5 is an example of the model in which a preference for a mere 30 percent homogeneity results in an actual 75 percent homogeneity. It doesn't take an expert in pattern-recognition to see the similarity with racial housing patterns in major American cities, as shown in figures 6, 7, 8, and 9.[38] According to Schelling's model, bigotry in a small number of individuals creates wide effects in the larger population.

Can this insight be applied to the field of philosophy? How much bias would it take to marginalize non-Western philosophy and how might this be manifested? One obvious place that it would manifest itself is in hiring practices, and one of the most important influences in hiring practices is the *Philosophical Gourmet Report* (PGR). It is reported that departments make hires with the aim of improving or maintaining their ranking in the PGR.[39] The PGR categorizes philosophical specialties into areas.[40] The American Philosophical Association (APA) also maintains a list of philosophical specialties.[41] It is revealing to compare the two lists, as in table 2 and figure 10. The PGR lists thirty-three specialties, while the APA lists sixty, and the APA's specialties are not narrow subcategories of the PGR's specialties but are specialties that the PGR does not recognize, such as philosophy of education, environmental

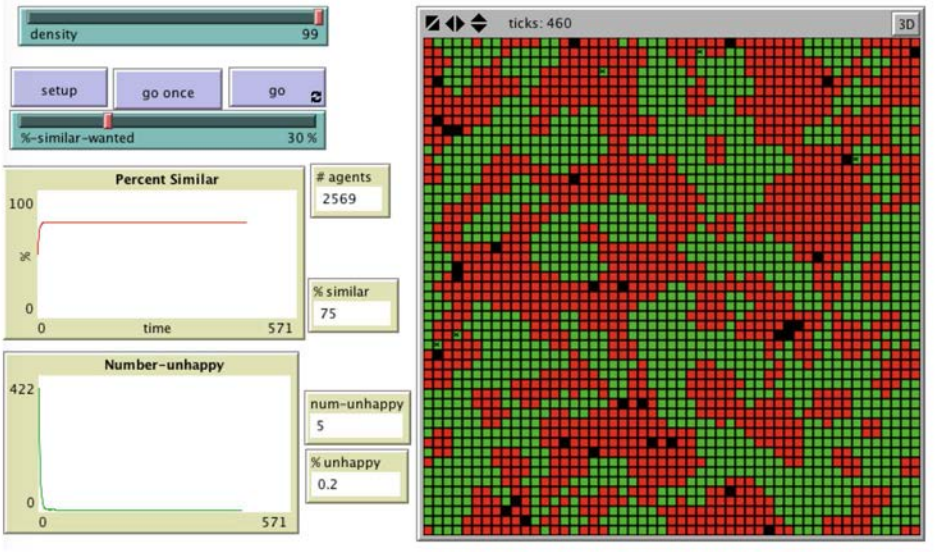

Figure 5. NetLogo model showing how a preference for 30 percent homogeneity ("similar-wanted") results in 75 percent similarity.

philosophy, and the many non-Western traditions. These are the specialties that a job advertisement would list as AOS ("Area of Specialization") or AOC ("Area of Competence"). If the programs want to raise their rank in the PGR, it would be counterproductive to hire in a specialty not listed in the PGR. This is how micromotives (e.g., raising a program's PGR rank) can affect macrobehavior (the narrowing of specialties in the field broadly).

My 2015 article "Appearance and Reality in the Philosophical Gourmet Report" examines the PGR from the standpoint of acceptable social science methodology and finds the PGR to be severely flawed. Its most glaring flaw is that it uses a nonprobabilistic sampling procedure, meaning that those who complete the reputational survey to evaluate philosophy programs are not selected randomly. Instead, Brian Leiter arbitrarily chose some evaluators and then asked them to choose other evaluators, with no clearly stated criteria. A first-year Critical Thinking student could see that the evaluator sample would be biased right from the start.

An example of this bias can be seen in the fact that 43 percent of evaluators self-identify as working in a specialty associated with analytic metaphysics and epistemology. Just 4 percent identify as working in a marginalized field. And because the entire slate of evaluators evaluates every philosophy program, even if a particular

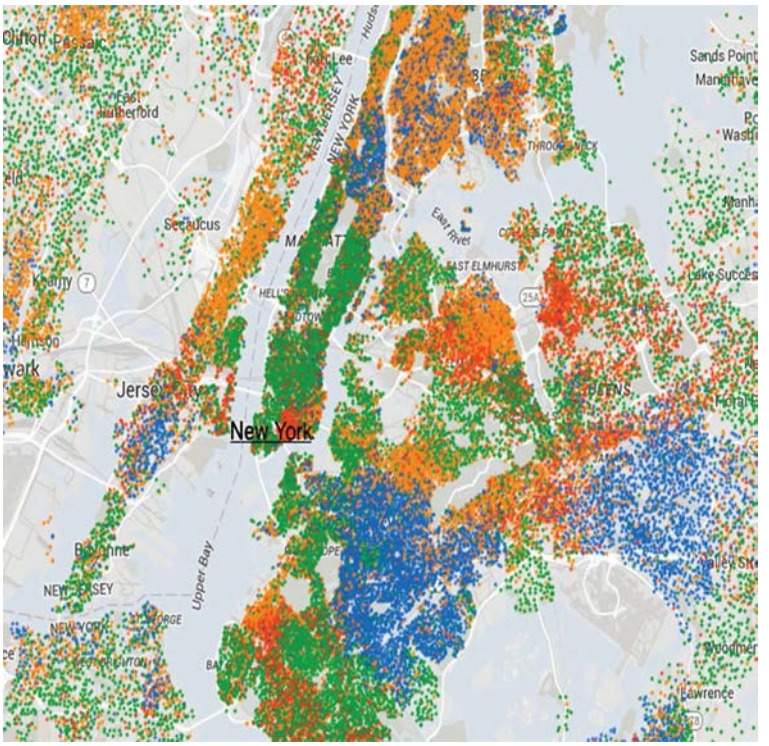

Figure 6. Housing segregation in New York City. 2010 U.S. Census, Social Explorer, Google Maps (Bloch, Cox, & Giratikanon 2015).

philosophy program were packed with the best experts in non-Western philosophy, those experts—and, therefore, that program—would be effectively invisible to the evaluators. Such a program, although replete with the highest-regarded experts in their fields, would not even make the PGR rankings.

We can see from the preceding that as long as philosophy programs use the PGR to evaluate their programs, these programs will gradually come to resemble the ideal program according to the PGR's built-in biases. Drawing on the fact that any hire made by a university philosophy program is an appropriation of resources, the article concludes:

> Any program that wishes to maintain its place in the PGR top 50, or to break into the top 50, is incentivized to not hire in Chinese philosophy (or any already marginalized specialty). Under this set of circumstances, a department head could go so far as to claim a fiduciary responsibility not to hire in Chinese philosophy, as it would be a misappropriation of limited resources.[42]

In the PGR, we see micromotives in the form of implicit ethnocentrism. The PGR is structured with an ethnocentric bias against non-Western philosophy, and the micromotive to rank well in the PGR leads to a restructuring of programs around the ethnocentric model that the PGR implicitly sets.

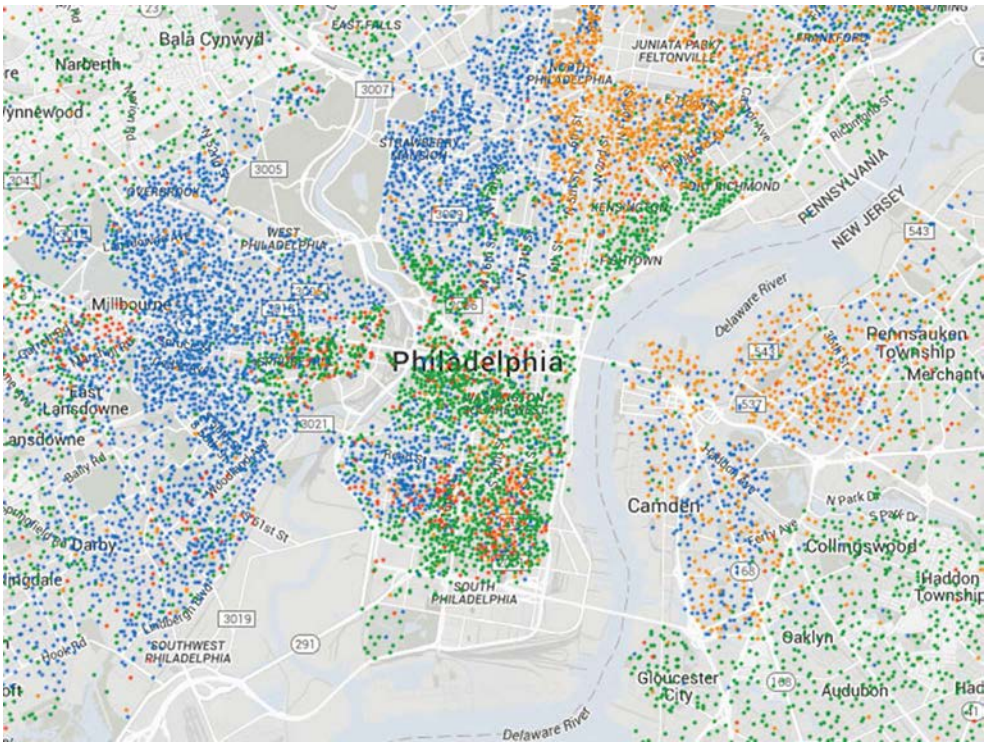

Figure 7. Housing segregation in Philadelphia. 2010 U.S. Census, Social Explorer, Google Maps (Bloch, Cox, & Giratikanon 2015).

But the PGR is not the only example of ethnocentric bias in philosophy. There are many others. For example, even though many programs have no specialist in non-Western philosophy and therefore teach no non-Western philosophy, their programs never announce that they teach only Western philosophy. They may even advertise themselves as being comprehensive or broad.[43] Similarly, a typical ethics syllabus, for example, in a typical philosophy department will not call attention to the fact that the ethical theories discussed stem entirely from the Western tradition, excluding all non-Western ethical theories. As a result, students graduate with degrees in philosophy believing that there is no philosophy outside the European tradition. Even in those programs that include a token amount of non-Western philosophy, students come away thinking that philosophy is essentially a Western-only enterprise. If philosophical ethnocentrism was not there in the student to begin with, by the end of the student's education in philosophy it will have taken root.[44]

V. Action

What can be done? In the preceding sections, I have tried to demonstrate that philosophy programs will be better off with a diversity of subject matter. I have also shown

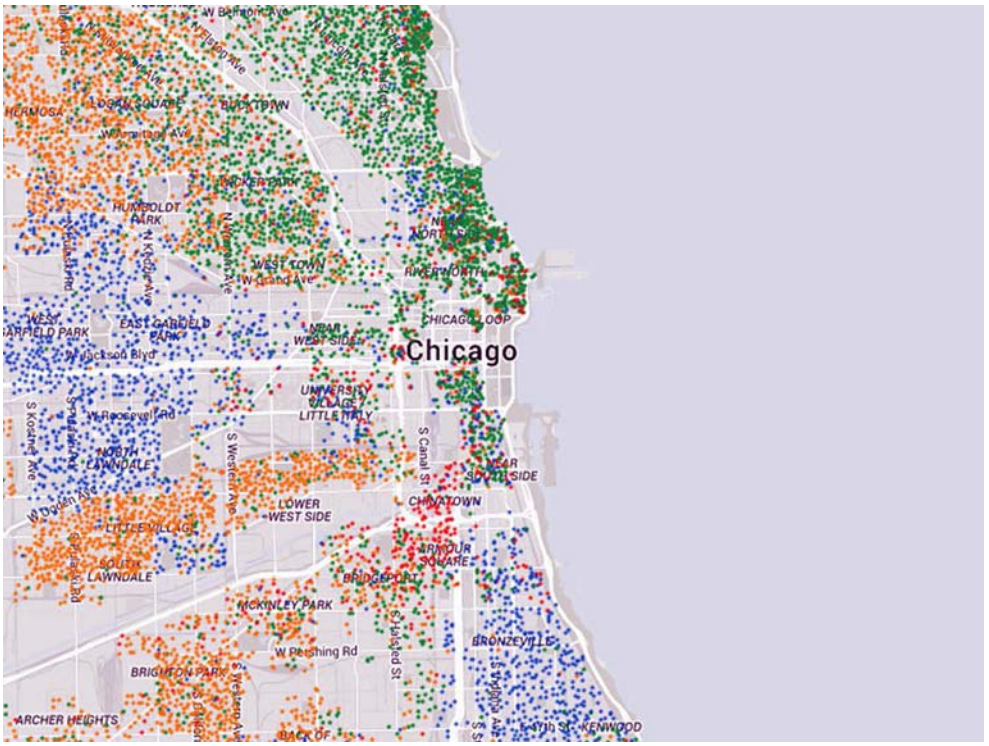

Figure 8. Housing segregation in Chicago. 2010 U.S. Census, Social Explorer, Google Maps (Bloch, Cox, & Giratikanon 2015).

that there are significant obstacles to achieving that objective and that even small biases can have large effects. I think one can assume the best motives of most philosophers in programs across the country and even feel optimistic about the trends toward diversity, multiculturalism, and globalization in academia, but none of that will ensure the actual diversification of subject matter in philosophy programs. Latent ethnocentrism, inertia, ignorance, human nature, and brute psychological and sociological facts are all working against diversification.

What is needed now is a joint political effort on the part of all scholars working in non-Western philosophy—a lobby—something like a consortium for the advancement of multiculturalism in philosophy. Although non-Western philosophy is a small slice of philosophy overall, a small vocal minority can produce changes in the field, but only if they are organized. Below are three avenues in which such a consortium could advocate for greater inclusion of non-Western philosophy.

1. Advocate for More Inclusion in the APA

We see in table 3 that while there has been progress in the inclusion of multicultural content into the group program of the APA meetings, there has not been progress in

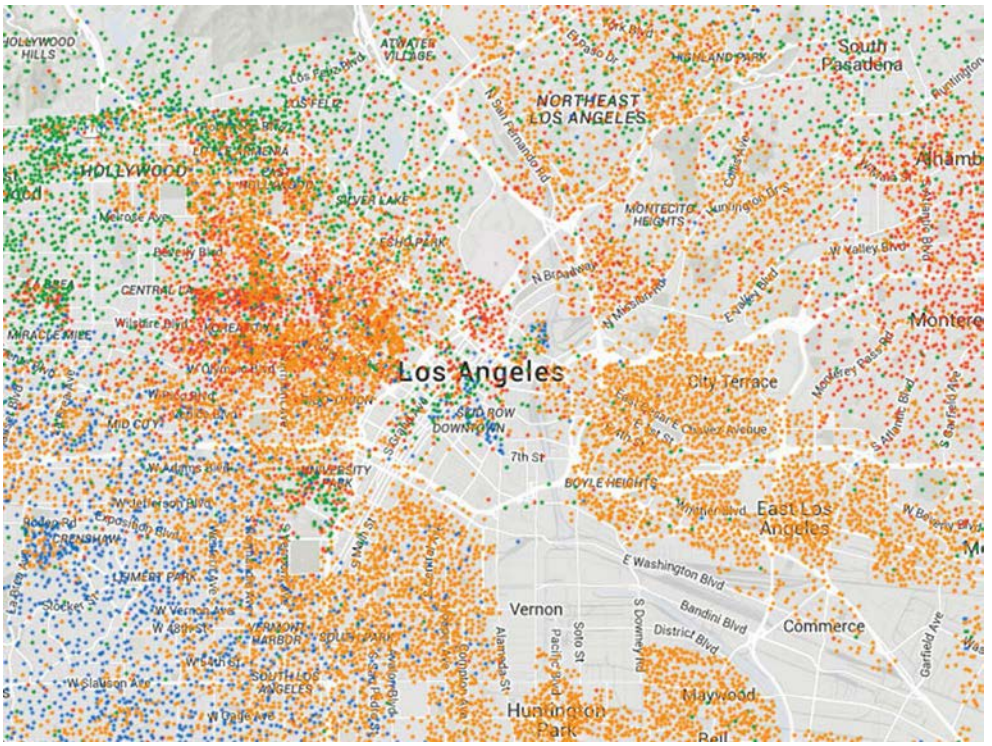

Figure 9. Housing segregation in Los Angeles. 2010 U.S. Census, Social Explorer, Google Maps (Bloch, Cox, & Giratikanon 2015).

the main program, and perhaps even regress.[45] Currently there are the following multiculturally oriented APA committees:

Committee on Asian and Asian American Philosophers and Philosophies
Committee on Hispanics
Committee on Inclusiveness in the Profession.

Table 2. Comparison of PGR and APA philosophical specialties.

Area	PGR Specialties	Percent	APA Specialties	Percent
M&E	15	45	11	18
Value	6	18	11	18
History	9	27	20	33
Other	3	9	18	30

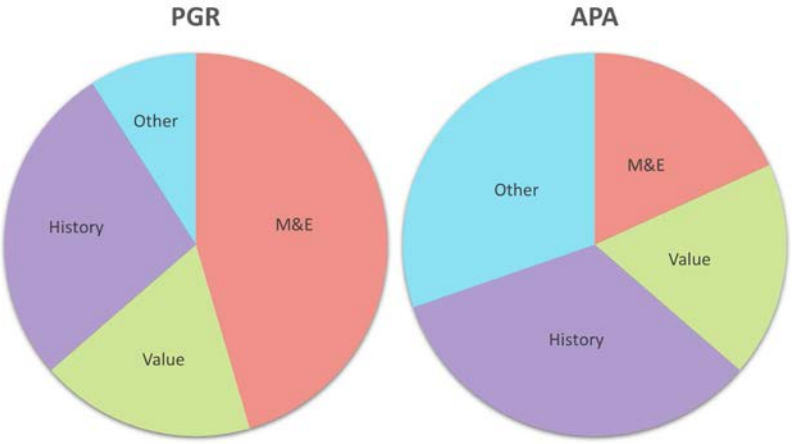

Figure 10. Comparison of PGR and APA philosophical specialties.

Table 3. Sessions with multicultural content at APA meetings over time.

Meeting	Main Sessions	Sessions with Multicultural Content	Percent	Group Sessions	Sessions with Multicultural Content	Percent
APA Eastern 1995	54	5	9	104	6	6
APA Eastern 2016	80	3	4	111	17	15
APA Pacific 2016	167	7	4	81	12	15

This set should be expanded by adding some or all of the following:

Committee on African and Africana Philosophy
Committee on Buddhist Philosophy
Committee on Chinese Philosophy
Committee on Indian Philosophy
Committee on Islamic Philosophy
Committee on Japanese Philosophy
Committee on Latin American Philosophy
Committee on Multicultural Content in Philosophy

Similarly, in the Eastern division, there is an advisory committee to the main program committee with representatives in the following particular areas of specialization:

Non-Western Philosophy
Africana
Latin American Philosophy

This list should also be expanded, with the inclusion of representatives of all of the major world traditions, not just two of them.

The APA advocates for diversity and inclusion in the field but does not specifically advocate for inclusion of multicultural content. It is implicit in the current format of committees, but it is easy to elide with identity inclusiveness. A drive toward the inclusion of multicultural content should be made explicit.

Currently, nearly all of the multicultural content in APA meetings is delivered in specialized panels devoted to non-Western topics, resulting in a kind of ghettoization of multiculturalism. In addition to the organizational suggestions above, members of these specialized panels need to have their opinions heard elsewhere during the meeting, and it doesn't have to be only as presenters. They should make a point of attending other panels and asking uncomfortable questions from non-Western perspectives. Even more importantly, they need to attend sessions devoted to diversity and the future of the profession. In the 2016 Eastern APA meeting, I attended two panels at the tail end of the schedule—one titled "Priorities of Philosophy" and one titled "Minorities and Philosophy." Both panels were well attended by philosophers concerned with changing the profession for the better, but as I looked around the rooms, I did not see a single panelist from the many panels of non-Western philosophy that I had attended earlier in the conference. Multiculturalists can't just wait to be integrated. Anyone is welcome to attend these panels, and multiculturalists should make their presence felt and their voices heard.

2. Be Active in Philosophical Societies

Another way to integrate is to seek representation on panels of other group societies and in other specialized conferences. For example, at the January 2016 APA meeting,

the Society for Asian and Comparative Philosophy held a jointly sponsored panel with the American Association of Philosophy Teachers (AAPT) on introducing non-Western content into the curriculum. The AAPT was pleased to cooperate, and out of that panel they arranged a special plenary panel on Asian and Comparative Philosophy at their biannual meeting the following summer. Similar cooperative ventures can be arranged with societies like the International Society for Environmental Ethics, the Society for Applied Philosophy, the Philosophy of Religion Group, the American Society for Value Enquiry, the Society for the History of Political Philosophy, the American Society for Aesthetics (ASA), the Society of Philosophers in America, and so on. Some of these societies, like the AAPT hold their own regular conferences—for example, the North American Society for Social Philosophy (NASSP), the American Society for Aesthetics, and the International Society for Environmental Ethics (ISEE). Each of these societies holds an annual meeting and would presumably welcome papers from multicultural perspectives. According to its online program,[46] the 2015 ISEE meeting had four presentations on African perspectives in three panels. That's great, but it had none on Asian perspectives. The ASA's 2015 program[47] shows no papers on non-Western aesthetics.[48] In the NASSP program from their 2015 meeting, there are panels on indigenous justice, on tradition, and on race, but as far as I can tell, no Asian content.[49] I'm beginning to wonder if all of those non-Western panels at the APA would be more productive in these smaller, more focused conferences composed of more tight-knit communities. Non-Western societies who hold panels at the APA should at least consider holding panels at some of these other annual meetings.

3. Workshops for Introducing Non-Western Philosophy into the Curriculum

Part of the process of participating in other philosophical societies will be to educate them about multicultural content. This can be done through special panels on infusing multicultural content into the curriculum. I mentioned already the special plenary panel at the American Association for Philosophy Teachers' annual meeting. The SACP also held another such panel at the 2016 APA Eastern meeting. Many philosophers want to know more about how to diversify their syllabi, and there are some suggestions online, but there is no substitute for meeting someone in person, whom you are able to contact in the future and who can act as a reliable resource.

Multiculturalists should set the following long-term goals, bold though they be:

Multicultural content in every panel at every APA meeting
Multicultural integration into every philosophical society meeting
An article with multicultural content in every issue of every philosophical journal

There is a very strong push for diversity in philosophy right now, but without robust multicultural content philosophy will never be truly diverse.

Notes

1 – More than likely, the reader is already familiar with the phenomenon of implicit bias. If not, a good place to start is Daniel Kelly and Erica Roedder, "Racial Cognition and the Ethics of Implicit Bias," *Philosophy Compass* 3, no. 3 (2008): 522–540. For technical details on the most popular method of measuring implicit bias—the Implicit Association Test, see Anthony G. Greenwald et al., "Understanding and Using the Implicit Association Test: III. Meta-Analysis of Predictive Validity," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 97, no. 1 (2009): 17–41, or see Brian A. Nosek, Anthony G. Greenwald, and Mahzarin R. Banaji, "The Implicit Association Test at Age 7: A Methodological and Conceptual Review," in J. A. Bargh, ed., *Automatic Processes in Social Thinking and Behavior* (New York: Psychology Press, 2007), pp. 265–292. Implicit bias has begun to be addressed in a number of fields, such as law (John Tyler Clemons, "Blind Injustice: The Supreme Court, Implicit Racial Bias, and the Racial Disparity in the Criminal Justice System," *American Criminal Law Review* 51 [2014]: 689–713; Justin D. Levinson and Danielle Young, "Implicit Gender Bias in the Legal Profession: An Empirical Study," *Duke Journal of Gender Law & Policy* 18, no. 1 [2010]: 1–44), medicine (Gordon B. Moskowitz, Jeff Stone, and Amanda Childs, "Implicit Stereotyping and Medical Decisions: Unconscious Stereotype Activation in Practitioners' Thoughts about African Americans," *American Journal of Public Health* 102, no. 5 [2012]: 996–1001), and management (Philip E. Tetlock and Gregory Mitchell, "Implicit Bias and Accountability Systems: What Must Organizations Do to Prevent Discrimination?" *Research in Organizational Behavior* 29 [2009]: 3–38). Of course, it has not escaped the notice of philosophers, either theoretically (Tamar Szabó Gendler, "On the Epistemic Costs of Implicit Bias," *Philosophical Studies* 156, no. 1 [2011]: 33–63; Jules Holroyd, "Responsibility for Implicit Bias," *Journal of Social Philosophy* 43, no. 3 [2012]: 274–306) or practically within the profession (Jennifer Saul, "Implicit Bias, Stereotype Threat, and Women in Philosophy," *Women in Philosophy: What Needs to Change* [Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013], pp. 39–60; Jennifer Saul, "Ranking Exercises in Philosophy and Implicit Bias," *Journal of Social Philosophy* 43, no. 3 [2012]: 256–273).

2 – "Project Implicit," https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/aboutus.html (accessed October 14, 2016).

3 – See, for example, Katrina Hutchison and Fiona Jenkins, eds., *Women in Philosophy: What Needs to Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); "APA Committee on the Status of Women in Philosophy," http://www.apaonlinecsw.org (accessed September 20, 2016); Women in Philosophy Task Force, "What Is It Like to Be a Woman in Philosophy?" https://beingawomaninphilosophy.wordpress.com (accessed September 20, 2016); and Women in Philosophy Task Force, "What We're Doing about What It's Like," https://whatweredoingaboutwhatitslike.wordpress.com (accessed September 20, 2016).

4 – See, for example, Orlando Taylor et al., "Diversifying the Faculty," *Peer Review* 12, no. 3 (2010): 15–18, and Colleen Flaherty, "More Faculty Diversity, Not on Tenure Track," *Inside Higher Ed,* August 22, 2016, https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2016/08/22/study-finds-gains-faculty-diversity-not-tenure-track.

5 – Robert Axelrod, "Effective Choice in the Prisoner's Dilemma," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 24, no. 1 (1980): 3–25; Robert Axelrod, "More Effective Choice in the Prisoner's Dilemma," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 24, no. 3 (1980): 379–403; Robert Axelrod, "The Emergence of Cooperation among Egoists," *American Political Science Review* 75, no. 2 (1981): 306–318.

6 – Ross A. Hammond and Robert Axelrod, "The Evolution of Ethnocentrism," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50, no. 6 (2006): 926–936.

7 – For examples of xenophobic remarks from philosophers and their rationalizations, see Amy Olberding, "Philosophical Exclusion and Conversational Practices," *Philosophy East and West,* this issue, pp. 1023–1037.

8 – Uri Wilensky, *NetLogo Ethnocentrism Model* (Evanston, IL: Center for Connected Learning and Computer-Based Modelling, Northwestern University, 2003).

9 – Uri Wilensky, *NetLogo* (Evanston, IL: Center for Connected Learning and Computer-Based Modelling, Northwestern University, 1999).

10 – The 75 percent figure is Hammond and Axelrod's. In the simulations using NetLogo, it is more like 50–60 percent.

11 – "Philosophy: A Brief Guide for Undergraduates," http://www.apaonline.org/general/custom.asp?page=undergraduates (accessed September 22, 2016).

12 – Lu Hong and Scott E. Page, "Groups of Diverse Problem Solvers Can Outperform Groups of High-Ability Problem Solvers," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 101, no. 46 (November 16, 2004): 16385–16389.

13 – Lu Hong and Scott E. Page, "Problem Solving by Heterogeneous Agents," *Journal of Economic Theory* 97, no. 1 (2001): 123–163; Hong and Page, "Groups of Diverse Problem Solvers Can Outperform Groups of High-Ability Problem Solvers," pp. 16385–16389.

14 – Here is an example of what it means to get stuck on a problem. Consider the following puzzle. Take the two words "tame" and "coiled." An anagram of one of these words is a synonym of the other word. Now solve. The best way to proceed is to begin making anagrams of one word to see if any are synonyms of the other. For example, "meat," "mate," and "team" from "tame," but none is synonymous with "coiled." When I tried this puzzle, I immediately construed "tame" as the verb "to tame." With that understanding, I would never get the answer and would be stuck in that perspective. It would take a shift in perspective to link up "docile" with "tame" as an adjective (puzzle from "Want to Find

a Synonym? Better Get to Shufflin','' http://www.npr.org/templates/transcript/transcript.php?storyId=477092627 [accessed September 22, 2016]).

15 – Hong and Page, "Problem Solving by Heterogeneous Agents," pp. 123–163; Hong and Page, "Groups of Diverse Problem Solvers Can Outperform Groups of High-Ability Problem Solvers," pp. 16385–16389.

16 – Justin Cranshaw and Aniket Kittur, "The Polymath Project: Lessons from a Successful Online Collaboration in Mathematics," *CHI 2011: Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems* (2011): 1868. Several references that I use in this article were discovered by reading the work of, and watching video lectures of, Scott Page, including references to Timothy Gower; Phillips, Liljengquist, and Neale; and Robert Schelling. See, for example, the video of Page's talk at UC, San Diego: Scott Page, "Beyond Numbers: How Diversity Makes Us Better at What We Do," March 4, 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bhVrNKGZ_0s (accessed October 14, 2016). See also Page's *The Difference: How the Power of Diversity Creates Better Groups, Firms, Schools, and Societies* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007). I am indebted to Page for his brilliant overviews and concise explanations. The explanations of the references here (along with any possible errors or misconstruals) are my own.

17 – Justin Cranshaw and Aniket Kittur, "The Polymath Project: Lessons from a Successful Online Collaboration in Mathematics."

18 – Polymath Wiki, last modified January 29, 2016, http://www.michaelnielsen.org/polymath1/index.php?title=Main_Page (accessed September 20, 2016); Polymath Blog, last modified August 13, 2016, https://polymathprojects.org (accessed October 14, 2016).

19 – Leila Gray, "Gamers Succeed Where Scientists Fail," *UWNews*, September 19, 2011, http://www.washington.edu/news/2011/09/19/gamers-succeed-where-scientists-fail.

20 – Francis Galton, "Chapter XXI: Race Improvement," in *Memories of My Life* (London: Methuen, 1908).

21 – Galton actually focused not on the mean (1,197 lbs.) but on the median (1,207 lbs.). See Francis Galton, "Letter to the Editor," *Nature* 75, no. 1952 (March 28, 1907): 509–510.

22 – K. W. Phillips, K. A. Liljenquist, and M. A. Neale, "Is the Pain Worth the Gain? The Advantages and Liabilities of Agreeing with Socially Distinct Newcomers," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 35, no. 3 (March 2009): 336–350.

23 – Chi-yue Chiu and Ying-yi Hong, "Cultural Competence: Dynamic Processes," in *Handbook of Competence and Motivation,* eds. Andrew J. Elliot and Carol S. Dweck (New York: Guilford Publications, 2013), pp. 489–505.

24 – Ying-yi Hong et al., "Multicultural Minds: A Dynamic Constructivist Approach to Culture and Cognition," *American Psychologist* 55, no. 7 (2000): 709.

25 – Ibid.

26 – Ibid.

27 – Carmel S. Saad et al., "Multiculturalism and Creativity Effects of Cultural Context, Bicultural Identity, and Ideational Fluency," *Social Psychological and Personality Science* 4, no. 3 (2013): 369–375.

28 – Ibid.

29 – Małgorzata A. Gocłowska and Richard J. Crisp, "How Dual-Identity Processes Foster Creativity," *Review of General Psychology* 18, no. 3 (2014): 216.

30 – Ibid.

31 – Ibid.

32 – Again, see Olberding, "Philosophical Exclusion and Conversational Practices."

33 – Philip L. Quinn, "Pluralism in Philosophy Departments," *Proceedings and Addresses of the American Philosophical Association* 70, no. 2 (1996): 168–172.

34 – Brian Bruya, "The Tacit Rejection of Multiculturalism in American Philosophy Ph.D. Programs: The Case of Chinese Philosophy," *Dao* 14, no. 3 (2015): 369–389.

35 – Ibid.

36 – See "Graduate School Philosophy Placement Records in the US and CA: Will I Get a Job?" last modified October 2, 2013, http://www.philosophynews.com/post/2013/10/02/Will-I-get-a-Job-Graduate-School-Philosophy-Placement-Records.aspx. (accessed September 21, 2016), in which the initial tenure-track placement rate has been calculated for philosophy Ph.D. programs. The average placement rate of the top twenty-five performing programs is 54 percent (the University of Hawai'i, for unknown reasons, was not included in the data set). According to the same criteria used in the Carson study, one can derive the placement rate of the University of Hawai'i Department of Philosophy from information on the department website (http://hawaii.edu/phil/people/alumni [accessed September 20, 2016]) from 2004 (the earliest year on record) to 2010. The resultant initial tenure-track placement rate is 52 percent, right about average for the top twenty-five programs.

37 – Thomas C. Schelling, "Dynamic Models of Segregation," *Journal of Mathematical Sociology* 1, no. 2 (1971): 143–186.

38 – Matthew Bloch, Amanda Cox, and Tom Giratikanon, "Mapping Segregation," *New York Times,* July 8, 2015.

39 – Saul, "Ranking Exercises in Philosophy and Implicit Bias," pp. 256–273; Robin Wilson, "Deep Thought, Quanitified," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, sec. The

Faculty, May 20, 2005; Zachary Ernst, "Our Naked Emperor: The Philosophical Gourmet Report," http://web.missouri.edu/~ernstz/Home_files/emperor-1.pdf (accessed April 9, 2013); Richard Heck, "About the Philosophical Gourmet Report," http://frege.brown.edu/heck/philosophy/aboutpgr.php (accessed April 9, 2013).

40 – Brian Leiter, "Description of the Report," http://www.philosophicalgourmet.com/2011/reportdesc.asp (accessed June 12, 2013).

41 – For several years, the APA has conducted a "Meeting Evaluation and Climate Survey" after the annual divisional meetings, one of the questions of which asks respondents to identify their areas of specialization by choosing from a list. See "APA Eastern Division Meeting Evaluation and Climate Survey," https://delaware.qualtrics.com/jfe3/form/SV_0ixwNjm3Nk1AtjD (accessed September 21, 2016).

42 – Bruya, "The Tacit Rejection of Multiculturalism in American Philosophy Ph.D. Programs."

43 – Bruya documents and critiques this phenomenon in ibid.

44 – Bruya documents and examines the lack of multicultural philosophy in American philosophy Ph.D. programs in ibid.

45 – There are not enough data points here to make a sound conclusion about a trend, but hopefully it coheres with one's intuitions about the situation.

46 – Konrad Ott, "Environmental Ethics between Action and Reflection: 12th Conference of the International Society for Environmental Ethics," International Society for Environmental Ethics, http://www.isee2015.uni-kiel.de/iseedoks/20150720-ConBook.pdf (accessed October 14, 2016).

47 – Andrew Kania, "The American Society for Aesthetics 73rd Annual Meeting," The American Society for Aesthetics, http://c.ymcdn.com/sites/aesthetics-online.org/resource/resmgr/Files/73rd_conference/AnnualMtgProgram2015.pdf (accessed October 14, 2016).

48 – However, demonstrating their potential openness to non-Western perspectives, the society's journal published a special issue. See Susan L. Feagin (ed.), "Global Theories of the Arts and Aesthetics," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 65, no. 1 (2007). The society also offers a grant for curriculum diversification, and they have a special Feminist Caucus. With enough interest, there is no reason they could not also have a multicultural caucus and associated presentations at their annual and division meetings.

49 – Except for possibly one paper written from a Daoist perspective. See Margaret Crouch, "32nd International Social Philosophy Conference: Education & Social Justice," North American Society for Social Philosophy, http://www.northamericansocietyforsocialphilosophy.org/2015-annual-conference-program (accessed October 14, 2016).

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