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**Political Correctness and Its Relationships to Current
Debates about Rights in the United States**

**Dissertation submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for a Master Degree in Literature and Civilization**

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Dedication

We dedicate this work to our parents, friends, teachers and colleagues, to those who have helped and supported us along the way, and most importantly, to the ones who will make use of it for the benefit of mankind.

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Abstract

Political Correctness comprises a large part of the American society; nevertheless, its juxtaposition with Freedom of Speech has been a source of huge concern. The relationship between the two elements and the encounters between their proponents produce distress on every occasion. Since Political Correctness is often separated from its earlier origins, the historical progress of this movement plays a significant part in the debates made about the issue. More importantly, Freedom of Speech, a principle which has emerged earlier, is of supreme importance. Its importance is nowadays compromised by refusal and obstruction of constructive discussions. Consequently, this study aims at defining Political Correctness in the twenty-first century and inspects the relationship it has with Freedom of Speech. The dissertation is a quantitative research based on the descriptive-analytical method and historical method. The study demonstrates the degree to which Political Correctness is unjustified. By evidence of its historical origins and progress, Political Correctness is analyzed on the ideological and historical levels with the university being the primary area of focus. Moreover, this claim is supported by empirical results and statistics that prove the dysfunctional nature of the movement and its failure in reaching its aims.

Keywords: American Society, Freedom of Speech, History, Juxtaposition, Ideology, Political Correctness, University

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

DGS: Diverse Genders and Sexualities.

ICCPR: International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

LGBTQIA+: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, and Asexual

OECD: Organization for Economic Operation and Development.

PC: Political Correctness.

STEM: Science Technology, Engineering, and Math.

UDHR: Universal Declaration of Human Rights

U.S.: The United States

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

WW2: World War 2.

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 Deaths Caused by Democide between 1900 and 1987 in Communist States	12
Figure 1.2 The Probability of Microaggression	20
Figure 3.1 The Degree to which Each Group is Represented Among Freshmen at Top Colleges Relative to the U.S. Population.....	50
Figure 3.2 The Number of Students Registered in First- and Second-Cycle Courses and Programmes Each Autumn Semester 1977–2017.....	51
Figure 3.3 Population Distribution by Gender in STEM Fields 2012.	52
Figure 3.4 The Number of Publications in PsychINFO since 1915.....	54

List of Tables

Table 1.1 Data for the Average Coal Miner's Additional Deductions.....	6
Table 1.2 An Average Coal Mminer's Weekly Shopping List	8
Table 1.3 The Bloodiest Dictators in the Twentieth Century	13
Table 1.4 A Typology of Qualities of Three Notions of Critique.....	15

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms	I
List of Figures.....	II
List of Table.....	III
General Introduction	1
1. Background of the Study	1
2. Aims of the Study	1
3. Statement of the Problem.....	2
4. Research Questions.....	2
5. Research Hypotheses	2
6. Research Methodology	2
7. Significance of the Research.....	3
8. Structure of the Dissertation.....	3
Chapter One: Political Correctness in History and Ideology	خطأ! الإشارة المرجعية غير معروفة.
1. The Origin of Political Correctness	4
1.1. Marxist origins	5
1.2. Postmodern origins	14
2. The emergence of Political Correctness	16
3. Political Correctness in the political spectrum.....	17
4. Political Correctness in American University Campuses	19
5. Censorship.....	21
5.1. Types of Censorship	22

Chapter Two: Freedom of Speech in American Universities: A Paramount Value of Western Civilization	24
1. Origins of Freedom of Speech	25
1.1. The First Amendment	26
2. Significance of Free Speech.....	27
3. Free Speech in Universities	28
3.1. Public Universities	29
3.2. private universities	31
5. Protected and Unprotected Speech:	33
5.1. Protected Speech:	33
5.1.1. Categories of Protected Speech	34
5.1.2. Categories of Unprotected speech	34
6. Hate Speech and Speech Codes	35
6.1. Hate Speech	35
6.2. Speech Codes	36
Chapter Three:The Juxtaposition of Political Correctness and Freedom of Speech: Analysis and Criticism.....	42
1. The Neo-Marxist Postmodernist Narrative	43
2. Political Correctness and Hierarchical Institutions.....	45
3. Language and the Politically Correct.....	47
4. The Issue of Misrepresentation	49
5. Social Justice.....	53
List of references.....	60

General Introduction

General Introduction

1. Background of the Study

Political Correctness remains to be an issue of extreme importance in American society and communities today. Although a great number of research and inquiries have been devoted to exploring this movement, reaching a consensus is far from perception. The research was conducted so as to explore this modern issue, which has a significant area of effect. Strengthened by globalization and the increasing rates of international economic growth, it is estimated that Political Correctness may soon find its way to developing countries as they become more stable and economically independent. Political Correctness created a vortex that continues to segregate the American society. Ever since its beginning in the 1980s, the politically correct types and proponents of Freedom of Speech were at a clash on multiple fronts that are characterized by a near absence of constructive discussion. The large scale of growth that the movement has undertaken seems to center at American universities. As a unique contributive institution, the universities comprised the perfect stage for deepening the crevice that warns with the collapse of the pedestal of Western Civilization: Freedom of Speech.

2. Aims of the Study

The study aims to explore the juxtaposition of Political Correctness and Freedom of Speech in American universities as a unique component of contemporary American society. Furthermore, it presents critical analysis for this juxtaposition.

3. Statement of the Problem

The American society is undergoing a sharp dividing change that is a result of conflict between two principals, creating more tension between different groups in an already sensitive society. Therefore, the study inspects the historical progress of the two elements and the relationship between them that has led to such drastic results.

4. Research Questions

This study aims to answer the following questions which are paramount in understanding the movement in its modern sense. The questions are:

- 1- What is Political Correctness?
- 2- How does Political Correctness collide with freedom of speech?
- 3- Is Political Correctness justifiable in our modern day?

5. Research Hypotheses

In essence, this document hypothesizes that malevolence is a substrate motivator for Political Correctness as a movement in the twenty-first century. Furthermore, the friction occurring as a result of the clash between Political Correctness and Freedom of Speech is assumed to be the prerequisite of segregation in American society. Finally, it makes the point that Political Correctness has more negative outcomes than positive outcomes.

6. Research Methodology

The study is carried out is a qualitative study. A combination of the historical method and the descriptive method is applied in the first and second chapters to introduce the precursors of

the two notions. The two chapters are theoretical. The third chapter is practical. The analytical method was applied to analyze and criticize the conjunction of the two elements.

7. Significance of the Research

The significance of the study revolves around three points. The first is to clarify an apparent collective misconception of the morality of the movement and ideologies that led to the emergence of Political Correctness, which have received notoriety recently. The second is to inspect in the depth the dynamics of the relationship between the two elements in Western Civilization. The third is to highlight the predisposition of developing countries to be influenced by Western countries, making them susceptible for the spread of Political Correctness once a certain level of economic growth has been reached.

8. Structure of the Dissertation

Three chapters comprise this dissertation. The first two are theoretical while the third is practical. The first chapter inspects the historical and ideological origins of Political Correctness since its earliest prerequisite in the 19th century. Moreover, it describes its implications on American society. The second chapter tackles Freedom of Speech as a central value of Western Civilization; its importance in the United States and issues it faces in the twenty-first century. The third chapter is concerned with the coexistence of Political Correctness and Freedom of Speech as two opposing elements in university campuses in the United States.

Chapter One:

Political Correctness in History and Ideology

Introduction

Political Correctness is a controversial concept that is still lacking an accurate definition due to its multiple intricacies. The controversy occurs on multiple levels of analysis such as culture, sociology, psychology, law, politics, economy, literature and linguistics, with the main focus being on linguistics and culture. To define Political Correctness one should stick to a certain substrate of definition. However, even when a high level of specificity and meticulousness is given in the process, it is still easy for the definition to be a subject of accusation for Lack and exclusion. In fact, it is self-evident that speaking about what Political Correctness is against is much easier than defining it. Thus, it has been known to be tackled in contrast with other conceptions, behaviour, and ideologies. The best way to understand Political Correctness is to inspect its origin, progress, transformation and aims in relation to collective societal standards. A significant part of this chapter will look into the origins of the Political Correctness as they will be of use in the third chapter. Another reason is the collective agreement between the opponents of Political Correctness that the lack of knowledge surrounding the movement of the origin has been a great impetus in its spreading.

1. The Origin of Political Correctness

The origins of political correctness date back to the early twentieth century. First with Marxism, it was extending to Communism and National Socialism. However, by the time these political systems and ideologies decayed, Postmodernism picked up from where they had left off. Understanding the sequential progress of these systems is essential to understand the full scale of effect Political Correctness could have.

1.1 Marxist origins

Political Correctness is never one thing or the other. That is why it comes from different origins dating back to the beginning of the twentieth century. According to the politically correct subject, that may be a person or content, the result may vary greatly although remains embedded within the same area of focus. To begin, Marxism is considered to be the seed from which Political Correctness has grown. A chain reaction began from the early twentieth century led to the emergence of the movement in the latter part of the century. As it is known, Marxism came to criticize Capitalism and replace it with another economic system that is Socialism. As an economic system, Capitalism has been criticized for having many shortcomings. To illustrate, poverty has been the greatest problem in all capitalist states. The people in Capitalist states, no matter how rich and powerful these states were, suffered so much and have been living on the verge of survival. England sets an example of that in the 1930s when its huge fleet of one million coal miners has been known to be the moving power of the economy at the time (Department of Business, Energy, & Industrial Strategy, 2019). Despite the enormous number of coal miners, the average income of the coal miner amounted to £1.20 or 30 shillings a week (Orwell, 1989, p. 74). According to (in2013dollars, 2020), we can calculate the value of the British Pound in today's money, using the following equation:

$$\frac{CPI\ today}{CPI\ in\ 1930} \times 1930\ GBP\ value = Today's\ value$$

With plugging in the true values of the variables, corresponding to the consumer price index (Webster, 2018), the following values are derived:

$$\frac{1138.2433607545}{17.3} \times £1.20 = £78.95$$

As concluded, the average coal miner in one of the richest and most powerful nations in Europe would have a weekly wage equal to £78.95 in today's money. That was not only insufficient but had a high susceptibility to the slightest economic instabilities and emergencies that can happen at any time. Additionally, even that does not express the magnitude of the hard life coal miners had to lead. The shifts were long and included a long time of travel that consumed time and stamina and was not even compensated but rather treated as an integral part of the job. The following table shows additional expenditure had to be deducted from the weekly wages of the workers on a weekly basis.

Table 1.1 Data for the Average Coal Miner's Additional Deductions

Stoppages	s.	d.
Insurance (unemployment and health)	1	5
Hire of lamp		6
For sharpening tools		6
Check-weighman		9
Infirmary		2
Hospital		1
Benevolent fund		6
Union fees		6
Total	4	5

Note. Data for the average coal miner's additional deductions (Orwell, 1989, p. 45).

Even though the expenses mentioned in table 1 cover the average coal miner, who does not own his own house and is responsible for a wife and a few children, it does not fairly describe the majority of the families that had more members, meaning more mouths to feed. It is also important to mention that the highly paid workers (who were not paid high enough) were officials or those who have had to exhaust themselves with working for additional hours. Furthermore, most families had to send their children, who could be as young as fourteen and had lower wages, down to work in the mines so as to support the family.

It is important to inspect the coal miner's shopping list to have an understanding of the quality of life they used to have.

Table 1.2 An Average Coal Miner's Weekly Shopping List

Expanses	p.	s.	d.
Rent	0	9	0 ^{1/2}
Clothing Club	0	3	0
Coal	0	2	0
Gas	0	1	3
Milk	0	0	10 ^{1/2}
Union fees	0	0	3
Insurance (on children)	0	0	2
Meat	0	2	6
Flour (2 stone)	0	3	4
Yeast	0	0	4
Potatoes	0	1	0
Dripping	0	0	10
Margarine	0	0	10
Bacon	0	1	2
Sugar	0	1	9
Tea	0	1	0
Jam	0	0	7 ^{1/2}
Peas and cabbage	0	0	6
Carrots and onions	0	0	4
Quaker oats	0	0	4
Soap, powders, blue, etc.	0	0	10
Total	1	20	0

Note: An average coal miner's weekly shopping list (Orwell, 1989, pp. 87-88)

The shopping list shows a huge dependency on essentials with tea being what could be the only luxurious item on the list, whose presence is only a result of the English man's cultural

background. The quantities themselves for the respective merchandise is not mentioned and at best should be considered hardly sufficient on a week to week basis.

Table 1.1 and Table 1.2 portray the living condition of the average family in one of the most powerful countries in the world at a time where the industrious revolution was not only at its prime but has emerged from the country itself as well. Due to the high number of working-class workers being part of socialist unions and the reprehensible and unimaginably harsh living and working conditions they had had to go through, a socialist revolution was called for by a considerable number of people. In years to come, however, Marxism and Socialism have shown that they were not a viable option and that even the cruelty of Capitalism was far from being on par with that of Socialism. The failure of Socialism was first prophesied in the early 19th century by one of the greatest thinkers across all ages, Frederich Nietzsche:

In the doctrine of socialism there is hidden, rather badly, a “will to negate life”; the human beings or races that think up such a doctrine must be bungled. Indeed, I should wish that a few great experiments might prove that in a socialist society life negates itself, cuts off its own roots. The earth is large enough and man still sufficiently unexhausted; hence such a practical *ad absurdum*—even if it were accomplished only by a vast expenditure of lives seems worthwhile to me. In any case, even as a restless mole under the soil of a society that wallows in stupidity, socialism will be able to be something useful and therapeutic: it delays “peace on earth” and the total mollification of the democratic herd animal; it forces the Europeans to retain spirit, namely cunning and cautious care, not to abjure manly and warlike virtues altogether, and to retain some remnant of spirit, of clarity, sobriety, and coldness of the spirit it protects Europe for the

time being from the marasmus femininus that threatens it (Nietzsche, Kaufmann, Hollingdale, & Kaufmann, 1968, pp. 77-78).

Nietzsche believed that the unviability of Socialism is an intrinsic component in its own entity. That its implementation necessarily brings many unforeseen consequences that contradict its claims and aims. Nietzsche thought that socialism drags death with it so much that he would have agreed to it if a few million died for humanity to learn the lesson. Socialistic principles may seem attractive at first. This is especially the case the further one goes back in time when the crevice of inequality and poverty deepens; thus, it can easily attract the large numbers of the working class to sympathize with the system. Against all promises, the promise for a socialist utopia has never been realised.

After the French revolution in 1884 -which was very socialistic in nature- socialism rose as an economic system in Russia, following the Russian Revolution in 1917. Five years later in 1922. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republic was established by the Bolshevik party led by Vladimir Lenin, who only ruled it for two years before his death and was succeeded later by Joseph Stalin whose rule continued until 1952.

In both the Soviet Union and China, Socialism started to morph into its most vicious form, namely Communism. The regime, whose philosophy can be summarized in Marx's own words: "From each according to their ability to each according to their needs"(Furner, 2019, p. 274) may also share the same compassionate sentiment, which preaches for social equality and over the autistic improvement of living conditions. Communism denotes the Marxist socialist principles incorporated into a political system. But Communism resulted in much more destruction than the one caused by World War II. Communism in China was led by Mao Zedong from 1949 until his

death in 1974. The horrific of Mao's rules are too great and plenty to be mentioned even in the most concise and simplistic manners.

It is highly significant to mention these states as they embody the application of Socialism on a large scale, which Political Correctness adheres to. They have also gone the farthest in terms of execution as they possessed every chance and resource necessary to reach their goals. There is something in common between the Soviet Union and China under Mao's rule: the number of deaths under these regimes is only estimable. Systematic genocide, geno-politicide, mass killings, repression, democide, systematic starvation, torture, and dictatorship characterized these states. The number of deaths rises to be in the hundreds of millions. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *The Gulag Archipelago* is among the rarities that document the crimes these systems committed in the rights of their people. The marvelous three volumes that collectively amount to 2100 pages, describing life in the Gulag camps in Russia only scratch the surface to the horrors that happened at the time while many agree that the situation was even worse in Maoist China.

The deaths in Communist China amount to 76,702,000 between 1949 and 1987 through war genocide, democide, and intentional famine whereas The Soviet Union claimed no less than 61,911,000. The Communist experiment had the most drastic consequences in these two states. However, the experiment was replicated in many other countries as well. The Democratic Republic of Korea and Cambodia are among the countries that have had their fair share of claimed lives –counting in the millions– after adopting Communism. The total number of deaths under socialist and communist regimes is estimated to be 100 million (Courtois, et al., 1999, p. 4) while some gloomier estimates increase the number to 160 million. Of note, no less than twenty countries adopted Communism; all of them have resulted in the same catastrophe with different degrees. The respective states have used against its people democide, genocide, concentration

camp, famine, torture, imprisonment and many more atrocities that devalue the credibility of the states as governing authorities. The wellbeing and safety of their people have never been a concern in the face of achieving their ideological goals. It became universally acknowledged that Socialism and Communism are not viable options and that the horrors of the twentieth century are more than enough to discard any ideas remotely suggesting any apologetic stance toward the systems.

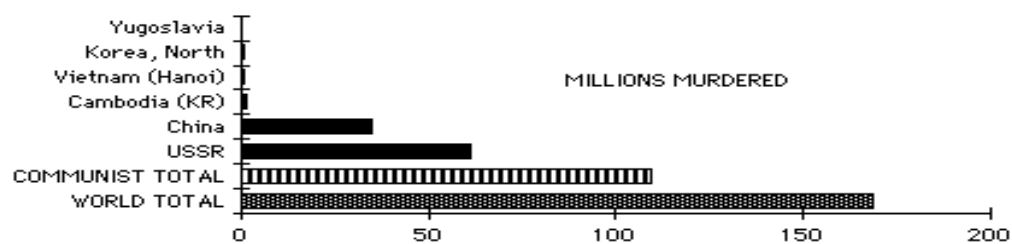


Figure 1.1: Deaths Caused by Democide between 1900 and 1987 in Communist States. Of note, the figure does not include 38000000 million deaths that occurred in Mao's famine (Rummel, 2018).

Table 1.3 The Bloodiest Dictators in the Twentieth Century

Dictator	Ideology	Regime	Years	Murdered (000)
Joseph Stalin	Communist	USSR	1929-53	42,672
Mao Tse-Tung	Communist	China	1923-76	37,828
Adolf Hitler	Fascist	Germany	1933-45	20,946
Chiang Kai-Shek	Militarist/Fascist	China	1921-48	10,214
Vladimir Lenin	Communist	USSR	1917-24	4,017
Pol Pot	Communist	Cambodia	1968-87	2,397
Yahya Khan	Militarist	Pakistan	1971	1,500
Josip Broz Tito	Communist	Yugoslavia	1941-87	1,172

Note. The bloodiest dictators in the twentieth century. The table does not include the 38,000,000 million deaths that have taken place during Mao's famine (Rummel, 2018).

In the 1930s, a new body of intellectuals would form the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt, Germany that would later be known as the Frankfurt School. The Frankfurt School was a school of thought and philosophy in relation to modernity. It was interesting in the works of Karl Marx. The intellectuals in Frankfurt school believed that upon the end of World War II,

the failure of Classical Marxism can no longer be ignored and that social development, which was one of their most significant thematic interests, requires new approaches (Harney, 2012, p. 1). In contrast to Marx, who believed that reality can be best understood from a perspective of the conflict between social classes within capitalistic systems, the social development they were interested in extended to cover Western Civilization critically. The shift that one would expect to have been farther from and less related to Marxism, so to speak, has unexpectedly been more in its favour by expanding it furthermore to cover other fields such as literature, culture, race, and gender. This application came to be known as Critical Theory, whose main purpose is to inspect the pillars upon which Western civilization stands in a critical manner.

1.2 Postmodern origins

After World War II, the world has clearly adopted a new mode of thinking. The aftermaths of the two wars that have been ascribed to Modernist philosophy by groups of intellectuals. That the aftermaths were taken as global signs for the inherently malevolent nature of Western Civilization. The Enlightenment was seen as a vain project and its aims never attainable, to begin with (Hicks, 2011, p. 14).

Table 1.4 Note. A typology of Qualities of Three Notions of Critique

	Individual opinions	Interaction	Transformative action
Positivism	Assessment and opinion formation	Asking questions	Constructive change
Marxism	Partisanship for the oppressed, dominated, and exploited	Anti-capitalist praxis	Revolution
Postmodernism	Accepting a plurality of views and knowledge as legitimate	Questioning dominant views	Local reform and identity politics

Note. A typology of qualities of three notions of critique (Fuchs & Sandoval, 2008, p. 123).

Postmodernism is a movement that is seen as a reaction to Modernism that has manifested across a plethora of fields. In Lyotard's own words: "I define postmodern as incredulity toward metanarratives" (Lyotard, Bennington, & Massumi, 1979, p. 24). Much like the Frankfurt School, Postmodernism also rejected and criticized Classical Marxism. This repudiation stems from the inherent and fundamental principles of Postmodernism.

A primary principle in Postmodernism is its refusal for metanarratives and absolute truth, rendering all interpretation subjective:

Postmodern thinkers consider reality neither achievable nor desirable. A constant, unique, and permanent reality is meaningless to them. According to postmodernists, all and everything that exists in our surrounding world is relative and conventional. Realities are diverse, multiple, divergent, and are the product of temporary conventions (Mahdi Sajadi, 2007, p. 1).

This allows for broader interpretations for any given subject - taken in a conversational setting - thus it enjoys the liberty to diverge from societal norms and standards and even biological facts for that matter. This is due to the belief that knowledge, reason, and logic are but instruments to achieve power and exercise it. An example of this would be the use of media as a means for realizing governmental agendas in what is described by professor Harold Innis as “monopoly of knowledge”.

A second principle comprises a cultural adaptation for Marxism. It denotes a social application for Critical Theory: the narrative of proletariat versus bourgeois is transformed into oppressor versus oppressed, allowing for more mobility out of the preliminary scope of implication (that is economy) to sociology, culture, and linguistics. These grounds are seen from the perspective of power and dominance. The postmodernists regard societies as landscapes full of different hierarchies of dominance, where the individual’s existence can only be interpreted by his/her group identity. The groups can be racial, ethnic, social class, gender, or any other one an individual belongs to or identifies with. The relationship between these groups is characterized by constant conflict as a means to usurp power. Hicks (2011) argued that the postmodernists are not interested in seeking truth but rather exercising power

2. The Emergence of Political Correctness

Political Correctness, in the modern sense, started in the 1990s. After a slumber for two decades, it came back with a vengeance in 2010. The term refers to the censorship of language that is offending to a particular group of people (Brophy, 2015, p. 1). This means that it serves as a means to reduce the tension between social groups. In that regard, it draws the lines deemed culturally and experientially accepted. When respect and caution are paid during interactions with

people from other different groups, less conflict is bound to happen, resulting in a more convenient and harmonious exchange of ideas.

Political Correctness is deeply embedded in the beliefs of the Frankfurt school. In fact, many believe that it is the fruit of the school itself. The politically correct types have used language as their primary front of defense against much of what they consider triggering. One of the most well-established ideas in linguistics - and other language-related disciplines and fields - is that language influences the way people think. In other words, linguistic structure, units, and patterns shape the world conceived by the (members of) ethnic groups or individuals as per the most prominent hypothesis: The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis of Linguistic Relativity (Lucy, 1997, p. 291). The unfairness and unjust behaviour that has been a characteristic of social relations, especially between African Americans and white people are self-evident throughout the history of the United States. Since the late twentieth century, there has been activism towards social change that called for more moral and courteous interactions between social groups. The endeavour resulted in the birth of many renown activist groups and movements such as the Me Too movement, the Black Lives Matter movement, two more waves of feminism and the LGBTQIA+ community. One thing in common between them was the emphasis on Speech Codes that should be used while in conversational interactions with members of these groups. These codes take the utmost significance of the experiences of these members as well as being considered a social courtesy and low-key psychological care mechanism.

3. Political Correctness in the Political Spectrum

Political Correctness is closely associated with liberals, democrats, and progressives, which constitute the left. It draws its strength from its Marxist-postmodern principles. The politically correct types believe that there are many hierarchies in the socio-cultural landscape characterized by clash and desire for power. They also believe that this clash is a result of the oppressor-versus-oppressed nature of the relationship between these hierarchies. The nature of hierarchies is to produce a contrasting residuum of inequality (oppressed majority and privileged minority). It is clear and prevalent across different domains. For example, if we look at giant corporations, we find an incomparable difference between the hourly amount and wages of CEOs and the simple employee. There is also a difference in number as CEOs as opposed to employees. In an academic context, only a few highly achieve while the rest stack at near average. The reasons for this can be very different and diverse and sometimes it happens on the basis of discrimination (racial, ethnic, gender...etc.). This is where Political Correctness steps in to try to rectify the situation.

The adoption of the Politically Correct types for the left-wing policy as it is more egalitarian and liberal in its undertaking for policymaking and social relations as opposed to the right-wing which is affiliated with conservatism and a more traditional unprogressive outlook. It means that the left offers the right ideology and mindset needed to nurture political correctness.

Despite the endless clash happening between right-wing supporters and left-wing supporters is located in politics, universities have their fair share of these incidents as they are the place where students begin to adopt their political orientation. The tension thereof is ignited once more, covering more ground and concentrated in one spot.

4. Political Correctness in American University Campuses

The university holds its position as a unique national institution with significance spreading across multiple dimensions. The socio academic setting of the university comprises a crossing point between scientific research, professional life, and higher education. Thus the environment is inclusive, as it should be, and constitutes a hub for diverse backgrounds. In short, the university is the birthplace of the new generation that would build societies and nations.

The United States is a recently founded country with only five hundred years since its discovery. Compared to European countries, The United States of America is clearly much less homogenous. This means that microaggressions between racial groups, for example, are more frequent and intense. The United States is known for its focus on mental health. With the occurrence of microaggressive incidents frequently, this raises a considerable concern for the situation of mental health. Reid (2017) cites a strong correlation found between mental health and racial microaggressions (as cited in Pieterse, Todd, Neville, & Carter, 2012), bringing attention to the psychological aspect of Political Correctness and further validating the concerns towards this aspect.

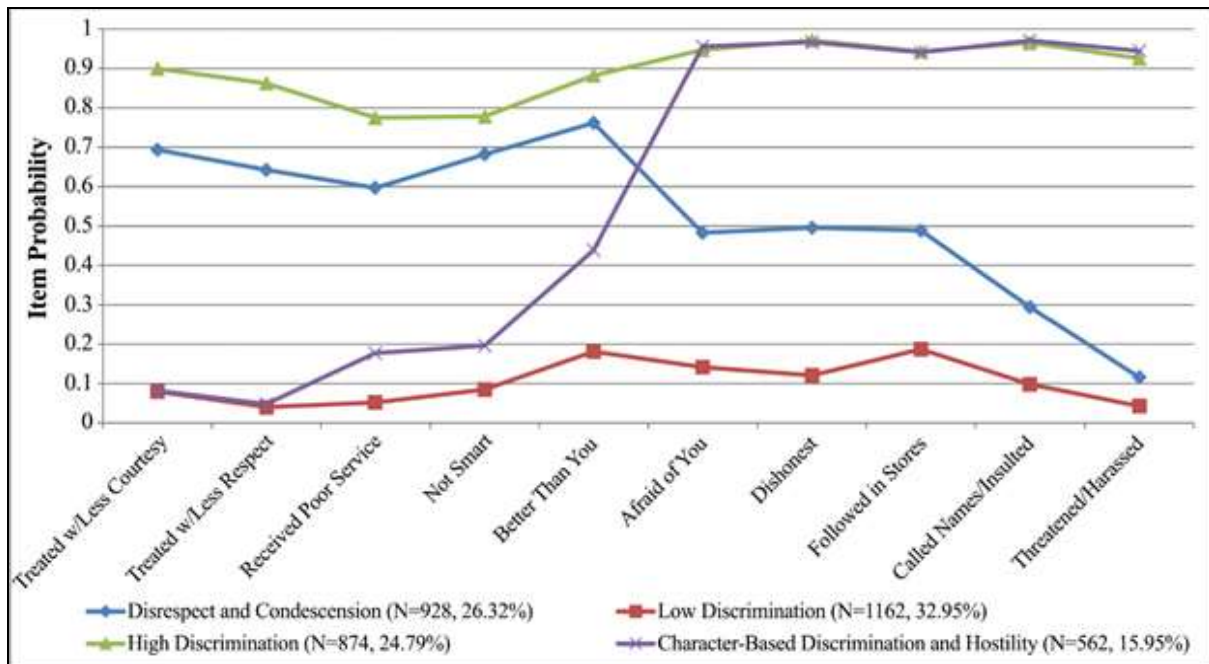


Figure 2.2: The Probability of Microaggression (Keith, Nguyen, Taylor, Mouzon, & Chatters, 2017, p. 17).

In their pursuit of dynamic and effective education, many of the universities have adopted Speech Codes and other protocols so as to ensure a smooth interactive experience by instilling respect primarily through administrative efforts. An example of that is warning by means of disciplinary actions such as the ones that The University of Wisconsin made in its announcement against students who are found guilty with one or more of the behaviour mentioned hereunder:

[f]or racist or discriminatory comments, epithets or other expressive behaviour directed at an individual or on separate occasions at different individuals. or for physical conduct, if such comments, epithets, other expressive behaviour or physical conduct intentionally: demean the race, sex, religion, colour, creed, disability, sexual orientation, national origin, ancestry or age of the individual or individuals; and create an intimidating,

hostile or demeaning environment for education, university-related work, or other university authorized activity (Hicks, 2011, p. 225).

The focus, as observed, is made on the language used by students- that pejorative positions made based on the other's identity is not to be tolerated. While these codes are directed to students, students can still benefit from them if offending remarks and behaviour are made and/or trigger warnings are not presented by the educators, extending the effect to the entire educational hierarchy.

Similar announcements were made by a big number of other universities. The format of these announcements carries a strong emphasis on the results that would take place upon breaking these instructions despite the questionable effectiveness of these measurements.

5. Censorship

Censorship is the intentional suppression of material that may otherwise offend a person or a group of people and trigger a feeling of discomfort (Fitzsimmons, 1996, p. 1). Censoring some materials in universities is seen as politically correct as it serves as a barrier between potentially offended students and triggering content. This is a huge concern as universities are among the largest institutions that push for increasing human knowledge; thus, the minds working in these universities (whether students or teachers) need a high level of protection and comfort in order for the university to function properly. To emphasize even further, the third-person effect hypothesis plays a significant supportive role in the demand for censorship when the material or speech discussed becomes trending on social media. The third-person effect hypothesis states that in a large group of people being exposed to a certain material, each person would regard himself less affected by the content as opposed to the others; therefore, he perceives

the influence of the content to be very powerful and expansive on society compared to himself (Rojas, Shah, & Faber, 1996, p. 1). When this effect is active, a deep desire to censor the content being received is produced among many members of the perceiving population.

Generally imposed by the state, all public universities adhere to certain censoring guidelines in order to provide a constructive educational environment for the academia; however, the censorship should be weak and almost non-existent for reasons discussed hereunder. By contrast, private universities hold their right to institute Speech Codes as they see fit (Ardinger, 2011, P. 94). The status of censorship, therefore, and Political Correctness are not consistent throughout all universities with the biggest difference occurring in the different sectors.

5.1 Types of Censorship

Though there are many types of censorship, this paper is concerned only with two due to the scope of the research made: general censorship and self-censorship.

General censorship is an action taken by the government and enforced by law. It is wide in range as it has its influence across a wide range of fields that are out of the university and educational contexts but still affect them. This is the type discussed above (Cook & Heilmann, 2010, p. 1).

Self-censorship is more related to individuals rather than institutions. It covers their works and also their speech in a voluntary manner and is often seen as a respectful and politically correct initiative. Self-censorship also has two types namely, Public censorship and Private

censorship, which correspond to the presence or absence of the censoring authority (Cook & Heilmann, 2010, p. 1).

Both types of censorship have been called for and demanded by both university administrators and a number of students. A considerable number of conversational skirmishes take place every now and then despite implementing them.

Conclusion

The twentieth century has been paramount for the human race. Reaching an unprecedented height in military and scientific advancements, the thrive of mankind has brought one of its bloodiest stages in history. During the latter part of the twentieth century, Political Correctness rose as a movement calling for social change. The means it had employed caught much attention and was crowned with observable relative success. Its progress characterized it with an overdrive for academic and social activism. The motif of Political Correctness is the achievement of an inclusive society to all groups and throughout its growth, the politically correct types have learned to make use of many strategies and approaches. The movement has been through phases of activity and inhibition with its most recent come back promising a lasting stay since 2010. Nowadays, it has come to possess an influential power, inviting huge numbers of left-wing supporters. Even though Political Correctness is driven by good intentions, its effectiveness is still questioned by intellectuals.

Chapter Two:

Freedom of Speech in American Universities: A Paramount Value of Western Civilization

Chapter Two: Freedom of Speech in American Universities: A Paramount Value of Western Civilization

Introduction

Before there was ever a Political Correctness, freedom of speech was the norm. The concept refers to the ability to express any thoughts, ideas or opinions fully and completely without any restraints on the language used nor any fear from legal punishment, not to be mistaken with “freedom of expression” (Although the terms are often used interchangeably, freedom of expression in this sense has more to do with how the message is being communicated via written material). The effect of Political Correctness does not only apply to spoken words but many different forms of communication including written works, online posts, movies and television, theater, art, and dance video games, political yard signs, handing out flyers, clothing, political yard signs, symbolic speech, such as burning a flag or wearing a black armband, the right not to speak such as a refusal to say the pledge of allegiance.

Political Correctness also affects these forms online. The U.S. Court of Appeals in Richmond, Virginia has found that even reacting to content on Facebook is considered speech. Some kinds of computer code may be considered speech, but the limits of that is still an open question.

U.S. citizens enjoy this right as freedom of speech is an entitled right protected by the First Amendment of the U.S. constitution, dating back to a time long before the constitution was drafted. The first origins emerged from the ancient Greeks, who were considered the first ones to build a democratic empire that protected the right of speech. The Greek term "parrhesia" appeared first in Greek literature, which means "to speak freely", around the end of the fifth

century BC. It became a fundamental right of Athens' democracy and the community was totally free to discuss politics and religion and to criticize the government in certain settings. From that time onward, this would extend to the U.S.— that is until now when the signs of the challenge began to show.

1. Origins of Freedom of Speech

The Roman Empire has had the most influential role in shaping Western Civilization to what it is today. Their achievements and breakthroughs extended from sciences (both applied and abstract) such as medicine, math, and philosophy to world-recognized architecture and formidability of culture that rivals other ancient civilizations as famous and ancient as those of the Pharaohs and the Persians. But perhaps its greatest accomplishment was the introduction of democracy as a political governing system, the division of power, and the integration of the citizens in the process of law-making and decision-making (Flower, 2010, p. 12).

Later on, the beginning of the United State's history would start with the immigration of the Puritans, who fled from England in the first half of the seventeenth century out of fear from the reign of King Charles I, whose Catholic affiliation brought him to prosecute the Puritans and the Protestants alike; nevertheless, being separatist from the Church or not, both factions agreed that staying in England became impossible for them and so they left to the New World (Trickler, 2010, p. 147). The reason why the Puritans migrated was to find freedom of expression and worship; it became the basis and a paramount notion upon which the United States was built and a reminder for the importance of their immigration. The constitution of the United States has been active since 1789; it has seen modifications in the form of 27 amendments. The First Amendment that was ratified in 1791 is the subject of interest of this chapter.

1.1. The First Amendment

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which the United States is a part of, both state that individuals have the right to express themselves freely; this right includes the freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds using various mediums of communication. In the U.S., this right has been protected by the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. It was adopted on December 15th, 1791 as an element of the Bill of Rights—the first ten amendments that comprise the United States Constitution. The Bill of Rights provides constitutional protection for certain individual liberties, including freedom of speech, assembly and worship, stating that the “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievance” (U.S. Const. amend. I). This passage clarifies that the ability of the government with regards to the restriction of the speech of the citizens is limited; Nevertheless, the passage itself remains vague in its definition for freedom of speech as it does not mention what is or is not included under the semantic umbrella of the term. The First Amendment does not define what exactly is meant by freedom of speech or determines what types of speech should or should not be preserved and protected by the law. For example, some forms of speech may be unauthorized such as leaking military secrets of the government to foreign countries while others may be more efficiently regulated depending upon the situation in which they occur. Outlining which speech is protected or not protected was a task that has fallen largely to the Supreme Court. The interpretation is later extended to state courts who take different approaches in determining their own guarantees. While some follow the Supreme court analysis and interpretations as a guide to drawing their

own parallel state constitutional guarantees, others take the interpretation of their own constitutions. and another approach that the courts take is examining the federal constitution at first and switch to the state constitution only when the federal does not protect the right (Hall, Ely & Grossman, 2005, p.963). The Supreme Court has determined that the First Amendment provides no protection for vulgarity, child pornography, or speech that constitutes what has become known as “fighting words” (Harr, Hess, Orthmann, & Kingsbury, 2018, p.147). Moreover, The Court has also settled that the First Amendment presents less than full protection to commercial speech, defamation (libel and slander), speech that may be harmful to children, speech broadcast on radio and television (as opposed to speech transmitted via cable or the Internet), and public employees’ speech (Ruane, 2014, para.2). Of note, even speech protected by the First Amendment may be subjected to “regulations of time, place, and manner of expression which are content-neutral, are narrowly tailored to serve a significant government interest, and leave open ample alternative channels of communication.” Furthermore, even speech that enjoys the most extensive First Amendment protection may be restricted on the basis of its content if the restriction passes “strict scrutiny”. That is to say that in the case of the government shows that the restriction serves “to promote a compelling interest” and is “the least restrictive means to further the articulated interest” (Ruane, 2014, para.3).

2. Significance of Free Speech

Free speech is completely connected to prosperity which comes from new ideas that can flourish only in a society whose ideas are free from suppression. it is a mechanism that allows for room to discuss controversial ideas and topics (e.g.: the idea that sex education should be

mandatory in all schools or the idea that all students should have an after-school job or internship.).

On the other hand, advocates of free speech also enjoy dedicated zones for them called Free Speech Zones. This results in a communicative dichotomy between students. (Bollinger & Stone, 2019, p.111)

3. Free Speech in Universities

Universities and campuses are places where people think and learn to think critically. University students get to hear and face different perspectives as well as being able to share and construct their own characters and ideas. Due to the high significance of freedom of speech in colleges and universities, especially to the learning process, students would lose their skill of articulation if their ideas are not given and challenged. With freedom of speech, students can engage in discussions and debates, speaking their minds and expressing their different points of view without any fear of being censored or punished. “A university exists to educate students and advance the frontiers of human knowledge and does so by acting as a ‘marketplace of ideas’ where ideas compete” (Bollinger & Stone, 2019, p. 111). The intellectual vitality of a university depends on this competition. And it is due to discuss unpopular opinions in an intellectual place that universities have such a central position in the process of national development. Despite the efforts made to protect freedom of speech starting from the founding fathers, it is still under constant threats made by opponents. The refusal of using this right is often a result of adopting a certain political view, desire to avoid disagreement or psychological fragility. The stance shared by so many resulted in the creation of Speech Codes. Speech Codes determine what is allowed and not allowed to be said on campuses (Magee, 2002, pp. 1-2). At some universities, students are prohibited from holocaust rejection and racist or sexist speech. On these grounds, it is not too

unreasonable a proposition that this power can be abused and the punitive outcomes reach those who commit lesser acts as insignificant as ridicule.

Freedom of speech causes a paradoxical juxtaposition in university campuses by occupying the same space with Political Correctness. But that does not undermine the stance of freedom of speech in the slightest as universities are also the centre of its advocates.

the freedom of the teacher or research worker in higher institutions of learning to investigate and discuss the problems of his (sic) science and to express his conclusions, whether through publication or in the instruction of students without interference from political or ecclesiastical authority or from the administrative officials of the institution in which he is employed, unless his methods are found by qualified bodies of his own profession to be clearly incompetent or contrary to professional ethics (Akerlind & Kayrooz, 2003, p. 3).

With this being said, it does not mean that there is any shortage of external pressure. Of note, the state of free speech is highly changeable with the biggest difference occurring in the public and private sectors. On one side, public universities are bound by the First Amendment not to restrict campus speech on the basis of its content (Pohlman, 2019, p. 103). Contrastingly, private colleges are not bound by the First Amendment but may have policies stating a commitment to free expression on campuses.

3.1. Public Universities

The First Amendment is applied to all levels of the government and is also applied to public universities and schools (Pohlman, 2019, p. 103). The courts argued that the rights

protected by the First Amendment, including the right to speak freely, were protected by the students like all citizens.

In an earlier time of U.S. history, the First Amendment was not applied to public schools. It was adopted in 1791 to Congress and the federal government, before that the students were not able to claim their right in occurrences of disagreements between them and administrative officials. Many cases of restricting students were on display and the situation remained until the 20th century. like the case when the court ruled to suspend two students for writing a poem mocking their teachers. The court found that reasonable because “such power is essential to the preservation of order, decency, decorum, and good government in the public schools” (Hudson, *lamprooning poem and insulting essay*, 2011). Another case directed against a student when the California Court of Appeals gives the authority to the administration over a student. when The court ruled that school officials could exclude a student for criticizing and insult school officials in a student assembly speech. (Haynes, 2003, p. 34).

In the following cases, the court has applied freedom protected by the First Amendment to all the levels of the government including public schools. But the transition point was the Barnette case where the U.S. Supreme Court explicitly extended First Amendment protection to students attending public schools. The case was about some students who were Jehovah’s Witnesses who refused to salute the flag for religious reasons. The students requested, claiming a violation of their First Amendment rights after the school officials punished them. The court before this case faced a case of the same and it stated that “national unity is the basis of national security.”. But the fact is that the court reversed itself in the Barnette case arguing that “the free-speech and free exercise of religion provisions of the First Amendment guarantees the right of students to be excused from the flag salute on grounds of conscience”. Justice Robert Jackson

said then that the Supreme Court must guarantee “scrupulous protection of constitutional freedoms of the individual” (Haynes, 2003, pp. 34-35). Seemingly public university officials will often request to a unique need for civility, order, and dignity in the academic environment to justify a type of oppressive regulations of speech but the court ensures the use of free speech in the public educational environment for students, arguing that they are like all citizens must enjoy their rights which are protected under the First Amendment.

3.2. Private Universities

Unlike public universities, private universities are not bound by the First Amendment but may have policies stating a commitment to free expression on campuses. However, most of them regard themselves as “bastions of free thought and expression”. A certain degree of elasticity takes place in private universities, yet they should be held to the same norms of the public universities since they promote themselves as a place where free speech is esteemed and protected. Some private universities promise freedom of expression in university promotional supplies and student conduct policies at first, but then they insert selective censorship after the student engagement, and that considered as kind of fraudulence. (Smolla, 2016, pp. 43-44)

Private universities are free but within a large legal framework to achieve their goals. They have chosen to support higher freedoms than public universities and “protecting far more than the Constitution requires and permitting forms of expression” that maybe not allowed in public institutions. Accidentally, all of that has changed and private universities and campuses have become a centre of censorship and oppression. Many barriers and walls have been built against discussion and free speech, like: “Speech Codes; civility policies; sweeping anti-harassment regulations; wildly restrictive email regulations; broadly defined bans on disruptive speech; overreaching and vague antidiscrimination [sic] policies that sharply restrict the

expression of ideas and beliefs by unpopular religious and political groups; and absurdly small and unreasonable free speech zones. On the surface, these institutions call for the absolute freedom for unpopular and unacceptable opinions by other foundations, but the reality is a different matter, where the students find themselves tied because of fake promises. The main point is “the chief vulnerability of college administrators at campuses is precisely the gulf between their public self-presentation (in which they claim to support academic freedom, free speech,) and their actual practice (which too often shows a disregard of such values)” (Silverglate, French, Lukianoff, & Creeley, 2012, pp. 57-59).

4. Censorship

To be in the picture we cannot consider any restrictions and regulations on free speech as censorship if it is applied to all students and groups equally; when individuals are treated not the same and the restrictions of speech are applied to a group rather than other and one should follow certain regulations which the rest are not obliged to follow it then this is censorship.

However, many obstacles and challenges besides censorship facing free speech at universities and campuses, but the best enemy to free speech is the students who feel marginalized and discriminated in society. These groups of individuals led campaigns led “to silence and to exclude” free speakers who find them disagree and offensive for them, and that can be considered as “politicization of the principle of free speech”.

However, American universities failed in the task of the learning process and providing American students their right. American students and faculty members claimed that the American universities are failed in supporting students’ free speech right because they are prohibited even from claiming facts and the learning process cannot be fostered in environment where open debate are stifled and the campuses are ideological divisions (Gerstmann & Streb, 2006, p. 6).

Moreover, they are corralled into tiny free speech when they are supposed to express themselves. Therefore, the concept of censorship is bleeding the right of free speech on educational environments and it is dangerous to mental students' health.

5. Protected and Unprotected Speech:

The United States of America separates between different kind of speech. Within this category, Protected Speech and Unprotected Speech gain significant importance due to the role they play within the legal system.

5.1. Protected Speech:

It is speech protected by the First Amendment from censorship and government regulations according to its nature and the regulations nature. A federal statute defines the term protected speech in the context of higher education means speech that is protected under the first and 14th amendments to the Constitution, or would be protected if the institution of higher education involved were subject to those amendments (Pohlman, 2019, p.151). In addition, another (redundancy) type of speech that is considered as protected speech under the First Amendment which is “‘Symbolic speech’, such as burning the flag at a protest rally, is protected, so long as it is not intertwined with additional factors such as disruptive conduct, which is not protected” (FIRE, 2013, p. 6).

The Supreme Court has approved that the First Amendment’s protections reach individual and collective speech “in pursuit of [a] wide variety of political, social, economic, educational, and cultural ends” (Gutmann, *the Value of Association*, 1998).

Accordingly, speech is generally protected under the First Amendment, and the government may not prohibit the citizens including the students from expressing themselves or engaging in speech unless it falls within one of the narrow categories of unprotected speech.

5.1.1. Categories of Protected Speech

Generally, there are four common categories of protected speech: political, religious, corporate and commercial. They can be divided into two; two enjoys the greatest protections of the First Amendment: Political and religious speech, which are the essential core of history and constitutional ideas of education. The other two enjoy the less protection: Corporate and commercial speech, they relate to products rather than ideas (FIRE, 2013, p. 4).

Commercial speech, which means speech related to products or services rather than establishing political opinions or expressing political ideas. Commercial speech is not protected to the same extent as political speech. Political Speech even if it is false cannot be punished unless it falls into the category of defamation, commercial speech may be prevented to assure it is truthful and not misleading to customers. Furthermore, commercial speech can be regulated if it encourages illegal activity in contrast to political speech encouraging illegal activity, which is protected unless it meets the limits of "incitement or fighting words" (Mann & Roberts, 2020, p. 85).

5.1.2. Categories of Unprotected speech

As the case, there are categories of speech, which are protected; there are also certain exceptions to the principles of protected speech under the First Amendment. All kinds of speech or expressions that threaten and menace health, safety or welfare of persons in the University community, and the unpopular speech that is adequately severe or pervasive to create an intimidating, hostile, or offensive learning or work environment, or that promotes an unlawful end. Besides that, the following categories also considered as unprotected speech in the US universities and campuses:

- Incitements: the provocation of individuals to engage in immediate violence or harm

- Fighting words: confrontational words or threats that provoke immediate violence
- True threats
- The expression that establishes criminal or severe harassment
- Defamation: a false statement about someone that tends to damage the reputation of that person
- Obscenity: appeals to sexual interests that are clearly offensive
- Commercial speech or advertising that is false or misleading (FIRE, 2013, pp 4-5).

6. Hate Speech and Speech Codes

Hate Speech and Speech Codes have been among the most used terms in universities. Although they serve to negate each other, there is still a considerable controversy roaming around them.

6.1. Hate Speech

Hate speech is the speech and communications that express a bad image about individuals depend on their race, ethnicity, age and other different matters. Bevir (2010) illustrated that “Hate speech, speech or expression that denigrates a person or persons on the basis of (alleged) membership in a social group identified by attributes such as race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion, age, physical or mental disability” (p. 598).

Throughout history varieties of public colleges sought to fight the racism and discrimination on campuses and universities and call for the censorship and Speech Codes to control and prevent such discrimination in the educational environments. But under the First Amendment, this type of speech is still protected regardless of its offensiveness and ugliness.

As a trunk of the government tree, when public universities determine what is allowed to say and what is not they act the same as the government and the First Amendment application. The main important question one should ask is whether the hate speech is protected in the universities and campuses. From one angle, the federal law of the states ensures the duty to universities to be “learning environment available for all students, regardless of their race or sex”. From the other angle, federal laws can not trump the supreme law of the country. As we have mentioned before, that political speech including hate speech is fully protected under the First Amendment on the universities and educational environments as it is protected outside; the only case the court provides the ability to prevent that speech to university when that speech is directed to a pointed individual and make his/her “opportunities for learning are directly and personally curtailed” (Rowland, *Can universities ban hate speech on campus?*).

In conclusion, universities cannot silence hate speech and cannot punish individuals who are hateful because the First Amendment ensures them that right.

6.2. Speech Codes

Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE) defines the Speech Codes as: any campus regulation that punishes, forbids, heavily regulates, or restricts a substantial amount of protected speech, or what would be protected speech in society at large. But the harassment policies are the most known type of Speech Codes at universities. Speech Codes adopted to the US universities at the beginning of the 80s, such examples are considered as Speech Codes, prohibiting telling a joke that conveys sexism or content that may negatively affect an individual’s self-esteem” (Welch & Bender, 2014, para.1). While these policies are created in favour and benefit of students, they are considered as standing against the right of free speech because students will refrain themselves from a speech that may cause contention or be punished.

Hence, they will not be able to open a discussion about serious and sensitive topics about anyone or anything and that simply results in a sensitive charged environment and stiffly intellectual growth.

Speech Codes are created to ensure and regulate students' rights and freedom but, in fact, they affect freedom of speech negatively and decrease the intellectual growth which is supposed to be the main goal of the higher learning institutions.

7. Safe Spaces

In educational institutions, the term “safe space” refers to places created to collect individuals who feel marginalized and share the same feelings of sufferance. According to Merriam-Webster dictionary, a safe space is “place (as on a college campus) intended to be free of bias, conflict, criticism, or potentially threatening actions, ideas, or conversations”. Therefore, mainly, safe spaces are free spaces to encourage the students to free speech. yet it is not conditioned to be a physical setting, they can be a group of people who hold the same emotional situation.

Safe spaces are essential for students to feel free and express themselves without any fear of judgment, unsolicited opinions, and having to explain. Moreover, enhance the sense of respect and support for minorities, members of the LGBTQIA+ communities, and other marginalized groups. To have such environments these individuals would feel comfortable and powerful, no one could challenge them “to a [sic] debate, try to speak over them, make them serve as a spokesperson for their entire race or gender, or attempt to invalidate their experiences- they can simply be” (Bosher & Pharris, 2009, p.105). However, critics have other opinions about

the topic, they often redefine the concept of a safe space as something that is a direct attack on free speech and only relevant to minority groups on college campuses.

8. Compulsion of Free Speech on Campuses

Challenges and threats of free speech are obvious in several forms starting from university policies, Speech Codes, groups of minorities, to the principles created by the students hostile to free speech. But none of these threats can go beyond legislative. After certain raising events at US campuses and universities against provocative and conservative speakers, the state's lawmakers passed legislation to protect and to emphasize the compulsory of everyone's free speech rights. The legislation like Donald Trump's March 21 executive order on campus free speech was focused on public colleges. The president delivers on a promise to punish colleges that don't respect and guarantee free speech on campus, he said: "If a college or university does not allow you to speak, we will not give them money" (21 March 2019).

In addition, this order is directed to private as well and the president calls the federal agencies to "make sure that private colleges are enforcing campus speech rules the same way for all students or risk losing federal funds" (Hutchens, 2019), "We will not give them money". Besides, several foundations and administrations suggest legislation to ensure free expression on US higher educational institutions. A foundation as FIRE outlined four areas can effectively be addressed through legislative improvements (concerned just with two). First, eliminating free speech zones which are misleadingly labelled FIRE sees that speech zones function more like quarantine for free speech, that is they draw limitations and lines to what to say and not to say, in addition to the student need to "get permission from administrators to speak. They highly recommend excluding these zones because that enhances and restores the freedom of speech for many students. Second, the second recommendation by FIRE is harassment policies because

these policies are Well-intentioned but, in fact, misguided policies. Some institutions use these policies to infringe student's free speech (Cohn & McIntosh, 2019). However, they use the label, but deeply use these policies for other purposes and to restrict freedom of expression so in favour and benefits for students to enhance their right it is better to eliminate such policies.

9. Forum Analysis in Classic College and University Settings

Forum analysis has come to be used with regards to considering student publications, student activity fees, and public institutions' efforts to balance potentially competing for obligations under the First Amendment: that respecting free expression, and that respecting the Establishment Clause. The University's policies commonly allow the distribution of booklets, newspapers and other literature that does not contain advertising, and prohibits most commercial solicitation; however, those policies do permit the sale of newspapers by means of a vending machine in special areas. They also allow solicitation activities under the sponsorship of a student organization.

The University is a limited public forum mainly in light of its administrators' rule authorizing persons to "assemble and engage in free speech activities on the grounds of the campus" and admonishing administrators "to adopt reasonable nondiscriminatory regulations as to time, place and manner of such activities" (Kushibab, p.12).

Notwithstanding, the court noted that the probably content-neutral regulations were not completely tailored to serve a compelling governmental interest. Consequently, the University proposed a host of legitimate interests in support of its policies, including security and preserving the campus's appearance. However, the court rejected that because it found nothing threatening

about the presence of a free newspaper on campus. These measures applied for slide work cases; nevertheless, there are other regulations for other cases such as the commercial activities where the college policy prohibits "all solicitation and selling of products and articles on [the] college property except by organizations and groups directly connected with the institution and upon written approval of the respective presidents or superintendents" (Kushibab, p. 12). For students' publications, these regulations were established due to the case of *Kincaid v. Gibson*, where a responsible editor student for the publication of a student yearbook made a scene because of his book "Destination Unknown". Responsible at Kentucky State University considered it as an unsuitable book and they criticized the theme, colour (purple cover), and other traits of the book. They stated that it had nothing to do with the University and confiscated the book, reserving its distribution to the students. the University conferred arguments against but the Sixth Circuit ascertained clear evidence of the University's intent to limit the public forum of the yearbook the court said. After that, the court examined the regulation and the practice policies of the university. It concluded that, by defining the existence of a limited public forum, actual practice speaks louder than words, and found it significant that the student affairs vice president 'had never expressed any concern about what the content might be in the yearbook prior to its publication" (Kushibab, p.16).

Conclusion

Free speech is the cornerstone of U.S universities and colleges. It is an entitled right protected by the First Amendment to the U.S. constitution. In fact, the First Amendment does not define what exactly is meant by freedom of speech or determining what types of speech should and should not be protected by the law, it was a task that has fallen to the court.

Although universities and colleges are considered as rich platforms for conflicts over freedom of speech issues, they are the best areas that right should be more valued and protected than any other places. However, free speech faces several challenges and threats from different sides and individuals who create certain concepts which they apparently promote to support and enhance the student's free speech rights. But the fact is that they put free speech in a smaller circle and tinier setting.

Concepts such as Speech Codes which are created to ensure and regulate students' rights and freedom but, in fact, they affect freedom of speech negatively and they are a handicap of higher education. Besides, safe spaces are essential spaces for students to feel free and express themselves without any fear of judgment and unsolicited opinions. Its goal is to support minorities and marginalized groups. Critics, however, claim safe spaces because they are directed only to minority groups. Likewise, hate speech is a type of speech protected under the first amendment but hateful speakers highly threaten to be silenced and excluded although all these issues stand against free speech, the government and legislative standing for and emphasising compulsory free speech.

As a conclusion, it is clear that free speech is battling as alone at the American universities and campuses against many issues. And the students should fight for their right to speak freely before they find themselves unable to speak freely and following certain determined restrictions and lose their protected speech by law unconsciously.

Chapter Three:

The Juxtaposition of Political Correctness and

Freedom of Speech: Analysis and Criticism

Chapter Three: The Juxtaposition of Political Correctness and Freedom of Speech: Analysis and Criticism

Introduction

As defined in the first chapter, Political Correctness is a socio-cultural movement which has old historical origins that date back to the late nineteenth century. It is the fruit of combining Marxist and Postmodern ideology and a reaction to the unfairness generated by Western Civilization and the Capitalist system. Sociologically speaking, its aim is to uplift the oppression applied to different racial and social groups. It seeks to equalize how everyone is treated. That is to say creating a harmonious and inclusive environment for everyone to thrive without being judged by their race, gender, or ethnicity. Despite the nobility carried with such a cause, Political Correctness is often clashing with another important principle that is Freedom of Speech. Freedom of Speech is the ability to express thoughts freely without any bounds. The friction that takes place when these two elements collide occurs when a proponent of Freedom of Speech – whose speech– offends a politically correct person. On the other hand, no less amount of friction is to be expected when the politically correct types try to restrict the speech used by the advocates of Freedom of Speech. Hence, this produces a mood of resentment and conflict in American campuses and causes a division in the population. This chapter seeks to explain the relationship between the two notions as well as give evidence and reasons for why the situation has developed to its current state.

1. The Neo-Marxist Postmodernist Narrative

As mentioned in chapter one, Political Correctness is rooted in Marxism and Postmodernism with Marxism being a social theory or a metanarrative that interprets the world from the perspective of bourgeois versus proletariat while Postmodernism is a literary critique to the modernist movement. Marxism and Postmodernism are the two principal gears that move the politically correct machine. Their alignment is an irrevocable and undeniable fact that is well documented intellectually and historically. With that being said, the fluidity and smooth operation of Political Correctness show little evidence of the major paradox occurring between the substrate components that emerge from the main principles of the two doctrines themselves (Peterson, 2017, 05:14).

The biggest paradox lies in their claims: postmodernism does not believe in metanarratives while Marxism itself is a metanarrative based on the struggle between social classes. This juxtaposition should have deconstructed any possible union between Marxism and Postmodernism. On the contrary, it did not, but it was rather treated as non-existent. Furthermore, Postmodernism contradicts itself in its central principle (Peterson, 2019). Despite that it is true that there is an infinite number of interpretations for even a finite set of phenomena, the number of viable interpretations is not infinite. Many restraints ender the process of interpretation limited as it should be. To illustrate, it is known that generally, females perform better than males academically. This fact can be interpreted in a number of ways while some of them are viable and others are not. For example, one could interpret it as a result of societal roles. As females are more likely to stay at home longer than their male counterparts, this provides them with more time to study. The Neo-Marxist Postmodern interpretation, however, would deliberately seek to centralize the case on sexism, pointing to systematic favouritism

practised in educational institutions. For all intents and purposes, the Postmodern interpretation can be correct, but the conflict-inspecting narrative, so to speak, is given priority above all other interpretations. This systematic bias can lead to deductions that are as accurate as any given speculation.

The result, therefore, is a paradoxical juxtaposition: while Postmodernism rejects all narratives, it aligns itself with Marxism; and the capacity for infinite interpretation is most of the time carried in a cynical way that stresses on the differences and highlights the conflicts occurring between race, gender, and ethnicity. The unraveled paradoxes consequently beg the question “are the politically correct types ignorant of these facts?” And the answer is no. As the politically correct types are postmodernist by definition, regard to coherence, reason and logic is not given. And these are technical parts of postmodern philosophy.

In Heidegger’s synthesis of the Continental tradition, we can see clearly many of the ingredients of postmodernism. Heidegger offered to his followers the following conclusions, all of which are accepted by the mainstream of postmodernism with slight modifications:

1. Conflict and contradiction are the deepest truths of reality;
2. Reason is subjective and impotent to reach truths about reality;
3. Reason’s elements—words and concepts—are obstacles that must be uncrusted, subjected to Destruktion, or otherwise unmasked;
4. Logical contradiction is neither a sign of failure nor of anything particularly significant at all;

5. Feelings, especially morbid feelings of anxiety and dread, are a deeper guide than reason;

6. The entire Western tradition of philosophy—whether Platonic, Aristotelian, Lockean, or Cartesian—based as it is on the law of non-contradiction and the subject/object distinction, is the enemy to be overcome” (Hicks, 2011, pp. 65-66).

With regards to Freedom of Speech, this makes the process of creating a dialogue between the politically correct types and the politically incorrect an exceedingly difficult task. The interpretations made, therefore, are left unchallenged and are autonomously considered valid (as far as the politically correct are concerned) despite the possibility of incoherencies.

2. Political Correctness and Hierarchical Institutions

The politically correct types regard the injustice as a characteristic residue and an inherent component of the tyrant Western Civilization.

Central to pc-ness, which has its roots in 1960's radicalism, is the view that Western society has for centuries been dominated by what is often called 'the white male power structure' or 'Patriarchal hegemony.' A related belief is that everybody but white heterosexual males has suffered some form of repression and been denied a cultural voice (Shwartz, 2002, p. 1).

This narrative is only a broad and rough undertaking for the historically changeable progress of Western Civilization. It links much of the occurring racial sensitivity and organizational and institutional hierarchies to patriarchy and race that is associated with Male Privilege or White Privilege. Nevertheless, other major affecting elements such as technological

advancement, economic growth, international commerce, transportation, and competence –all of which are highly influential indicators for the improvement of living conditions– are not given any attention. This changes the outlook from a hierarchy of competence to a hierarchy of dominance.

Of course, if the situation at hand is so dire, the adoption of this mode of thinking and the acceptance of the consequences it drags would be acceptable to a certain degree. That is to say that the desirable outcomes outweigh the systematic flaws of the ideologies– that good intention represented in the desire and the initiative taken to speak for oppressed groups, to defend them, and give voice to their needs is, in fact, a moral action that justifies the endeavour. Intellectually speaking, that does not make a good argument. But even if that would be accepted, the association of Political Correctness with Marxism debunks the possibility for good intentions to be the motive behind the movement as Marxism has proven once and again to be quite the murderous ideology. The only reason that is left is the desire for power and undermining the other opposing privileges and interpretations so as to gain higher status in the hierarchy. The whole movement, as a result, becomes moved by resentment.

It may be said, however, that even if the theoretical book-trained Socialist is not a working man himself, at least he is actuated by a love of the working class. He is endeavouring to shed his bourgeois status and fight on the side of the proletariat – that, obviously, must be his motive. But is it? Sometimes I look at a Socialist – the intellectual, tract-writing type of Socialist, with his pullover, his fuzzy hair, and his Marxian quotation – and wonder what the devil his motive really is. It is often difficult to believe that it is a love of anybody, especially of the working class, from whom he is of all people the furthest removed. The underlying motive of many Socialists, I believe,

is simply a hypertrophied sense of order. The present state of affairs offends them not because it causes misery, still less because it makes freedom impossible, but because it is untidy; what they desire, basically, is to reduce the world to something resembling a chess-board (Orwell, 1989, pp. 151-152).

Even at the time of its prime, what good deeds socialism has preached was highly questionable. Orwell (1989) describes that the action taken even by the most educated socialist men was not at all moved by compassion for the poor but rather by hatred for the rich. Once the socialist, however, made it to the upper-middle class (or the bourgeois on rare occasion), all concern for the social class he belonged to was completely removed. Nietzsche also had had the same opinion, and he specifically identified it with socialism.

For that mankind be redeemed from revenge: that to me is the bridge to the highest hope and a rainbow after long thunderstorms. But the tarantulas want it otherwise, to be sure. “That the world become full of the thunderstorms of our revenge, precisely that we would regard as justice,” – thus they speak with one another. “We want to exact revenge and heap insult on all whose equals we are not” – thus vow the tarantula hearts. “And ‘will to equality’ – that itself from now on shall be the name for virtue; and against everything that has power we shall raise our clamor!” You preachers of equality, the tyrant’s madness of impotence cries thus out of you for “equality”: your secret tyrant’s cravings mask themselves thus in your words of virtue! (Nietzsche, 2006, p. 77).

3. Language and the Politically Correct

Language constitutes the front line for the politically correct endeavours. The social relations in American academia has been dominated by politically correct influence to a great

degree, especially in the humanities. In this regard, the LGBTQIA+community began a viral trend of an identitarian revolution based on non-traditional gender pronouns that have gained large support and adoption from feminism. While the scientific evidence explicitly states that gender is only a social mirroring for the biological characteristics, a strong emphasis is given to the social construct as opposed to the biological definition. In fact, the focus has gone to unbelievable lengths that are increasingly irrational. The attention went so far that 2010s were declared the decade of the pronoun, when singular “they”, denoting the gender-neutral pronoun, and “my pronouns” as the word of the year 2019 according to the American Dialect Society (Zimmer, 2020, p. 2). This has brought forth an immense number of new gender pronouns such as Ze and Zir, recognized by an expanding number of American states.

What the LGBTQIA+ community and Transgenderism are doing is separating the biological conception from the cultural understanding so that the social construct gains supremacy. New York City’s Human Rights Commission, for example, published a non-exhaustive list of thirty-one genders that are recognized legally and has added a third option (‘X’) in birth certificates and passports that corresponds to the gender that one identifies with as stated in House Bill 5962 (2020). This is only an example of how something as insignificant as using different pronouns can have legislative implications.

As mentioned, the push on the linguistic level extended to the legislative. In Canada, the refrain from using gender pronouns or the deliberate misgendering is now considered a crime punished by law. That marks the first step in Western Civilization when the law mandates the words to be uttered, which is completely different from prohibiting the use of some words, as stated in House Bill C-16 (2016). At a closer inspection, these alterations in language are happening at a deeper level than first perceived: pronouns are part of a category called ‘closed

linguistic class', meaning that they do not offer significant semantic value as they are more functional components (Aikhenvald, 2015, p. 99). The results of such linguistic modification cannot be underestimated when it is proven that language influences the way people perceive and interpret the world. Of note, this does not solve the problem as the pronouns used in a conversational setting is a second-person pronoun. In conversations, the speaker and the listener are not referred to by third-person pronouns which all gender pronouns are concerned with. In addition, the vast majority of the pejorative terms the politically correct types are offended by happen to be adjectives. Consequently, the insistence of using certain pronouns may lead to the insistence of using certain adjectives for example, which is completely catastrophic. Not only that, but this also opens a door for radical activism.

4. The Issue of Misrepresentation

Misrepresentation is another theme that still catches a lot of attention as a subject of interest in the politically correct compass. It claims that the distribution of population in American universities is disproportionate to gender, race, and ethnicity and the same case is true about the specialties and disciplines provided by the universities. "The race gap is so large and deep rooted that any reasonable person has to be skeptical that there are any quick fixes. The black-white test score gap... provides a particularly vivid illustration of the extreme underrepresentation of black test-takers among those with the highest score" and while the numbers degrees obtained by all races between 1974 and 2015, the gap itself is still existing (Bowen, Kurzweil, Tobin & Pichler, 2006, p. 156).

As per the Neo-Marxist Postmodern principles, this was alleged to be the tyrannical white-supremacist power that governs the institutions of higher education. This is the reason

Affirmative Action was introduced. “Even after decades of affirmative action, black and Hispanic students are more underrepresented at the nation’s top colleges and universities than they were 35 years ago, according to a New York Times analysis”.

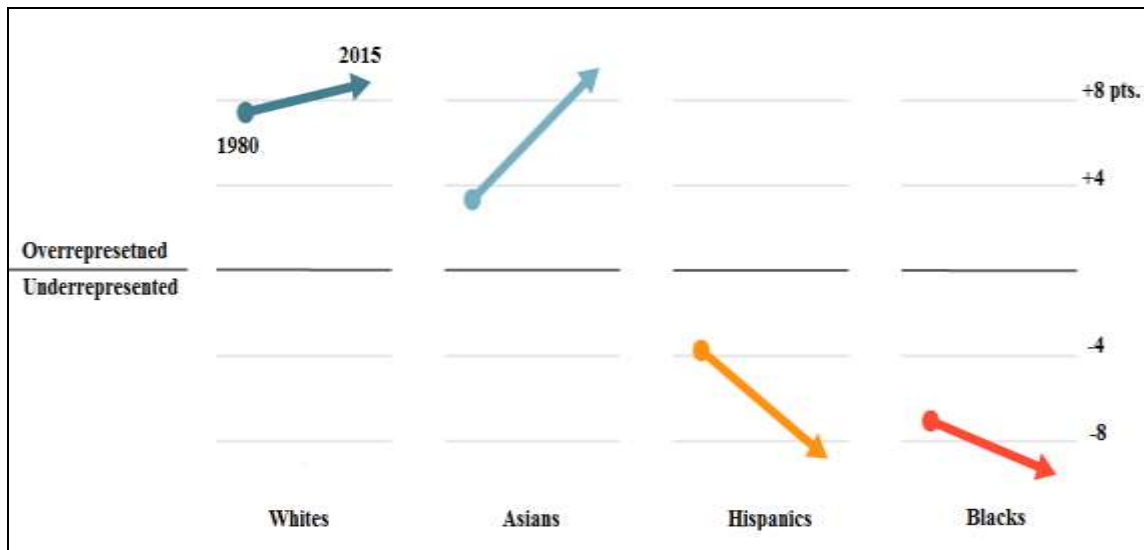


Figure 3.1: The degree to which Each Group is Represented among Freshmen at Top Colleges Relative to the U.S. Population (Ashkenas, Park, & Pearce, 2017).

The compassionate intention behind Affirmative Action can easily become a new ground of preference and favouritism displayed on university campuses, not only that but it hurts many prospective students of Whites and Asians, who already meet the admission criteria, but do not translate the actual effort made by student nor the (Wise, 2005, p. 112)

Feminism has also been interested in this case as they also support Affirmative Action due to the disproportionate distribution of males as opposed to females in high paying jobs and STEM fields. In contrast to the claims made, a very important point has been ignored. When equality of opportunity is provided for all prospective students, biological differences between males and females play a significant role in determining their respective academic careers and this has been one of the most credibly documented results in social research. This is especially

the case in Scandinavian countries that have gone farther than any other countries in the world in making their societies egalitarian. In 2017, the number of new female entrants, as opposed to new male entrants, had a rate of 57% to 43%.

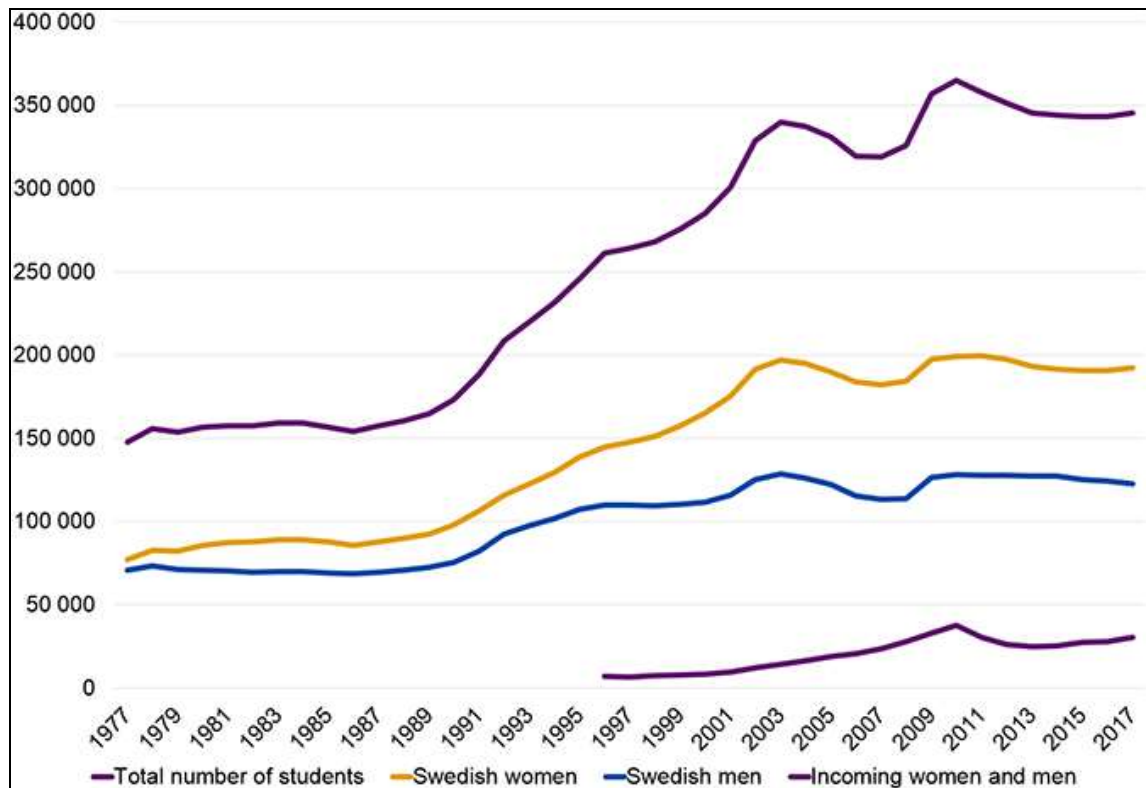


Figure 3.2: The Number of Students Registered in First- and Second-Cycle Courses and Programmes

Each Autumn Semester 1977–2017 (“Swedish Higher Education Authority,” 2019).

Even though Figure 3.2 shows an increase of 100% in the number of students over a period of thirty years, and in spite of the egalitarian endeavours, the number of students in higher education remains dominated by females. Contrary to expectations, males dominate the number of students in the STEM fields.

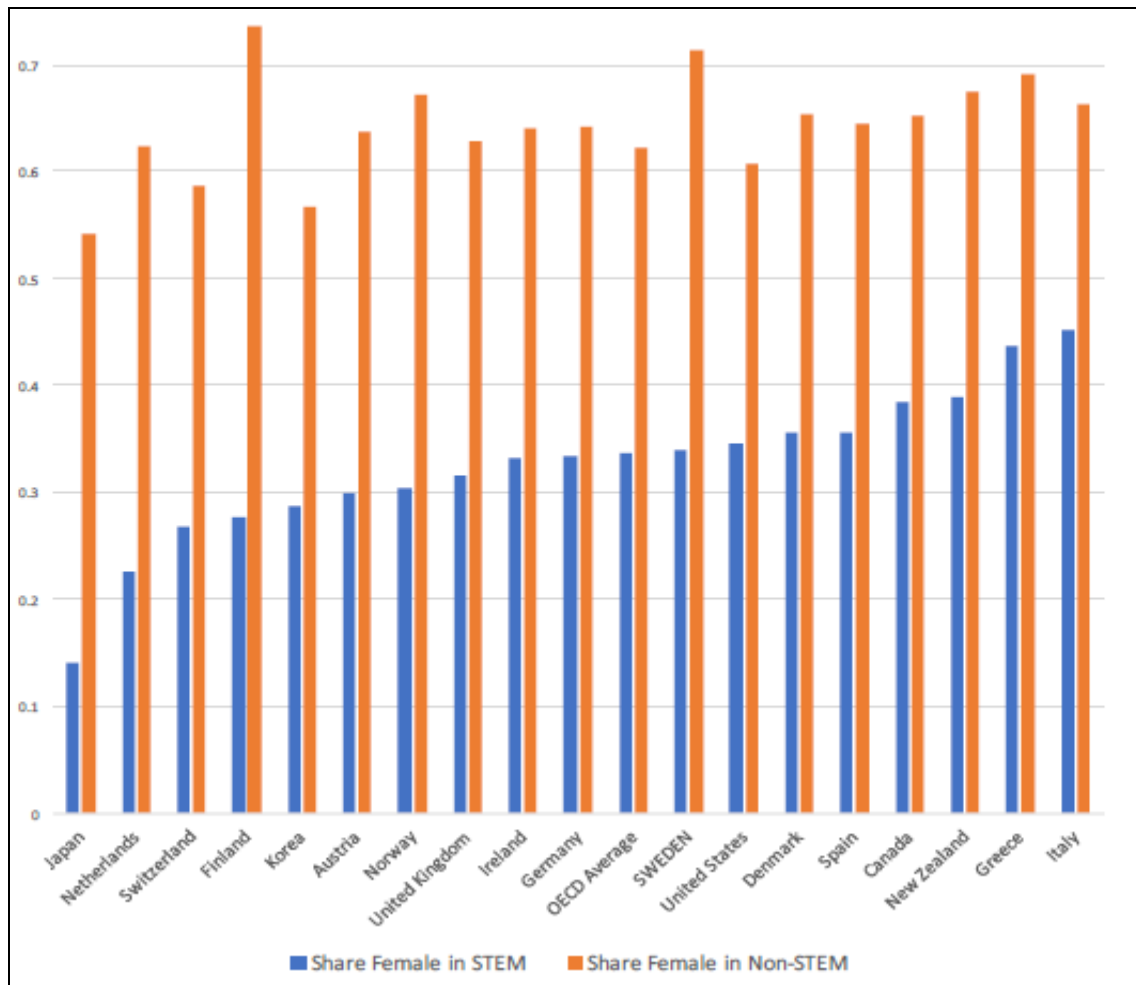


Figure 3.3: Population Distribution by Gender in STEM Fields (Angelov, Johansson, Lindahl, & Pihl, n.d., p. 23).

The outlook is not a problem in itself compared to the initiatives carried on its basis. Certain reactions such as the Affirmative Action can go far in their desire for equality that it threatens to flatten society. This leads, more times than not, to Organizational Nihilism, which is an indicating factor for the collapse of institutions.

Organizational nihilism begins when an organization abandons its job requirements and other elements of organizational structure in order to validate those who refuse to accept its legitimacy. It is at that point that organizational structure comes

to be seen as an instrument of oppression. Making organizational demands, or justifying them in terms of organizational necessity, becomes politically incorrect.

The most general case of the undermining of standards is with the issue of affirmative action and its various cognates, each of which represents a specification of lower admission standards for members of certain designated groups.

There is no sense in saying that affirmative action does not undermine admission standards, since that is exactly what it does, at least with regard to members of the designated groups. For example, selective universities admit African-American and Hispanic applicants with much lower test scores and other qualifications than many white and Asian applicants (Shwartz, 2002, p. 8).

Due to universities accepting the admission of a considerable portion of prospective students based on their race and gender rather than their qualifications, they sacrifice in return a great number of competent students in the process. Furthermore, increasing diversity in university campuses is better performed through the comprehensive inspection of individual differences. In that regard, focusing on racial backgrounds has very little effect on filtering the more competent students.

5. Social Justice

Initiatives such as Affirmative Action are empowered by leftist activist groups whose members are collectively labeled as Social Justice Warriors. Although Social Justice has an exponentially increasing number of publications in psychology, “whole books and treatises have been written about social justice without ever offering a definition of it. It is allowed to float in

the air as if everyone will recognize an instance of it when it arises” (Thrift & Sugarman, 2019, p. 4).

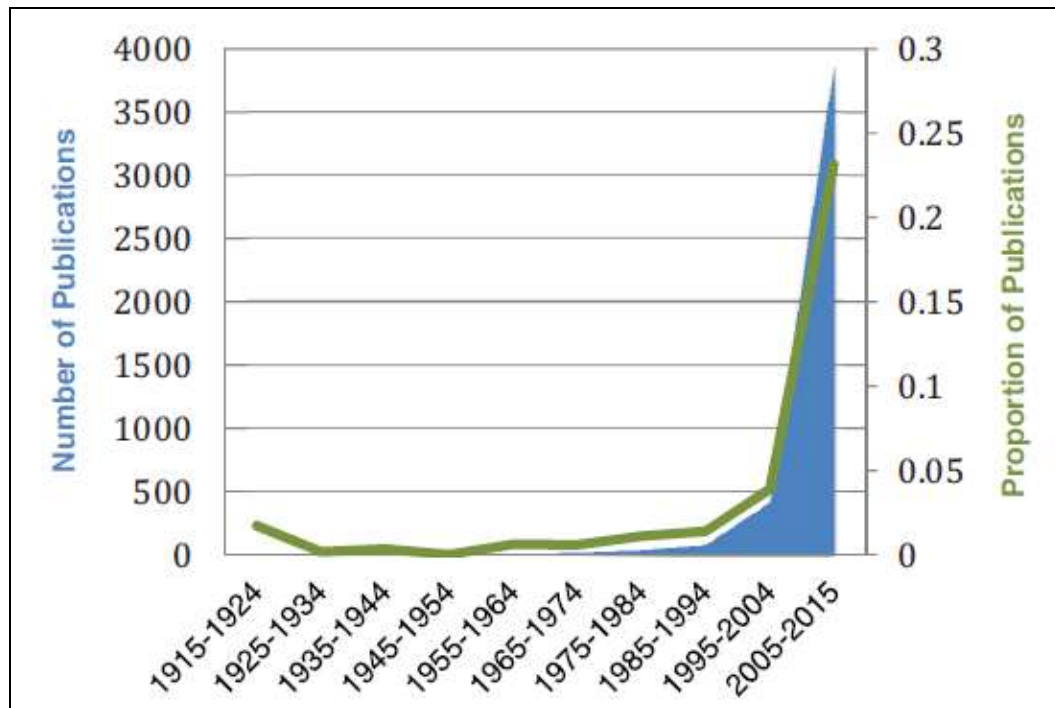


Figure 3.4: The Number of Publications in PsychINFO since 1915 (Thrift & Sugarman, 2019, p. 3).

In spite of claiming a great amount of attention in the academia, like Political Correctness, Social Justice is hard to define even by the words of authors who write about it. In sake of brevity, Social justice is defined as a property of politics and society that is concerned with the state of society with regards to justice and the preservation of liberty entitlements, and rights (Ruthmund, Becker, & Jost, 2016, p. 2). The economy has been the primary concern for Social Justice, but since the alteration it had undertaken in the 1980s, it began to gain the attention and support of university students. The aims of Social Justice are directed to be achieved by means of equity. “According to equity theory, people feel most comfortable when their relationships are maximally profitable and they are giving and getting exactly what they deserve from their relationships—no more and certainly no less” (Hatfield, Salmon, & Rapson, 2011, p. 2).

Distinct by extreme polarity, the political views of students in American universities are further divided by acts of political radicalism. The pursuit of equity serves only to increase the crevice. Opposite to equality, which denotes equality for the opportunity, equity seeks equality of outcome. In order to carry out this task, society (and hierarchies) must be flattened. By providing a boost to those who are disadvantaged as opposed to others, who are regarded as privileged (usually Whites and Asians). That in itself comprises a literal and explicit abomination of justice.

Political Correctness is also unfair to teachers who find themselves to be in a very difficult position, mingling between the concern for self-security and the obligation of delivering lessons and lectures with due scientific fidelity. Due to the continuous stress rising from extreme caution on the use of the correct words, university professors are strained, which is nothing less than damaging for their mental health.

On the other hand, Political Correctness has an affinity for nurturing radicalism. Consequently, it sets the appropriate landscape for intolerance, which makes identity politics exacerbate even more. The consequences on professional careers and workplace after graduation maintain the same negative atmosphere associated with interactions between members of different ethnicities (Ely, Meyerson, & Davidson, 2006, p.3).

On the subject of mental health, Political Correctness systemically contributes in producing a fragile generation that does not tolerate difference of opinion and is weakened by not being exposed to different ideas (Haidt & Lukianoff, 2018, p. 19).

Finally, it is not obvious what is meant by Political Correctness when people talk about it. Up until 2015, Political Correctness was regarded as one element with increasingly difficult borders to outline. Due to the personalization of Political Correctness that stems from the

background of its proponents, it makes it difficult to pinpoint; nevertheless, it is relatively easy to decide whether the underlying motive of a certain stance is fueled by Political Correctness. A recent study in 2015, showed otherwise. There are two kinds of Political Correctness, namely: PC-Liberalism and PC-Authoritarianism.

...both PC-Liberalism and PC-Authoritarianism favour greater government intervention. Where they differ, however, is in their ultimate purpose for this equality, and as such, the tone of their policy. These differences seem to be based on variance in sociopolitical belief. PC-Liberalism appears to be pursuing socially liberal goals, while PC-Authoritarianism is pursuing socially conservative goals. The greater emphasis on individual freedom for social liberals, means PC-Liberalism policy is more tempered and democratic. Contrarily, the increased focus on security for social conservatives means PC-Authoritarianism policy is more coercive and autocratic (Brophy, 2015, p. 44).

The difference between the two types are rooted in psychology. PC-Authoritarianism is characterized by trait conscientiousness and its aspects: orderliness and industriousness; while PC-Egalitarianism is characterized by trait openness and trait agreeableness in the Big Five Personality Model. Due to the harmful Political Correctness has had on the American universities, which had shown an increasing regress in the teacher-student and student-student relationships in such a systematic manner, many believe that the consequent undermining of the universities originated from the Frankfurt school, labeling the trend as Cultural Marxism.

Conclusion

Political Correctness and Freedom of Speech have juxtaposed in an increasingly deconstructive way. While Freedom of Speech provides a rational and pacifist way to discuss problems and cases of interest in a civilized manner, Political Correctness does not share the sentiment as it perceives logic as an outlet of tyranny and exercising power. The Politically Correct types have had a great number of paradoxes and inconsistencies underlying the deepest substrata of their movement. Half a decade has passed since its emergence, the main means for Political Correctness to achieve its goals were canceling dialogue and relying on legislation, punitive system, and censorship. The compassion that characterizes the movement has been proven to be once and again a masked resentment and desire for power. Not only that Political Correctness has contributed to the undermining American universities, but it produces a fragile indoctrinated generation, easily offended, entitled to false opinions, and intolerant of different views and perspectives.

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

Political Correctness and Freedom of Speech comprise a unique dichotomy of opinion that is exceedingly polarizing. It has become a distressing element of the sociopolitical substrate of American society.

To begin, Political Correctness is a term that retains its obscurity. Since many elements are intricately woven into the substrate pragmatic network of social relations. The process of defining the term has been unfruitful for a long time now. The politically correct types take this as an advantage as topics of discussion can be quickly changed, extended, and discarded while maintaining the same defensive position.

After eighty years, a considerable social slice of youth in the U.S. are ignorant of the catastrophe that has been created under the hands of Marxism, Socialism, Communism; the existential nihilistic dilemma perpetrated by Postmodernism. It is due to the lack of knowledge of history that these movements and ideologies seem attractive nowadays. The attractive claims and causes they fight for, however, override the functionality of a paramount principle that is Freedom of Speech. The disturbance of this core element in a nation that is historically new compared to other countries threatens with destabilizing the country. Although leftists and progressives support Political Correctness, the manner by which they push their ideology is not progressive in the slightest. This is evidently the case since the politically correct types are predisposed to shutting down discussions and to practicing cancel-culture. A consensus between the opposite ends of the dialogue can never meet and will never meet when one part of the argument is reluctant to reach an agreement. As such, the impact of this juxtaposition is fragmenting society and is causing an uprising havoc.

Political Correctness is not justifiable nowadays and the reasons for that although clear, are not critically thought out. When pointing to any point in history, one can perceive, to a certain degree, the injustice, which is attributed to the hardships met by the citizens of a given country. This produces a residue of privileged and its counterpart the unprivileged. As history progresses, notwithstanding unique instances, the level of comfort begins to rise as the injustice begins to decrease, improving living conditions for everyone. The emergence of Political Correctness is in itself evidence for the progress of the U.S. as solving economic problems is the prerequisite of solving social problems. When Political Correctness remains popular fifty years after its emergence, this indicates that there was no significant progress in society, or at least not significant enough for it to be discarded. It also means that either the perception of the tackled problems remains the same or more demands are added to the list. Consequently, Political Correctness holds an outdated perspective or it has diverged so far away from its original aims that it does not resemble itself anymore. The result is more contradicting elements within the movement that continue to go unaddressed.

Finally, due to the complexity of the topic and its branching elements as well as the contemporary change that has become a characterizing trait of its profile, further studies are recommended.

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المخلص

يشكل التصحيح السياسي جزء كبيراً من المجتمع الأمريكي إلا أن مجاورتها لحرية التعبير مصدر قلق كبير إذ تسببت العلاقة بين هذين العنصرين والمناقشات التي تحدث بينهما في الكثير من التوتر في أكثر من مناسبة. بما أنه من الشائع فصل التصحيح السياسي عن أصله حيث يلعب التطور التاريخي لهذه الحركة دوراً مهماً في النقاشات المنعقدة حول القضية. وبشكل أهم فإن حرين التعبير وهو مبدأ انبثق قبل التصحيح السياسي فائق الأهمية إلا أن هذه الأهمية مهددة بالخطر حالياً من خلال رفض وعرقلة الحوارات البناءة. لهذا تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تعريف التصحيح السياسي في القرن الحادي والعشرون وبحث علاقتها بحرية التعبير. إن هذه المذكرة بحث نوعي مبني على المنهجين الوصفي والتحليلي وكذا المنهج التاريخي، حيث تكشف الدراسة الدرجة التي أصبحت بها الصوابية السياسية أمراً غير مبرر، حيث تم تحليلها على المستويين التاريخي والأيدولوجي والتركيز في ذلك على الجامعة استناداً للدلائل المتعلقة بالأصول التاريخية كما يؤيد هذا الإدعاء بإحصائيات ونتائج تجريبية من أجل إثبات الاختلال الوظيفي الذي تعاني منه هذه الحركة وفشلها في تحقيق أهدافها.

الكلمات المفتاحية: المجتمع الأمريكي، حرية التعبير، التجاور، التصحيح السياسي، الجامعة، التجاور، الإيديولوجية، التاريخ.