

Racialization and Perceived Institutional Ideology

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Racializaton of Institutions

Racialization is the level to which the public and elite language used to describe an institution and its actions evoke race and thus make relevant and highlight debates around racial inequality or racial resentments.

These Words Are Disappearing in the New Trump Administration

By Karen Yourish, Annie Daniel, Saurabh Datar, Isaac White and Lazaro Gamio March 7, 2017



As President Trump seeks to purge the federal government of “woke” initiatives, agencies have flagged hundreds of words to limit or avoid, according to a compilation of government documents.

accessible	discriminated	inclusive	privilege
activism	discrimination	inclusive leadership	privileges
activists	discriminatory	inclusiveness	promote diversity
advocacy	disparity	inclusivity	promoting diversity
advocate	diverse	increase diversity	pronoun
advocates	diverse backgrounds	increase the diversity	pronouns
affirming care	diverse communities	indigenous community	prostitute
all-inclusive	diverse community	inequalities	race
allyship	diverse group	inequality	race and ethnicity
anti-racism	diverse groups	inequitable	racial
antiracist	diversified	inequities	racial diversity
assigned at birth	diversity	inequity	racial identity
assigned female at birth	diversifying	injustice	racial inequality
assigned male at birth	diversity	institutional	racial justice
at risk	enhance the diversity	intersectional	racially
barrier	enhancing diversity	intersectionality	racism
barriers	environmental quality	key groups	segregation
belong	equal opportunity	key people	sense of belonging
bias	equality	key populations	sex
biased	equitable	Latinx	sexual preferences
biased toward	equitableness	LGBT	sexuality
biases	equity	LGBTQ	social justice
biases towards	ethnicity	marginalize	sociocultural
biologically female	excluded	marginalized	socioeconomic
biologically male	exclusion	men who have sex with	status
BIPOC	expression	men	stereotype
Black	female	mental health	stereotypes
breastfeed + people	females	minorities	systemic
breastfeed + person	feminism	minority	systemically
chestfeed + people	fostering inclusivity	most risk	they/them
chestfeed + person	GBV	MSM	trans
clean energy	gender	multicultural	transgender
climate crisis	gender based	Mx	transsexual
climate science	gender based violence	Native American	trauma
commercial sex worker	gender diversity	non-binary	tribal
community diversity	gender identity	nonbinary	unconscious bias
community equity	gender ideology	oppression	underappreciated
confirmation bias	gender-affirming care	oppressive	underprivileged
cultural competence	genders	orientation	underrepresentation
cultural differences	Gulf of Mexico	people + uterus	underrepresented
cultural heritage	hate speech	people-centered care	underserved
cultural sensitivity	health disparity	person-centered	undervalued
culturally appropriate	health equity	person-centered care	victim
culturally responsive	hispanic minority	polarization	victims
DEI	historically	political	vulnerable populations
DEIA	identity	pollution	women
DEIAB	immigrants	pregnant people	women and
DEIJ	implicit bias	pregnant person	underrepresented
disabilities	implicit biases	pregnant persons	
disability	inclusion	prejudice	

Research Questions

- Which agencies are more racialized than others?
 - How has that changed over time?
 - How does that vary across different contexts?
 - e.g. draft and final rules, media coverage, and advocacy reports
- How do perceptions of racialization vary between agencies perceived as conservative versus liberal?

Perceived Ideology

- Perceived liberal-conservative leaning via expert surveys, appointments, donations, and voting patterns
- Our study brings race to the forefront in understanding how agencies are perceived

(Clinton and Lewis (2008); Richardson et al. (2019);
Richardson et al. (2024); Epstein (1999); Nixon (2004);
Chen and Johnson (2014); Maranto (2005); Maranto and
Hult (2004); Bertelli and Grose (2011))

Historical Institutional Racialization

- Racialized history shapes perceptions of agencies
- We introduce a quantitative measure of racialized institutions, building on rich qualitative research in ADP and REP

(King, 1999; Choi and Rainey, 2010; Schickler, 2016;
Tate, 2003; White and Laird, 2020; Mansbridge, 1999;
Watkins-Hayes, 2009; Minta, 2009; Juenke and Preuhs,
2012; Hayes and Hibbing, 2017)

Race & Policy Framing

- Racial attitudes & framing affect policy preferences
- Our work bridges public opinion research with institutional behavior, elite decision-making, and policy outcomes.

(Gilens, 1999; Kellstedt, 2003; Hutchings & Valentino, 2004; Bartels, 2020; Stephens-Dougan, L., 2020; O'Brian, 2024)

Data

- Mandate for Leadership (Project 2025)
 - 128 agencies, 18,826 sentences, 4,606 racialized terms
- New York Times
 - 22 agencies, 131,948 articles, 9,703 racialized
- Rulemaking Documents
 - 226 agencies, 110,313 rules, 23,083 racialized
- Perceived Agency Ideology (Richardson et al., 2019)

NYT Articles with “Racial” 2005-2024

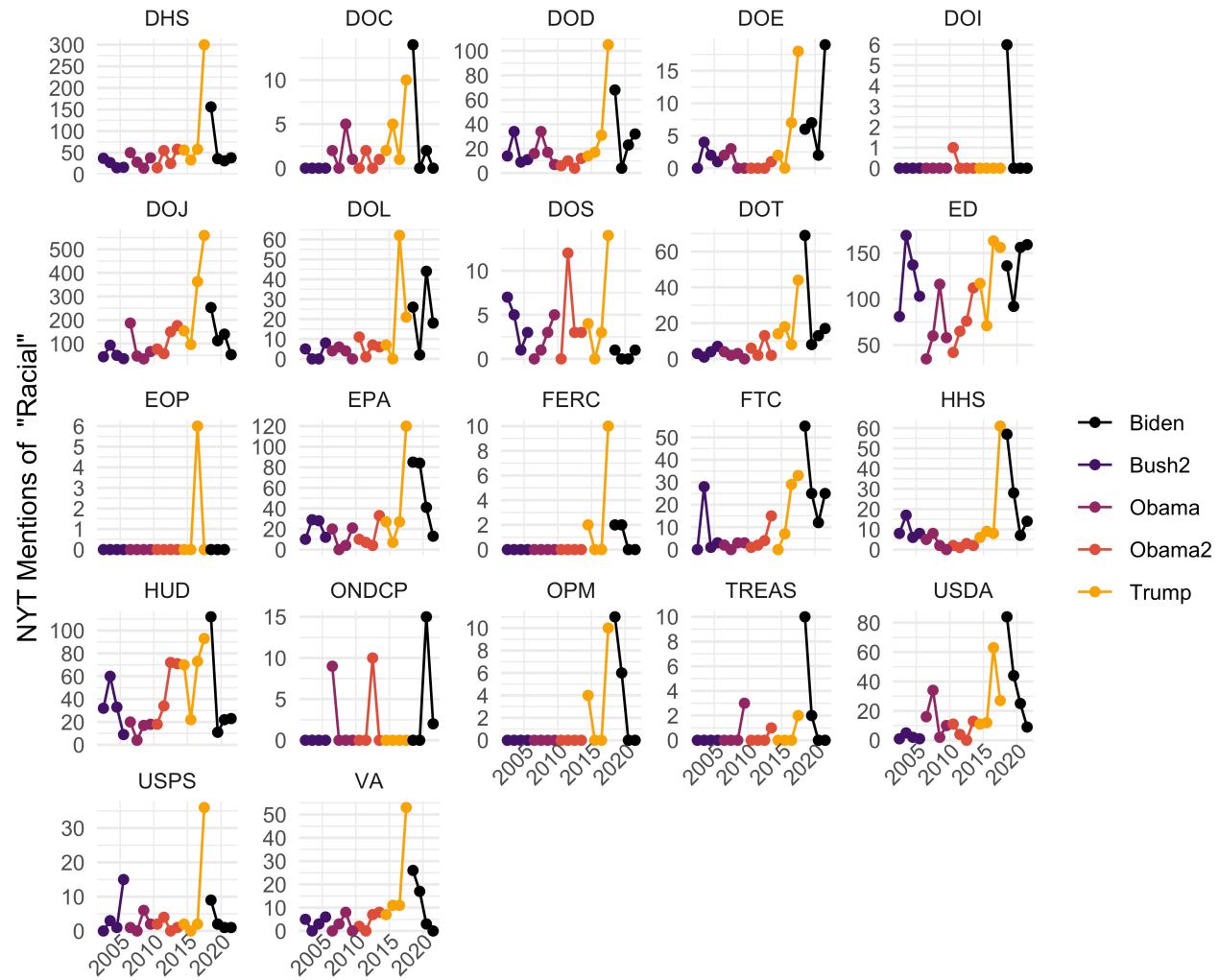


Figure 1: New York Times Articles Mentioning “Racial” By Agency, 2005-2024

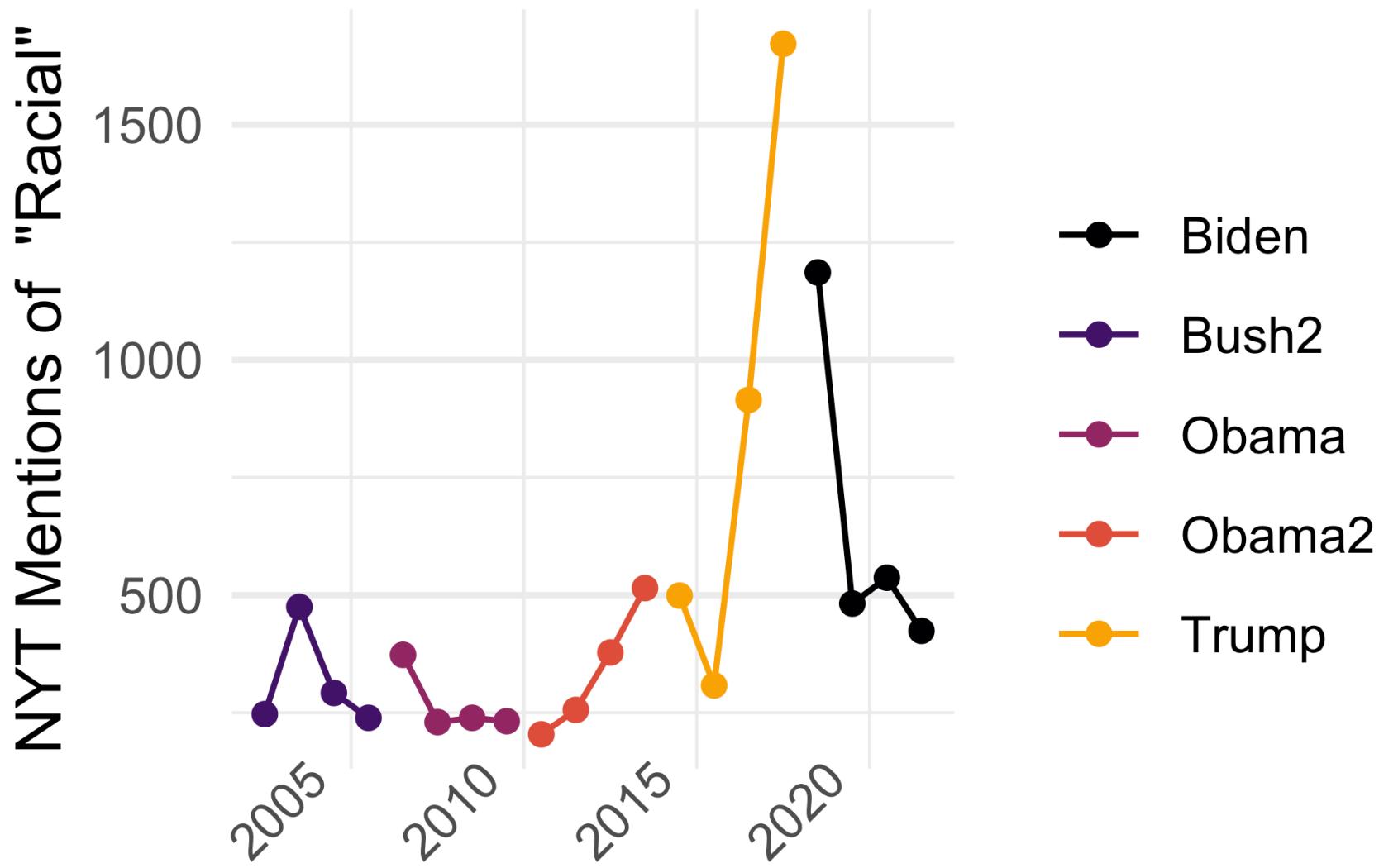


Figure 2: New York Times Total Articles Mentioning “Racial,” 2005-2024

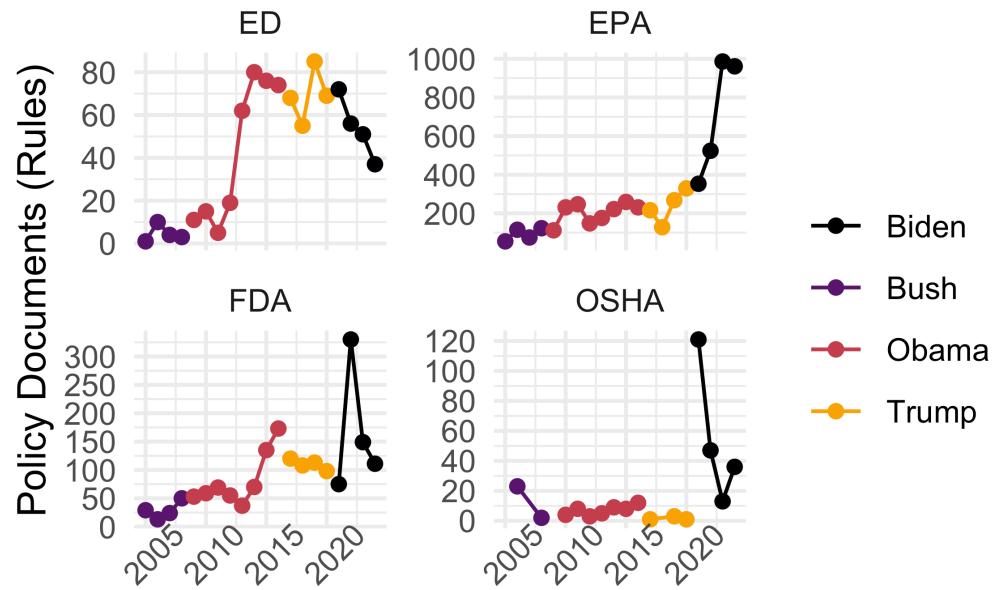
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Draft and Final Rules

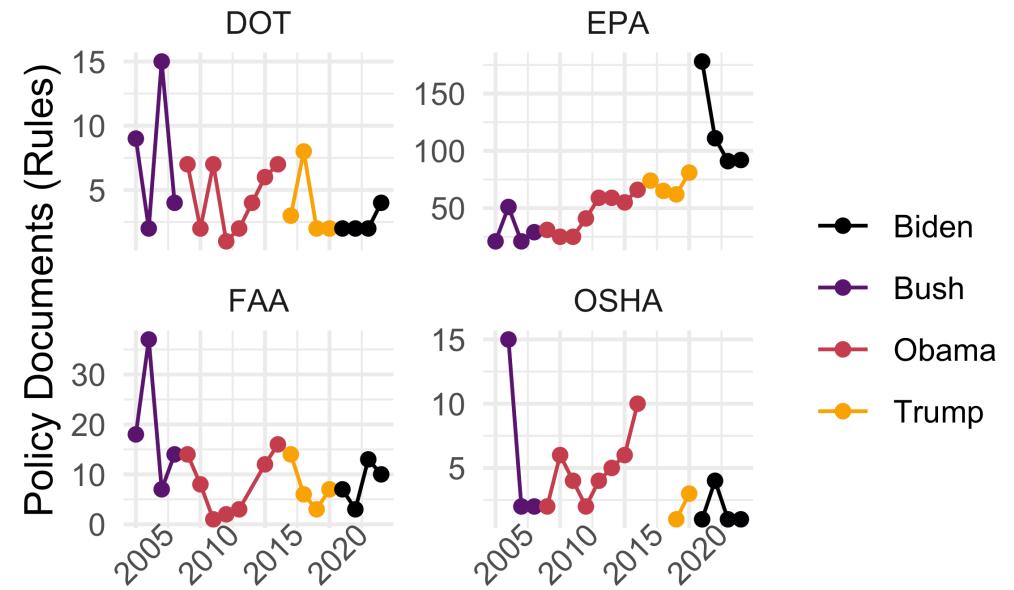
Affirmative Action; African American; alien; Antiracist; Arab American; Asian American; Black american; Colorblindness; Critical Race Theory; D.E.I.; DACA; Diversity equity; Diversity, equity; Drug Cartel; Black men; Black woman; Black women; Border Crisis; Equity; Ethnicity; Gang; Hispanic; Unaccompanied Alien Children; underserved; Undocumented; White Privilege; Illegal Alien; Immigrant; Immigration; Intersectional; latina; latino; MENA; Meritocracy; Mexican Cartel; Multicultural; Muslim; racial; Racial inequities; Racial injustices; Racial Justice; Racism; Racist; Secure Border; Secure the border; Slavery;

Agency Rules, 2005-2024

Policies with "Racial"



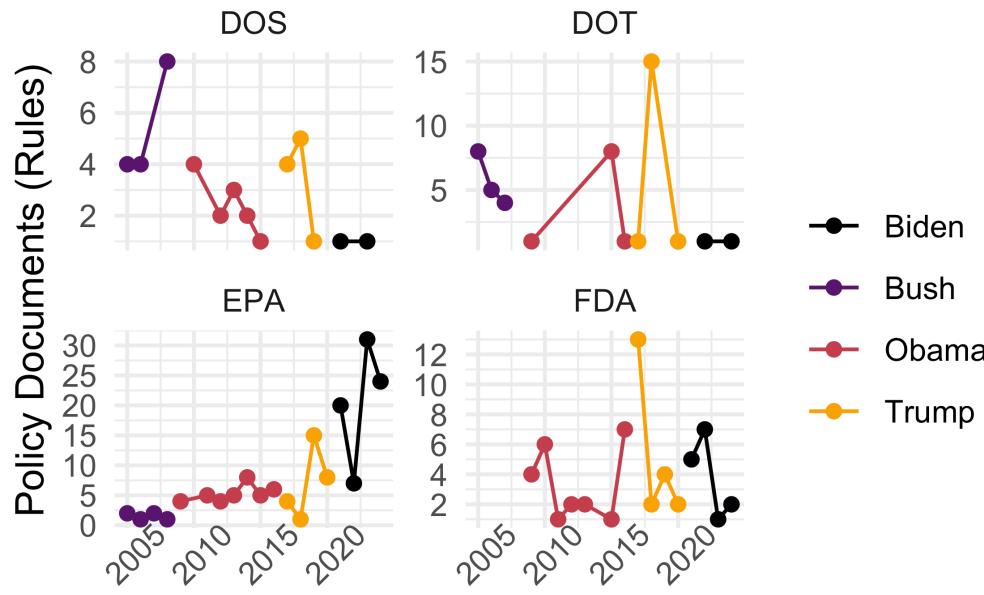
Policies with "Affirmative Action"



(a)

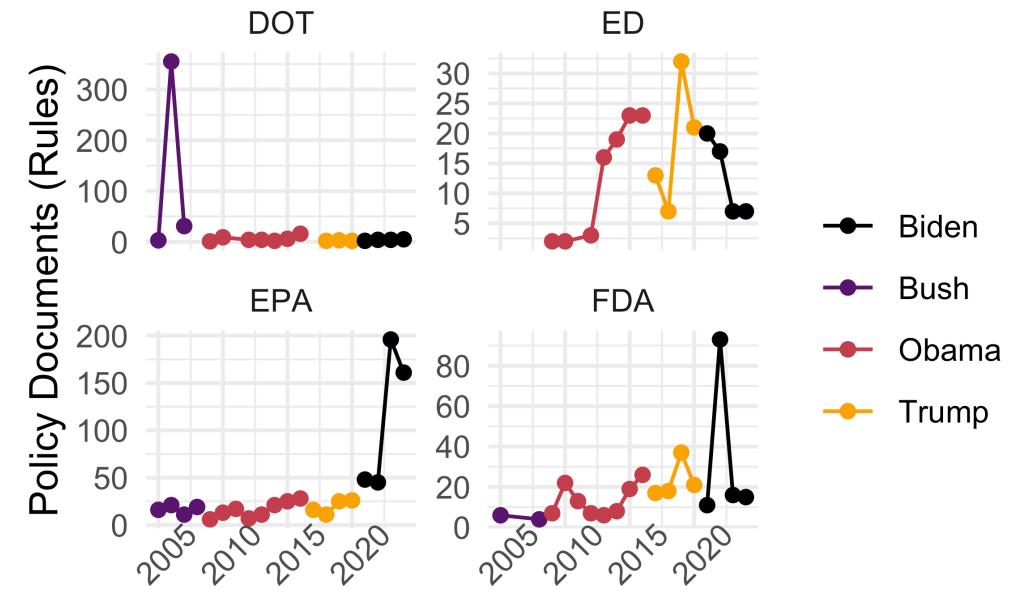
(b)

Policies with "Muslim"



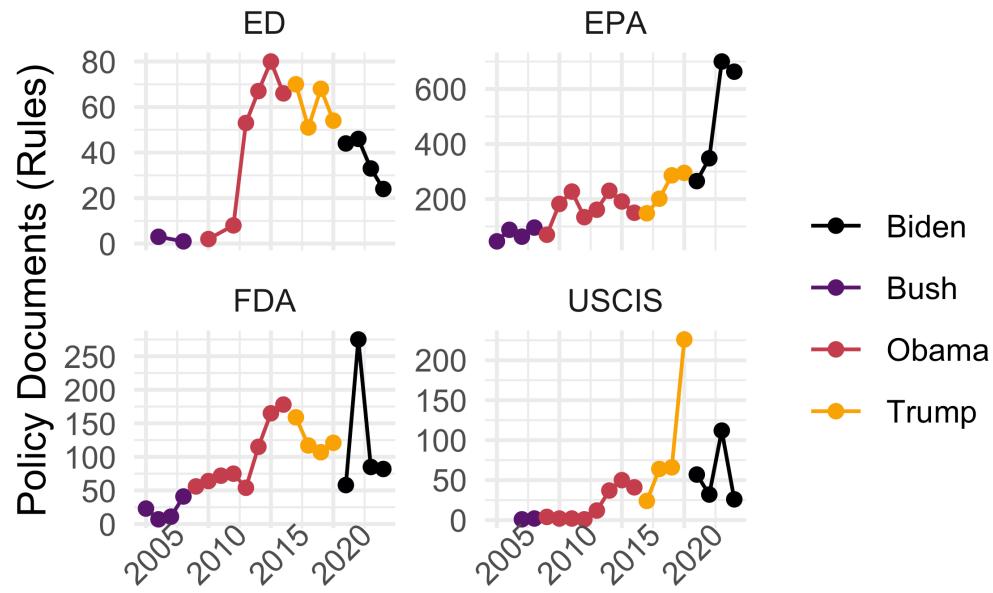
(c)

Policies with "Asian American"



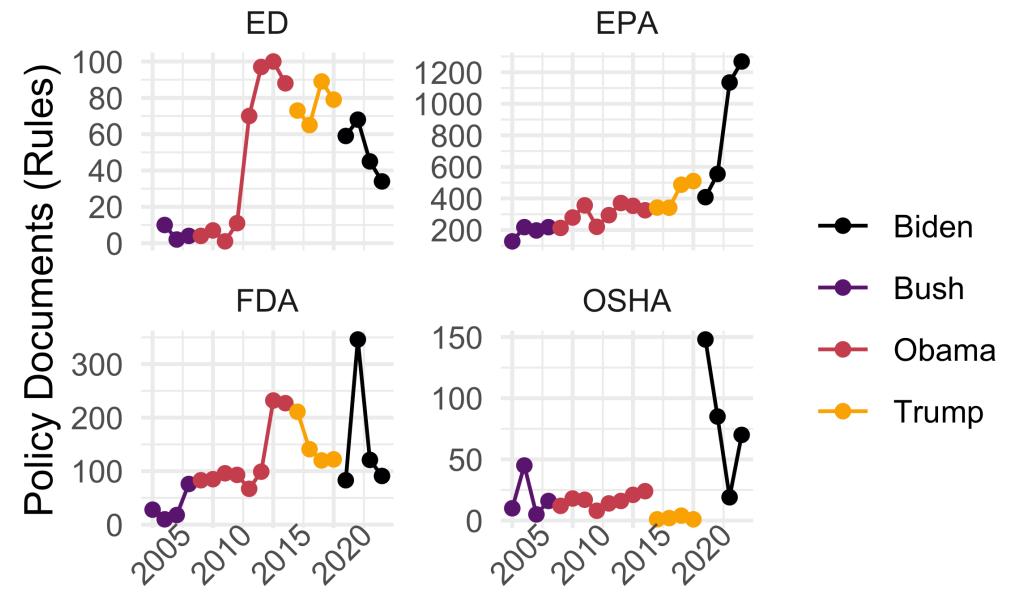
(d)

Policies with "African American"



(e)

Policies with "Hispanic"



(f)

Figure 3: Agency Rules with Racialized Language, by Agency, 2005-2024

Agency Rules, 2005-2024

Policies with Racialized Terms

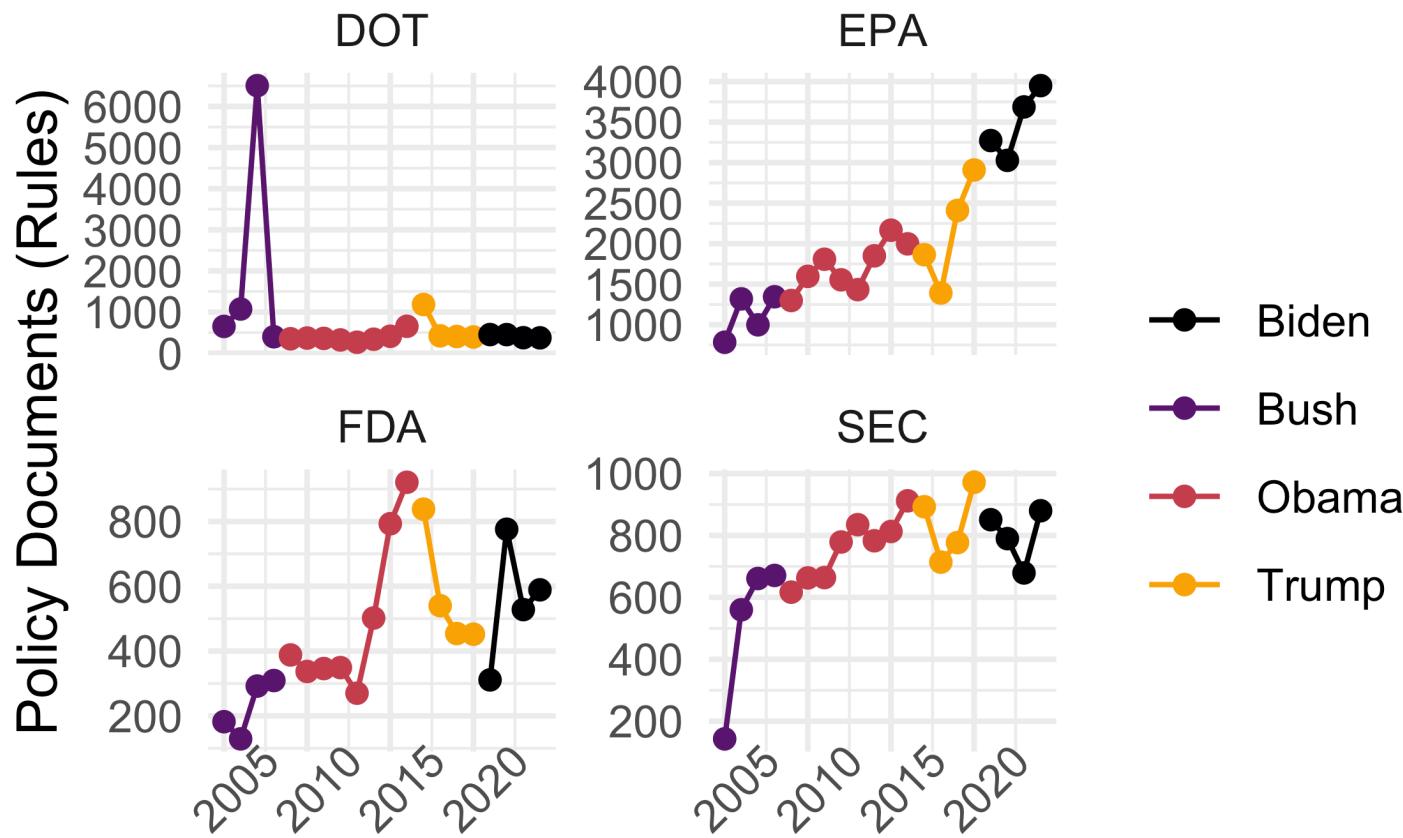


Figure 4: Agency Rules with Racialized Language, 2005-2024

Mandate For Leadership Reports

Race; Racial; Racism; Discrimination; Discriminate; Slavery; Ethnicity; Diversity; DEI; Equity; Equality; Inclusion; Citizen; Citizenship; DACA; Immigrants; Immigration; Illegal; Civil Rights; Affirmative Action; Head Start; African American; Black; Latino; Hispanic; Muslim; Asian; Color; Racist; Bureau of Indian; native; woke; wokeism; Illegal Alien; Cartel

Comparing across contexts

For each source, we have two counts: r_i (the **count of racialized documents/articles/sentences about agency i**) and y_i (the **total document/article/sentence about agency i**).

$$\text{Percent Racialized } x_i = \frac{\sqrt{r_i}}{\sqrt{y_i}} \text{ (variance stabilized)}$$

$$\text{Racialization Score } z_i = \frac{x_i - \bar{x}}{sd(x)} \text{ (standardized, mean 0, standard deviation 1)}$$

Racialized Attention as a Share of Total

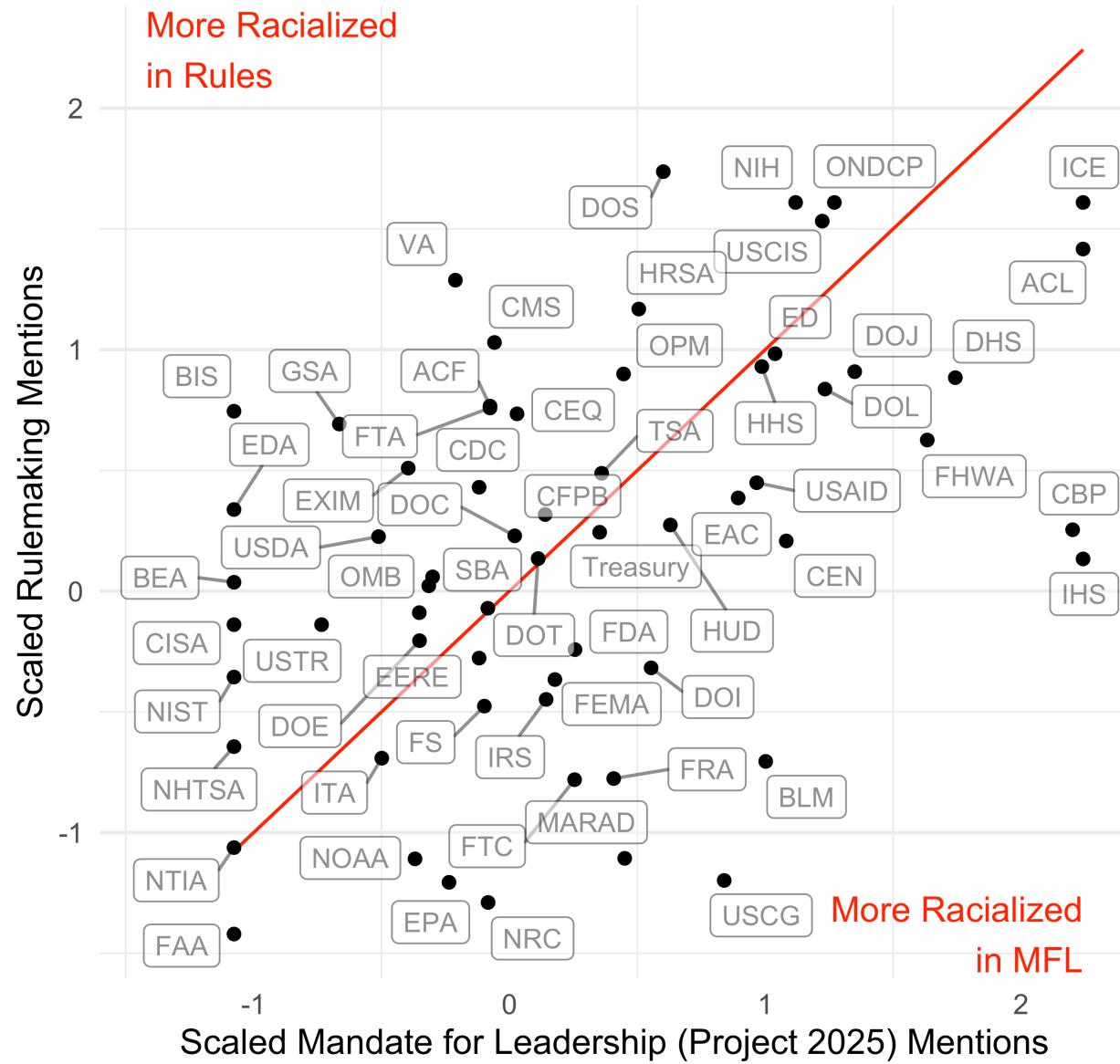


Figure 5: Racialization in Rulemaking vs. Project 2025

Racialized Attention as a Share of Total

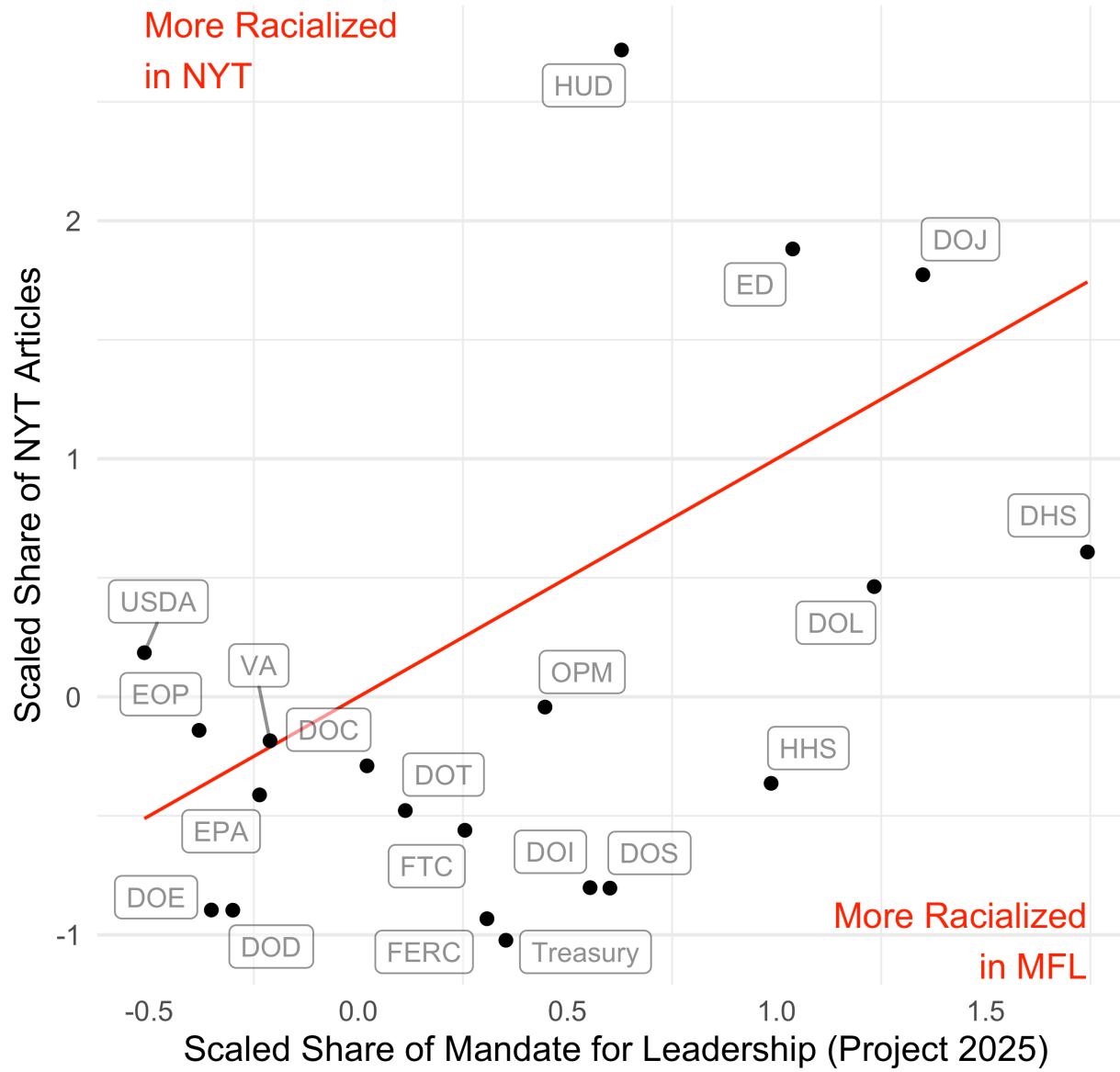


Figure 6: Racialization in Project 2025 vs. New York Times

Racialized Attention as a Share of Total

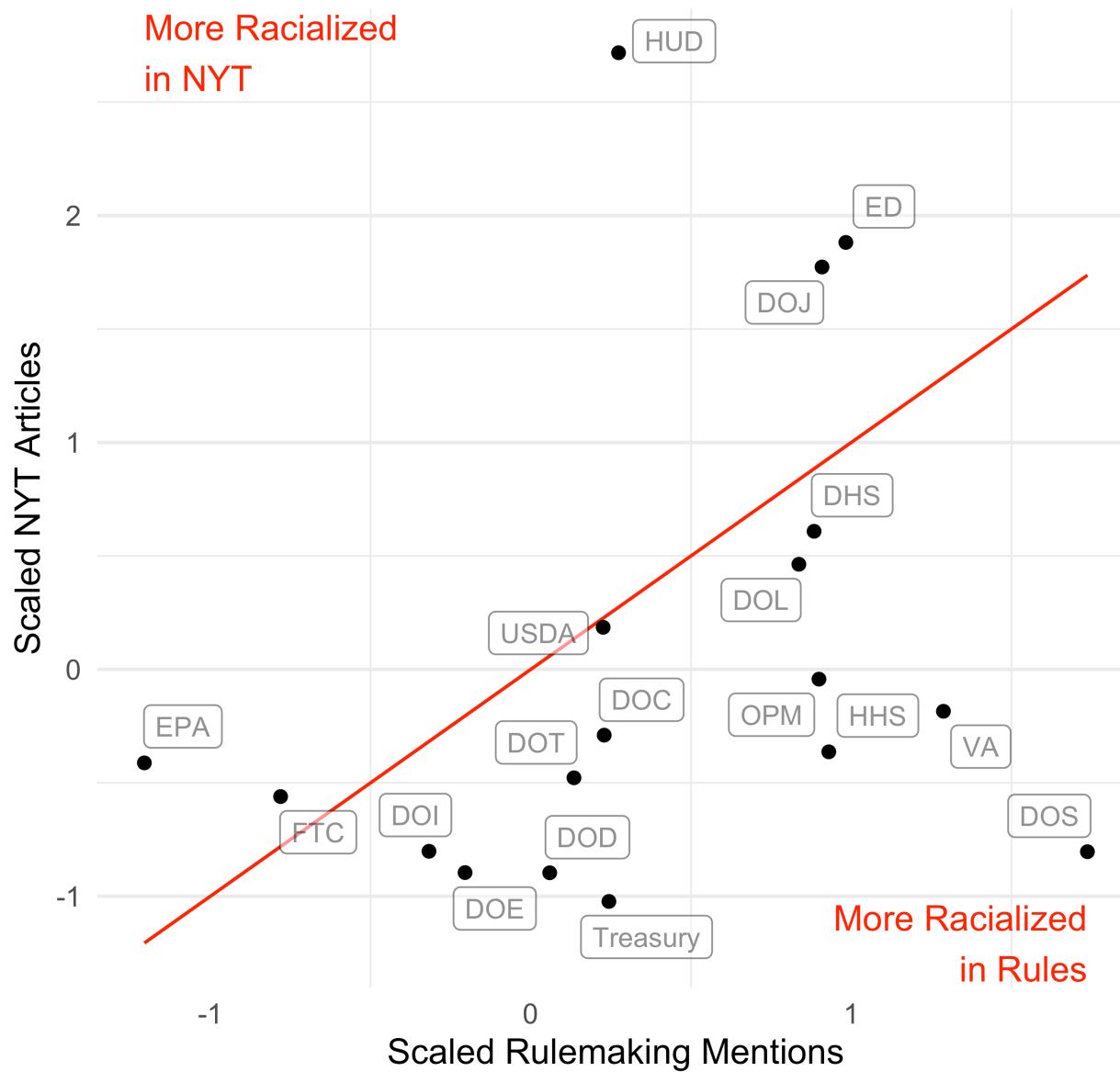


Figure 7: Racialization in Rulemaking vs. New York Times

Racialization and Perceived Ideology

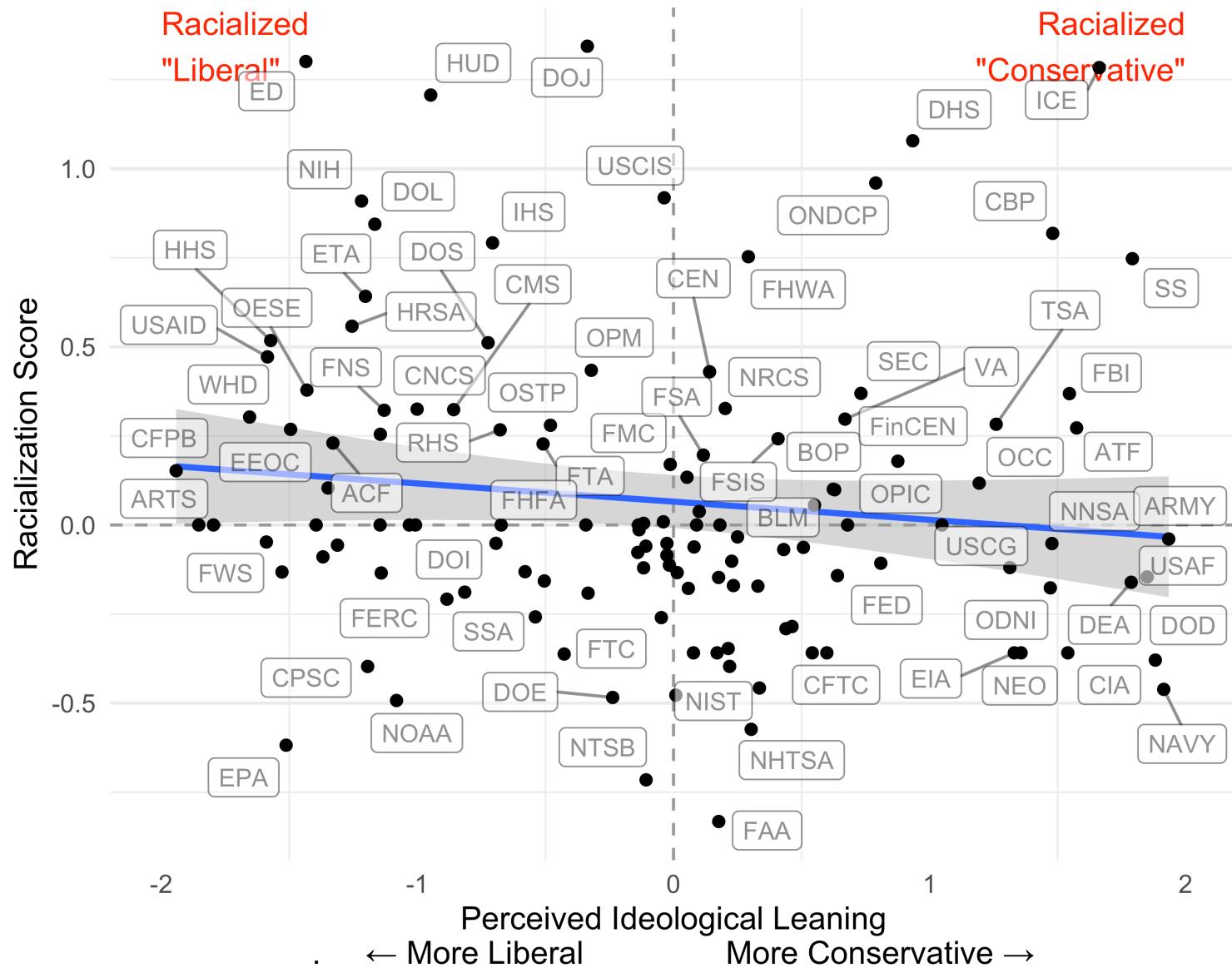


Figure 8: Correlation Between Racialization and Perceived Ideology

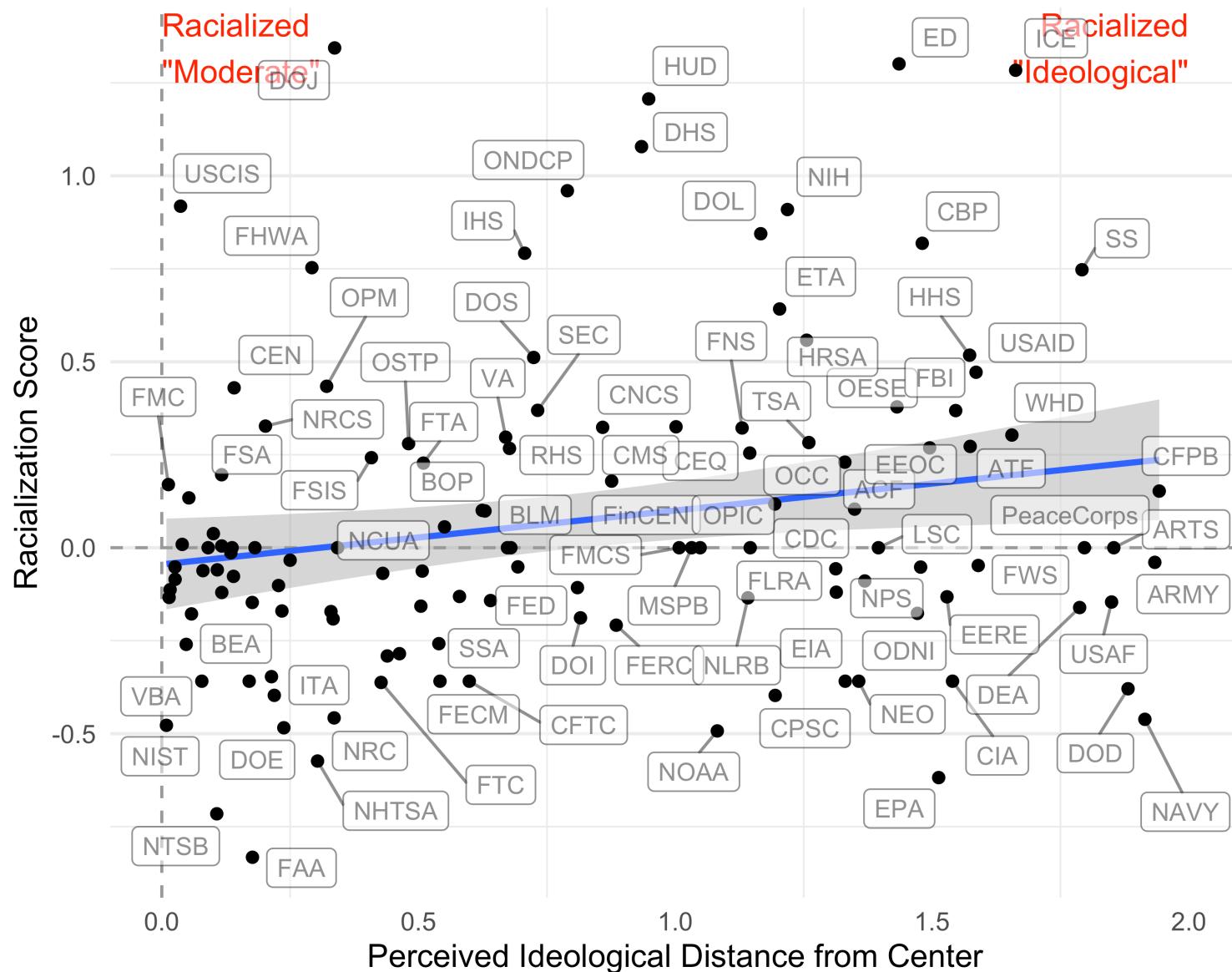


Figure 9: Correlation Between Racialization and Perceived Ideology

Next Steps

- Dynamic Racialization Scores
- Economic Redistribution
- Compare with Other Agency Characteristics (e.g campaign donations)

Key Takeaways

- Racialization varies over time, despite stable core missions
- Racialization is tied to perceived ideological extremism
 - perceived “centrist” agencies received less racialized attention.

Feedback

- How can we make these measures useful?
- Contact: kmagana@umich.edu | judgelor@umich.edu

Extra

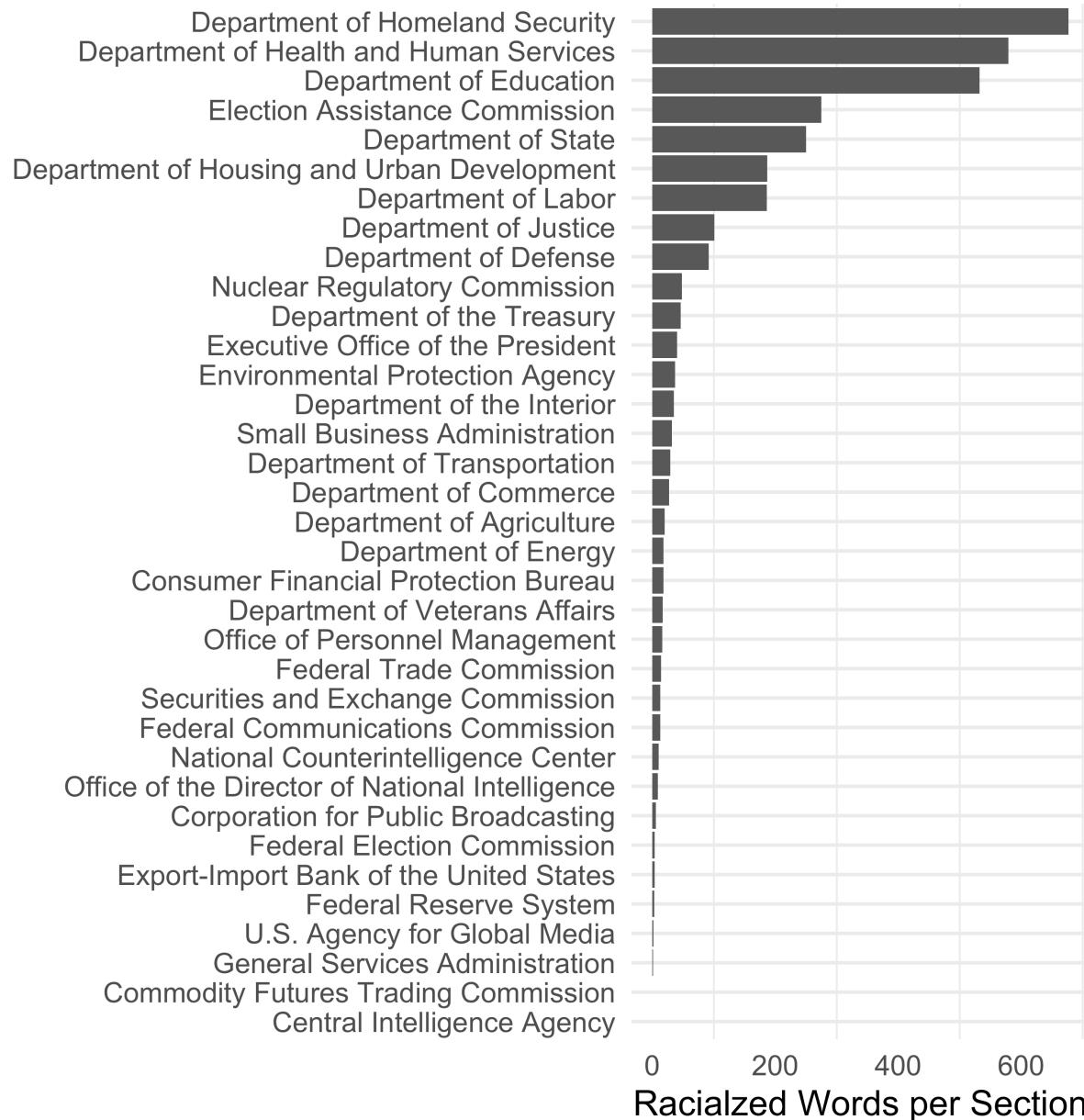


Figure 10: Distribution of Racialized Words in Mandate For Leadership (Project 2025)

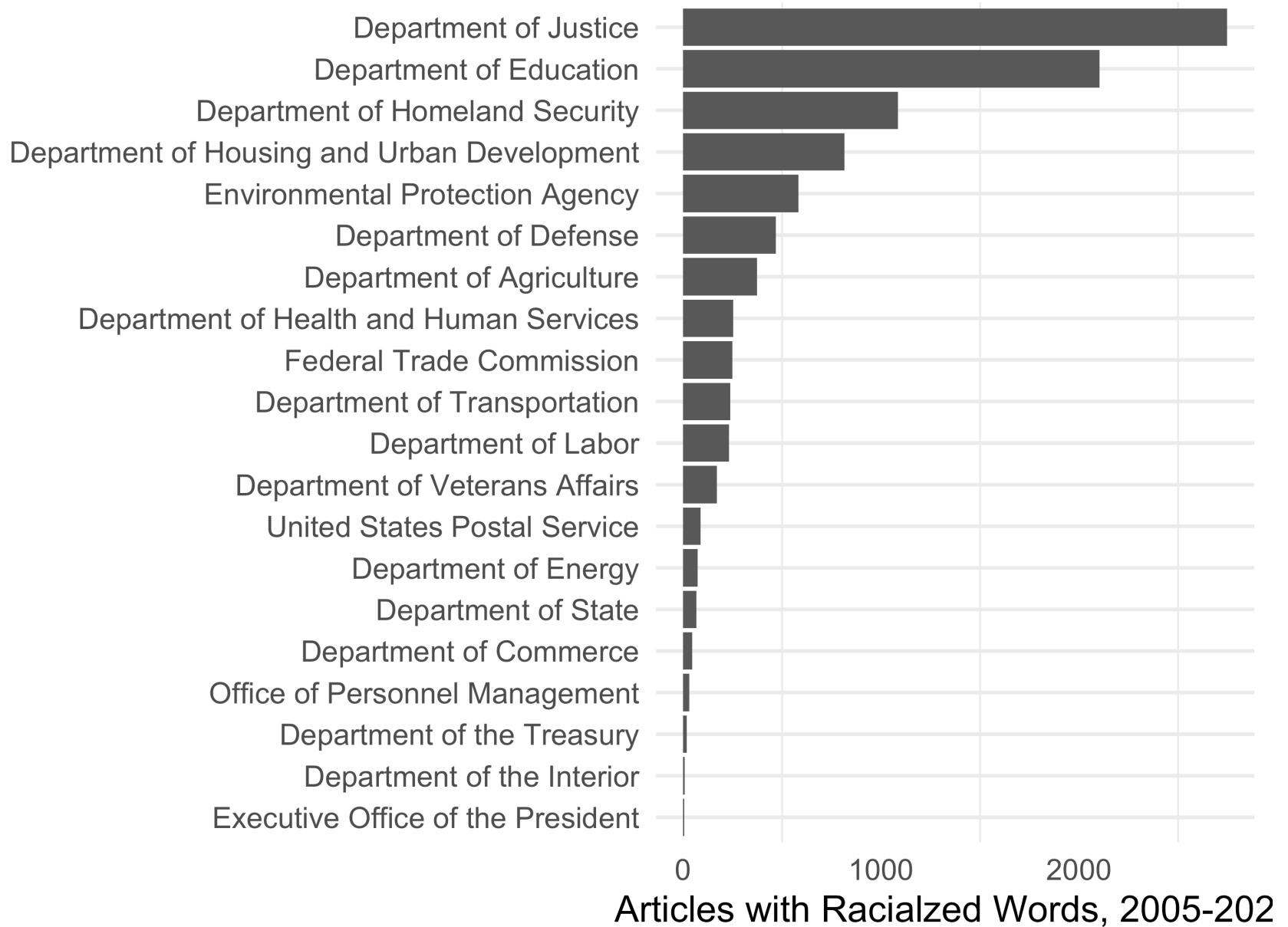


Figure 11: Distribution of Racialized Words in New York Times Articles, 2005-2024

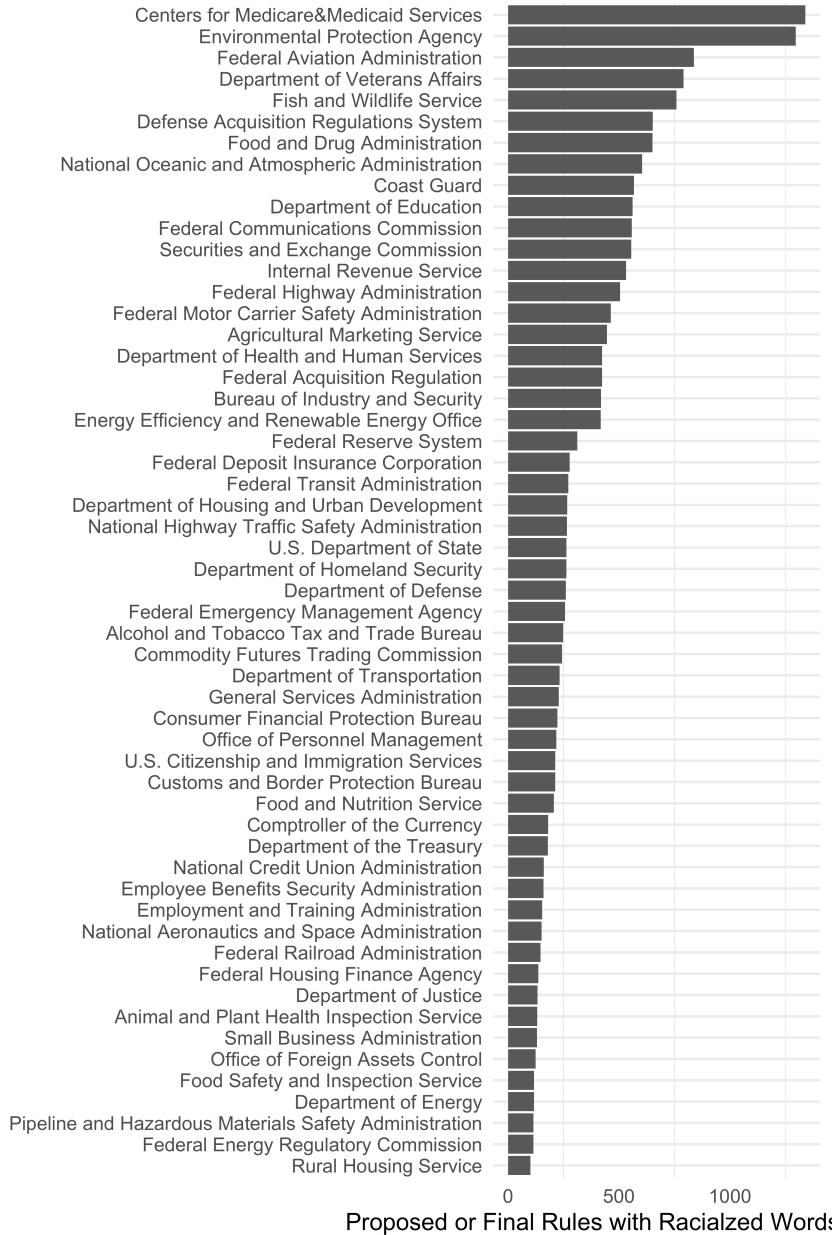
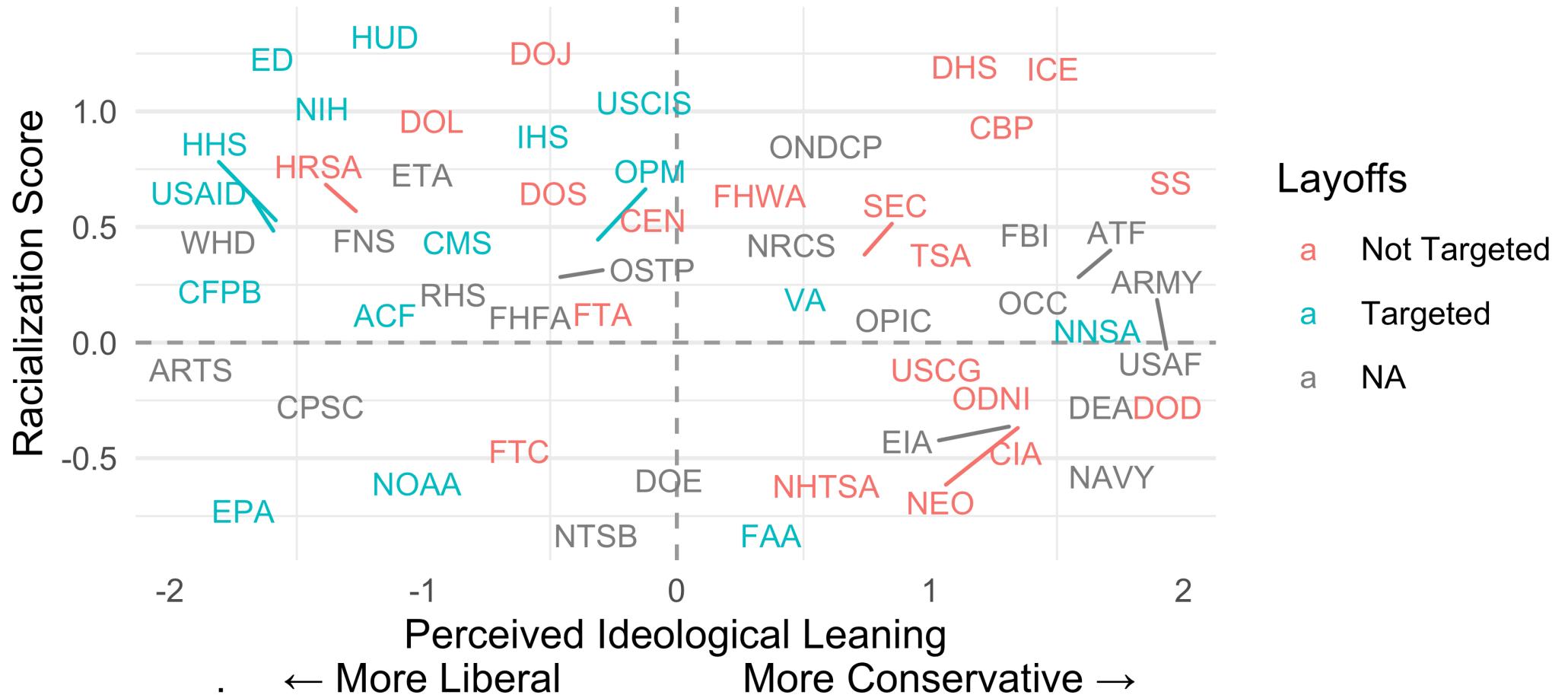
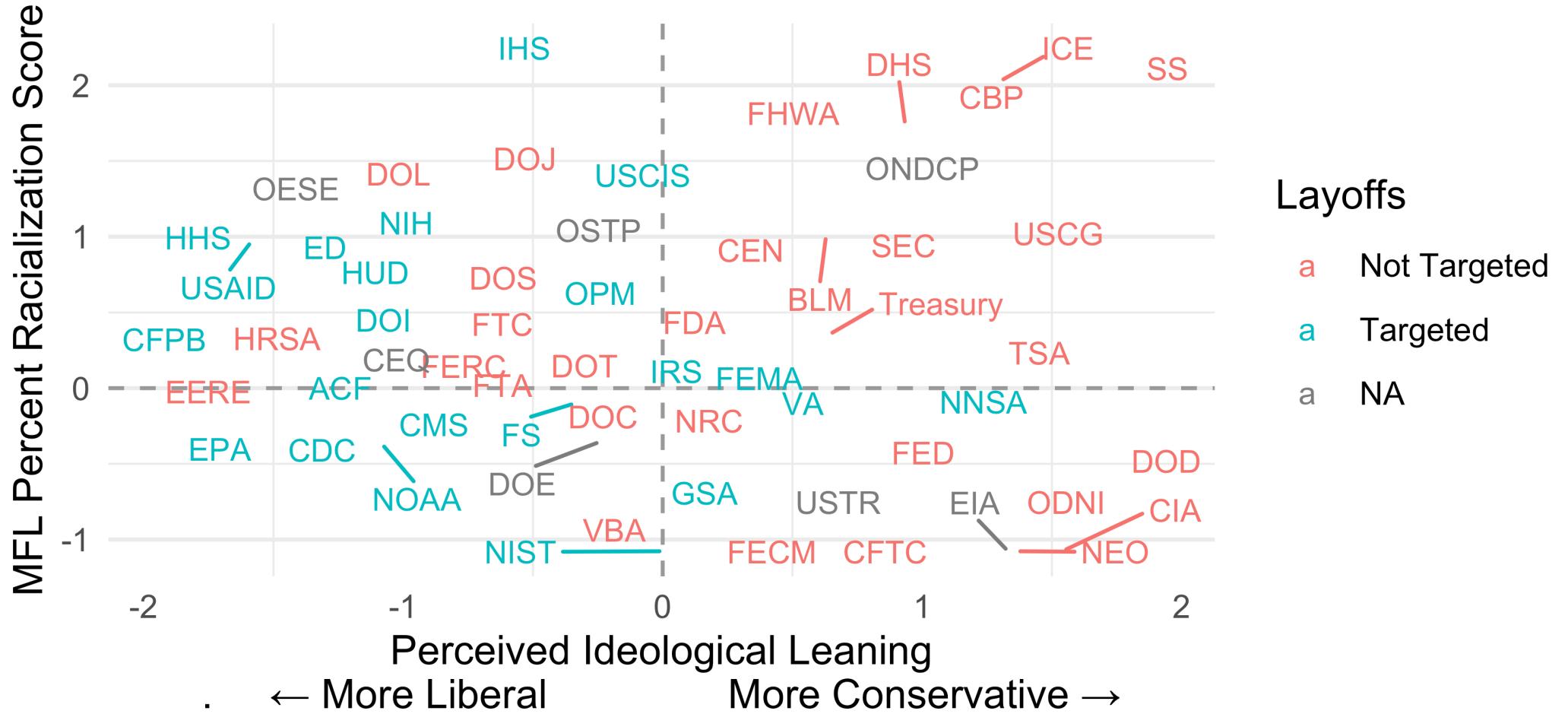


Figure 12: Distribution of Racialized Words in Proposed and Final Rules, 2005-2024

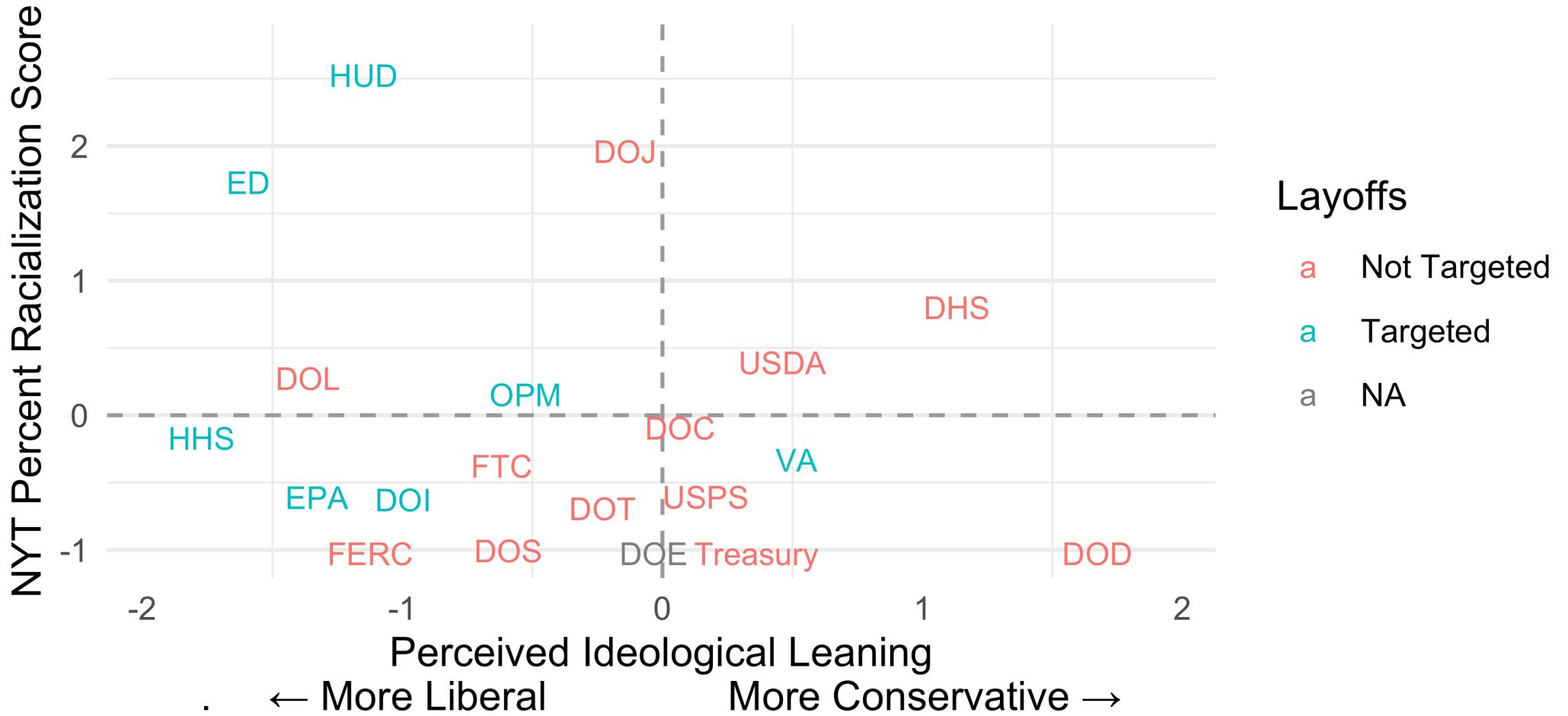
Racialization & DOGE Layoffs



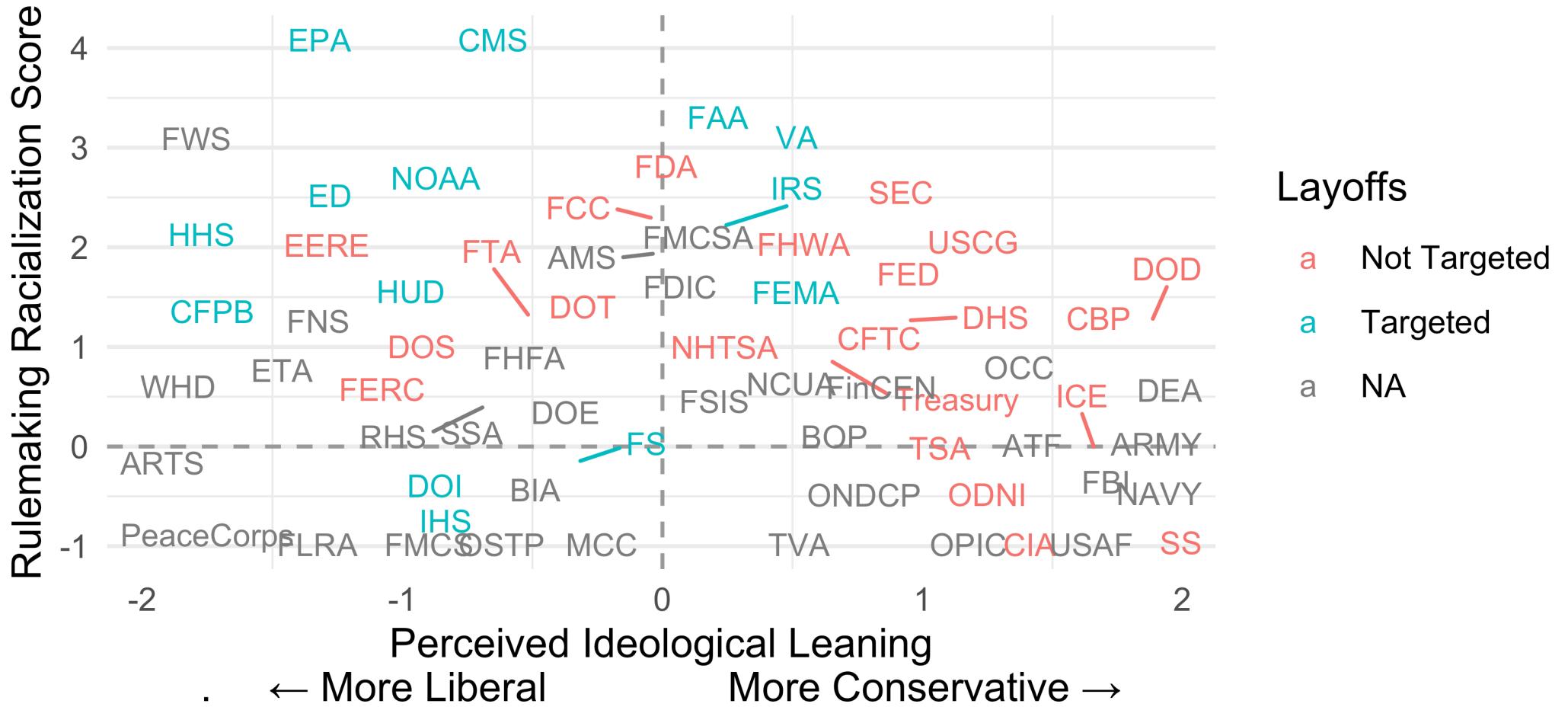
Project 2025 & DOGE Layoffs



NYT & DOGE Layoffs



Rulemaking Racialization & Layoffs



Layoff Predictions

