

Transparency plans balance academia amid budget cuts

Kweku A. Opoku-Agyemang*

Preanalysis plans foster trust and pluralism amid polarization and fiscal constraints.

Abstract

Recent debates over ideological bias in academic hiring and teaching, amplified by financial pressures on institutions like the NIH and NSF, underscore the need for transparent, evidence-based approaches in higher education. We propose adapting pre-analysis plans (PAPs) or transparency plans—a tool widely used in STEM and the social sciences—to guide course design, faculty job advertisements, and university administration. By pre-specifying objectives, methods, and content, PAPs could reduce perceived biases, as seen in critiques of politically charged academic positions (e.g., global political economy roles). This framework could foster pluralism and accountability, particularly as universities navigate budget cuts. We explore its feasibility and policy implications for maintaining scientific integrity in a polarized academic landscape.

*Date: March 17, 2025. Development Economics X. Email: kweku@developmenteconomicsx.com. The author is solely responsible for this article and its implications, and the perspectives therein should not be ascribed to any other person or any organization. ©Copyright 2025 Development Economics X Corporation. All rights reserved.

Contents

| | | |
|----|---|----|
| 1 | Introduction | 3 |
| 2 | Evidence of Ideological Bias in Academic Hiring, Teaching, and Administration | 4 |
| 3 | Exploring Pre-Analysis Plans—From Research to University Contexts | 6 |
| 4 | Understanding the TAP Framework—From Research to University Contexts | 6 |
| 5 | Stylized Examples of the TAP Framework in University Contexts | 7 |
| 6 | Feasibility and Challenges of Implementing Pre-Analysis Plans in Universities | 8 |
| 7 | Policy Implications for Universities, Funding Agencies, and Policymakers—Fostering Pluralism and Accountability | 9 |
| 8 | Conclusion | 10 |
| 9 | References | 11 |
| 10 | Figure 1 | 13 |

1 Introduction

The academic enterprise, a cornerstone of scientific progress and societal understanding, faces mounting scrutiny over perceived ideological biases that threaten its integrity and public trust. Recent controversies, such as the viral critique of a university job advertisement for a Lecturer/Senior Lecturer in Global Political Economy—questioning its focus on capitalism’s role in inequality and ecological unsustainability—highlight a growing polarization in higher education [1]. This polarization is exacerbated by financial pressures, with recent budget cuts to major research funders like the National Institutes of Health (NIH), and the National Science Foundation (NSF) straining university resources and amplifying debates over institutional priorities [10]. Simultaneously, evidence from social science research underscores the prevalence of implicit biases in academic hiring, curriculum design, and teaching, potentially skewing outcomes and alienating diverse stakeholders [7, 8, 9].

These tensions are not isolated but reflect broader societal shifts, as public and political discourse increasingly challenges universities’ roles as neutral arbiters of knowledge. Online platforms amplify these debates, with responses to the university ad ranging from accusations of Marxist leanings to defenses of critical inquiry, revealing a divide over what constitutes legitimate academic focus [1]. Meanwhile, financial instability—driven by federal funding reductions and hiring freezes—compels institutions to reevaluate resource allocation, potentially prioritizing certain ideological or administrative agendas over others, as seen in the web results on university budget constraints [10]. This confluence of ideological and fiscal pressures risks eroding trust in academia, particularly as students and taxpayers demand greater accountability and pluralism.

Pre-analysis plans (PAPs)—a rigorous tool established in STEM and quantitative social sciences to enhance research transparency—offer a promising, yet underexplored, solution for addressing bias not only in research but also in teaching, faculty recruitment, and broader administrative practices. This article explores the potential of PAPs to mitigate ideological bias in academia, examines the feasibility of their adaptation amid financial constraints, and considers their policy implications for maintaining scientific integrity in an increasingly polarized and contested landscape.

This article proceeds as follows: First, we examine the evidence of ideological bias in academic hiring and teaching, drawing on recent controversies like the University of Manchester job adver-

tisement and broader trends in higher education funding and public perception. Second, we explore the concept of pre-analysis plans (PAPs), their established role in STEM and quantitative social sciences, and their potential adaptation to mitigate bias in teaching, faculty recruitment, and university administration. Third, we analyze the feasibility and challenges of implementing PAPs, including financial, cultural, and operational barriers, particularly under current budget constraints. Finally, we discuss the policy implications of this approach for fostering pluralism and accountability in academia, offering recommendations for universities, funding agencies, and policymakers to maintain scientific integrity amid polarization and fiscal uncertainty.

2 Evidence of Ideological Bias in Academic Hiring, Teaching, and Administration

The academic hiring process, a critical gateway for shaping university culture, exhibits patterns of ideological skew that merit careful, constructive examination. In the United States, faculty political leanings are disproportionately liberal, with over 60% identifying as such, according to surveys like The Chronicle’s faculty survey [5, 6]. This imbalance is not necessarily the result of deliberate collusion but may reflect psychological and structural dynamics, such as path dependence, where hiring decisions over decades reinforce existing ideological norms. As new faculty are often recruited by current faculty who share similar perspectives, a self-reinforcing cycle emerges, inadvertently prioritizing certain viewpoints—such as those critical of capitalism, as seen in the University of Manchester’s job ad for a Lecturer/Senior Lecturer in Global Political Economy [1]. This ad, which emphasized questions about capitalism’s role in inequality and ecological unsustainability, sparked online debate on X, with critics suggesting it reflected an ideological agenda, while others defended its alignment with legitimate academic inquiry.

University administration, tasked with shaping institutional policies and resource allocation, is not immune to these biases. Administrative decisions—such as curriculum oversight, diversity initiatives, and budget prioritization—may reflect the same psychological tendencies toward path dependence and cognitive homophily identified in faculty practices. For instance, administrators, often drawn from academic ranks with liberal leanings, might unintentionally prioritize programs

or policies aligned with critical social theories, as suggested by critiques of university-wide sustainability mandates [8]. Web-based reports, like those from the American Council of Trustees and Alumni (ACTA), note that administrative priorities can amplify faculty biases, particularly under financial strain, where budget cuts (e.g., NIH, NSF reductions) may lead to selective resource allocation favoring certain ideological agendas [13]. This is not indicative of collusion but rather a natural inclination toward familiar frameworks, compounded by pressures to signal social relevance. Understanding these dynamics as psychological biases, rather than conspiracies, offers a constructive path forward, encouraging universities to examine hiring and administrative practices through a lens of transparency and inclusivity, particularly as public scrutiny grows.

Ideological bias also permeates teaching, where curriculum design and classroom dynamics may unintentionally reflect faculty leanings, shaped by psychological tendencies like path dependence and cognitive homophily. Surveys, such as those by the Heterodox Academy, indicate that many courses in the humanities and social sciences, including global political economy, emphasize critical perspectives on capitalism, as seen in the University of Manchester job ad critiqued on X [1, 7]. This is not necessarily deliberate but may stem from the predominance of certain academic training, inadvertently limiting exposure to diverse viewpoints. Web-based evidence, like the Inside Higher Ed reports, suggests that such patterns can alienate students, contributing to a 5% year-over-year decline in U.S. college enrollment for 18-year-olds, driven by affordability concerns and perceptions of ideological uniformity [8, 11].

This enrollment drop, coupled with public skepticism, risks academic prestige, as surveys (e.g., Gallup) show declining trust in universities' neutrality, particularly amid financial pressures like NIH and NSF cuts [10, 12]. Framing these trends as psychological biases—rather than intentional bias—offers a constructive lens, encouraging universities to foster pluralistic teaching and rebuild trust.

3 Exploring Pre-Analysis Plans—From Research to University Contexts

Pre-analysis plans (PAPs) in research, particularly in STEM and quantitative social sciences, pre-specify hypotheses, methods, and analyses before data collection to enhance transparency, reduce bias, and ensure reproducibility [2, 3]. By committing to a public, time-stamped plan, researchers mitigate p-hacking and post-hoc adjustments, as seen in randomized controlled trials (RCTs) registered with platforms like AEA and EGAP [3, 15]. These disciplines, including economics and political science, now routinely use PAPs to enhance credibility, as evidenced by their integration into major funding requirements (e.g., NIH, NSF guidelines) and peer-reviewed publications [4]. Far from controversial, PAPs are a non-negotiable norm in these fields, supported by decades of methodological advancements and empirical validation, as seen in web resources like BITSS and Poverty Action Lab [2, 15]. Their success lies in fostering objectivity, reducing researcher degrees of freedom, and building trust in findings—principles that resonate across scientific inquiry.

Extending PAPs to university contexts—hiring, teaching, and administration—naturally leverages this framework through the Transparency, Accountability, Pluralism (TAP) model. In hiring, PAPs could predefine job criteria to ensure diverse ideological representation, countering critiques like those of the Manchester ad [1]. In teaching, PAPs would outline course objectives and content to balance perspectives, addressing bias perceptions amid declining trust [7]. In administration, PAPs could guide policy decisions, such as budget allocation, to align with institutional goals transparently, mitigating financial pressures [8, 10].

4 Understanding the TAP Framework—From Research to University Contexts

Pre-analysis plans (PAPs) in research, particularly in STEM and quantitative social sciences, pre-specify hypotheses, methods, and analyses before data collection to enhance transparency, reduce bias, and ensure reproducibility [2, 3]. By committing to a public, time-stamped plan, researchers mitigate p-hacking and post-hoc adjustments, as seen in randomized controlled trials (RCTs) regis-

tered with platforms like AEA and EGAP [3, 15]. This mature practice fosters trust and scientific integrity, a model ripe for adaptation.

Extending PAPs to university contexts—hiring, teaching, and administration—naturally leverages this framework through the Transparency, Accountability, Pluralism (TAP) model. In hiring, PAPs could predefine job criteria to ensure diverse ideological representation, countering critiques like those of the University of Manchester ad [1]. In teaching, PAPs would outline course objectives and content to balance perspectives, addressing bias perceptions amid declining trust [7]. In administration, PAPs could guide policy decisions, such as budget allocation, to align with institutional goals transparently, mitigating financial pressures [8, 10]. The TAP framework posits that PAPs enhance transparency by documenting processes, ensure accountability by tracking outcomes, and foster pluralism by requiring diverse inputs, offering a scalable solution for reducing psychological biases like path dependence.

Transparent reporting under TAP involves sharing PAPs with key stakeholders to ensure trust and pluralism. In teaching, stakeholders include students, faculty, administrators, parents, and accreditation bodies, who benefit from clear course objectives balancing diverse perspectives [7]. In hiring, faculty, job applicants, administrators, students, funding agencies, and the public gain from transparent job criteria, addressing critiques like those of the Manchester ad [1]. In administration, faculty, students, administrators, funding agencies, policymakers, communities, and trustees rely on PAPs for equitable policy decisions, countering bias amid financial pressures [8, 10, 13]. This stakeholder engagement enhances TAP’s effectiveness, ensuring PAPs mitigate deviations and foster accountability.

5 Stylized Examples of the TAP Framework in University Contexts

The Transparency, Accountability, Pluralism (TAP) framework, applied through pre-analysis plans (PAPs), offers practical solutions for university operations. For transparency, a PAP for a university’s global political economy job ad could publicly document preregistered criteria prioritizing diverse economic theories (e.g., classical, neoliberal) that are relevant, thus addressing possible critiques of

ideological bias.

In teaching, a PAP might pre-specify a syllabus balancing critical and mainstream perspectives, ensuring students see multiple views on capitalism’s role in inequality, enhancing trust amid enrollment declines [7]. For accountability, a hiring PAP could track candidate evaluations against predefined metrics, ensuring fairness, while a teaching PAP might require post-course reports on student feedback, linking outcomes to initial goals, as seen in STEM research practices [2].

In administration, a PAP for budget decisions could predefine allocation criteria, publicly reporting adherence to foster trust under financial pressures [8]. For pluralism, a hiring PAP might mandate diverse review panels, reflecting varied ideological backgrounds, countering path dependence. In teaching, a PAP could require guest lectures from differing perspectives, while an administrative PAP might incorporate stakeholder input (e.g., faculty, students) on policy design, ensuring inclusivity. These illustrations highlight TAP’s scalability, reducing psychological biases constructively.

6 Feasibility and Challenges of Implementing Pre-Analysis Plans in Universities

Implementing pre-analysis plans (PAPs) in university hiring, teaching, and administration, as guided by the Transparency, Accountability, Pluralism (TAP) framework, offers a promising path to reduce ideological bias and enhance trust. Their proven success in STEM and quantitative social sciences—where PAPs mitigate researcher bias and ensure reproducibility—suggests feasibility for broader application [2, 3]. In hiring, PAPs could standardize job ad criteria, addressing critiques like those of the Manchester ad [1]; in teaching, they could balance curricula, countering polarization; and in administration, they could guide transparent policy decisions amid financial pressures [8, 10].

However, significant challenges persist. Financial constraints, exacerbated by recent NIH and NSF budget cuts, pose a barrier, as developing and auditing PAPs requires resources—training faculty, hiring consultants, or upgrading systems—that strained universities may lack [10]. Scalability is another hurdle: adapting PAPs across diverse disciplines and administrative units demands customization, potentially overwhelming underfunded institutions. Resistance from faculty and administrators, rooted in concerns over academic freedom and perceived bureaucratic overreach, could

undermine adoption, as seen in X debates about university agendas [1]. Additionally, psychological biases, such as path dependence, might lead to inconsistent implementation if stakeholders resist change, particularly under fiscal stress.

A further challenge is maintaining PAP integrity, as deviations from pre-specified plans—common in both STEM and social sciences—can undermine credibility. In social sciences, researchers sometimes conduct exploratory analyses not pre-registered, risking misrepresentation as confirmatory findings, a practice disallowed due to reduced trustworthiness [16]. In STEM, similar deviations occur in experimental designs (e.g., clinical trials), often driven by publication pressure, though replication and regulation mitigate this [17, 18]. In university contexts, such deviations in hiring (e.g., altering job criteria mid-process), teaching (e.g., shifting course content), or administration (e.g., changing budget priorities) could reinforce biases. Our TAP framework counters this by requiring transparent reporting of deviations, distinguishing exploratory changes, and ensuring accountability through audits, preserving pluralism amid polarization [2, 7].

Despite these challenges, feasibility can be enhanced through pilot programs, leveraging existing STEM models, and securing external funding or partnerships (e.g., consulting firms, as noted in Collaborative for Educational Services, 2024) [14]. Framing PAPs as tools for pluralism, not control, could mitigate resistance, ensuring universities navigate polarization and financial constraints constructively, maintaining scientific integrity and public trust.

7 Policy Implications for Universities, Funding Agencies, and Policymakers—Fostering Pluralism and Accountability

Adopting pre-analysis plans (PAPs) in university hiring, teaching, and administration, guided by the Transparency, Accountability, Pluralism (TAP) framework, holds profound policy implications for fostering pluralism and accountability amid polarization and fiscal uncertainty. Universities can enhance trust, as eroded by critiques like those of the Manchester ad [1], by using PAPs to pre-specify job criteria, course content, and administrative decisions, countering perceived ideological biases through transparency. This approach addresses psychological biases, such as path dependence, while aligning with public demands for neutrality, especially as college applications decline and

prestige wanes [11, 12].

For universities, recommendations include piloting PAPs in high-profile departments (e.g., social sciences, humanities) to assess feasibility, leveraging existing STEM models [2]. Faculty training, funded through reallocations or grants, could build buy-in, mitigating resistance to academic freedom concerns raised on X [1]. Universities should also integrate PAPs into strategic plans, linking them to diversity and inclusion goals, ensuring scalability under budget constraints like NIH and NSF cuts [10].

For funding agencies like the NIH and NSF, and policymakers, PAPs offer a strategic tool to strengthen pluralism and accountability in academia, countering polarization and fiscal uncertainty. As budget cuts strain universities, agencies can incentivize PAP adoption in grants, requiring transparency in hiring, teaching, and administrative practices, as seen in STEM and social science RCTs [3, 15]. This would address public critiques of ideological bias [1] by promoting diverse perspectives and rebuilding trust amid declining college applications and prestige risks [11, 12].

Recommendations for funding agencies include mandating PAPs as a condition for funding, drawing on existing templates [2], while providing seed grants for pilot programs to test scalability under financial constraints [10]. Agencies could also fund training consortia to support faculty and administrators, mitigating resistance tied to academic freedom, as debated on X [1]. For policymakers, legislation could encourage university accountability through reporting on PAP implementation, linked to federal funding allocations, ensuring pluralism without micromanaging. This could include tax incentives for institutions demonstrating transparency in addressing ideological biases, aligning with public demands for neutrality.

8 Conclusion

The growing polarization and financial uncertainty in academia, exemplified by critiques of ideological bias in hiring and teaching like the Manchester ad [1], threaten its scientific integrity and public trust. Pre-analysis plans (PAPs), guided by the Transparency, Accountability, Pluralism (TAP) framework, offer a proven, non-controversial tool to address these challenges, drawing on their success in STEM and quantitative social sciences [2, 3]. While feasibility hurdles—financial

constraints, scalability, and academic freedom concerns—require careful navigation, universities, funding agencies, and policymakers can collaborate to pilot PAPs, train stakeholders, and incentivize transparency, countering psychological biases like path dependence. By fostering pluralism and accountability amid NIH and NSF budget cuts [10], this approach can rebuild trust, mitigate polarization, and sustain academia’s role as a knowledge hub. As enrollment declines and prestige risks grow [11, 12], embracing PAPs represents a constructive, evidence-based path forward, ensuring universities remain equitable, rigorous, and relevant in an era of uncertainty.

9 References

- Bowman, S. [Twitter post]. (2025, March 15). I find it hard to sympathise with supposedly broke universities when jobs like this are still being filled. [<https://x.com/s8mb/status/1900848689775534409>]
- Christensen, G., et al. (2019). Transparent and Open Social Science Research: How to Do It. Berkeley Initiative for Transparency in the Social Sciences (BITSS). [www.bitss.org] (<http://www.bitss.org>)
- Olken, B. A. (2015). Pre-analysis plans for randomized controlled trials: An introduction and some practical advice. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 29(3), 3–22. [DOI:10.1257/jep.29.3.3]
- Ofosu, G., & Posner, D. N. (2021). Pre-registration and transparency in political science: A review and agenda. *American Political Science Review*, 115(4), 1297–1310. [DOI:10.1017/S000305542100051X]
- National Association of Scholars (NAS). (2023). The Ideological Tilt in Higher Education. NAS Reports. [www.nas.org] (<http://www.nas.org>)
- American Enterprise Institute (AEI). (2024). Faculty Composition and Ideological Diversity in U.S. Universities. AEI Higher Education Studies. [www.aei.org] (<http://www.aei.org>)
- Heterodox Academy. (2024). The State of Viewpoint Diversity in Higher Education. Annual Report. [www.heterodoxacademy.org] (<http://www.heterodoxacademy.org>)
- Inside Higher Ed. (2022). Ideological Bias and University Neutrality: Challenges and Solutions. Inside Higher Ed Analysis. [www.insidehighered.com] (<http://www.insidehighered.com>)
- Hawaii Implicit Bias Initiative. (2024). Addressing Implicit Bias in Education. State Reports. [www.hawaii.gov] (<http://www.hawaii.gov>)
- Changing Higher Ed. (2023). Impact of NIH and NSF Budget Cuts on Universities. Higher

Education Insights. [www.changinghighered.com] (<http://www.changinghighered.com>)

The Guardian. (2024). U.S. College Enrollment Declines Amid Financial and Trust Issues. Education News. [www.theguardian.com] (<http://www.theguardian.com>)

Gallup. (2023). Public Trust in Higher Education: Trends and Challenges. Gallup Polls. [www.gallup.com] (<http://www.gallup.com>)

American Council of Trustees and Alumni (ACTA). (2023). Administrative Priorities and Ideological Influence in Universities. ACTA Reports. [www.goacta.org] (<http://www.goacta.org>)

Collaborative for Educational Services. (2024). Curriculum Consulting and Bias Mitigation in Higher Education. CES Resources. [www.collaborative.org] (<http://www.collaborative.org>)

Poverty Action Lab (J-PAL). (2024). Pre-Analysis Plans for Randomized Controlled Trials. J-PAL Policy Briefs. [www.povertyactionlab.org] (<http://www.povertyactionlab.org>)

Nature. (2021). Reproducibility and Transparency in Science: Challenges and Solutions. Nature Reviews Methods Primers, 1, Article 45. [DOI:10.1038/s43586-021-00045-3]

Office of Research Integrity (ORI). (2024). Research Misconduct: Definitions and Cases. ORI Guidelines. [www.ori.hhs.gov] (<http://www.ori.hhs.gov>)

Researcher.Life. (2024). Research Misconduct: Reasons and Types. Researcher.Life Insights. [www.researcher.life] (<http://www.researcher.life>)

10 Figure 1

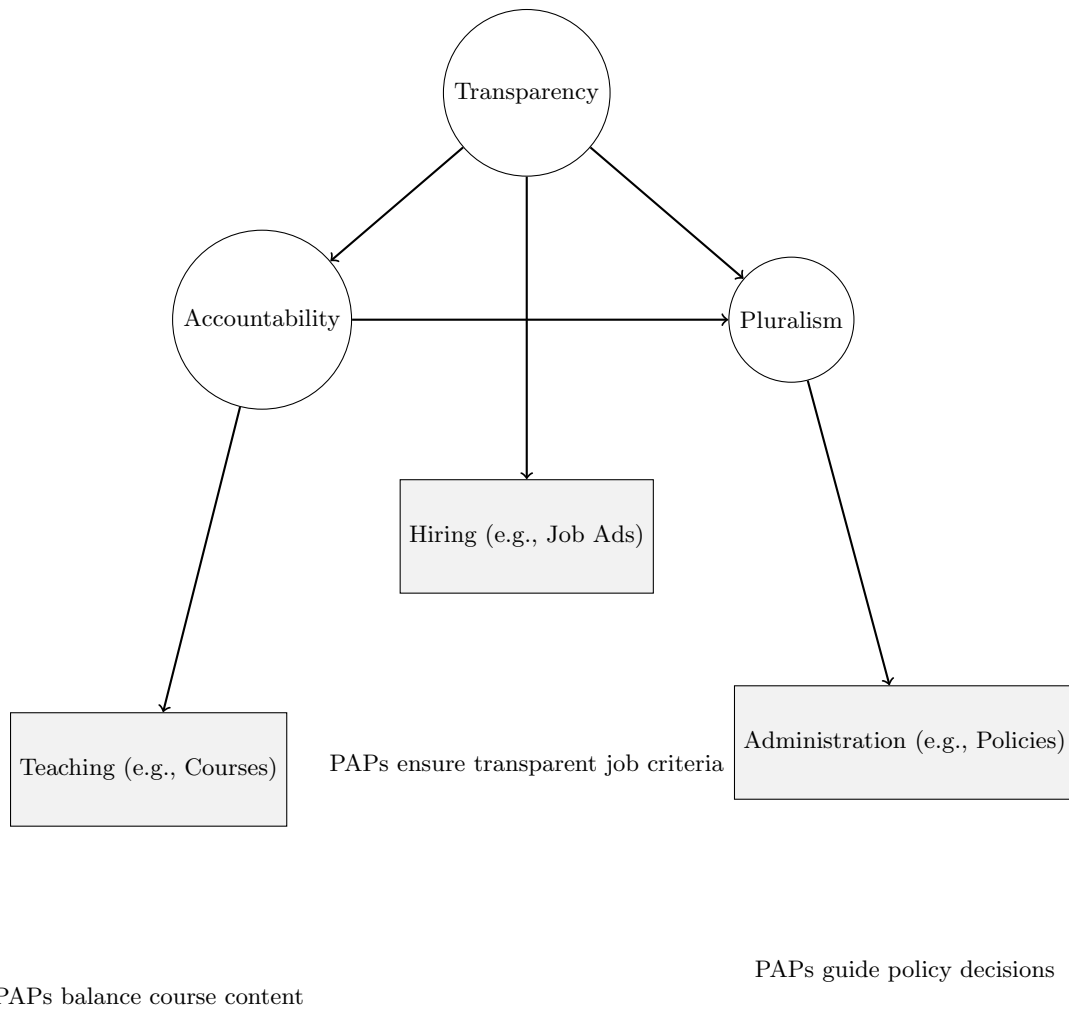


Figure 1: The Transparency, Accountability, Pluralism (TAP) Framework for Pre-Analysis Plans (PAPs) in Universities. PAPs enhance hiring, teaching, and administration by fostering transparency, accountability, and pluralism, addressing ideological bias amid polarization and fiscal uncertainty.