MEASURING WOKE CULTURE IN UNIVERSITIES: A DIAGNOSTIC APPROACH
Abstract

This paper aims to present a synthetic diagnostic tool for assessing wokeism in universities, offering a comprehensive framework derived from an extensive literature review. The purpose is to measure and evaluate the level and impact of wokeism, identifying strengths and weaknesses within university contexts. The framework development involves defining dimensions and indicators of wokeism, collecting and analyzing data through diverse sources like surveys and interviews, scoring and ranking wokeism levels, and interpreting and reporting the results. The approach encompasses aspects such as awareness, activism, inclusivity, diversity, and justice. This paper acknowledges its contributions while recognizing inherent limitations. It provides examples of applying the diagnostic tool, offering practical insights into measuring wokeism within universities. The results highlight the need for refinement, validation, and future research to enhance the robustness of the assessment. While the paper successfully introduces a valuable tool for assessing wokeism, it underscores the importance of addressing limitations. These include the broad definition employed, reliance on secondary sources, subjective scoring systems, and ethical challenges. The discussion emphasizes the necessity of refining definitions, validating measurement tools, and applying rigorous methods for a nuanced understanding of wokeism in academic settings. In conclusion, this paper contributes a valuable synthetic diagnostic tool for assessing wokeism in universities, encouraging future research and refinement to ensure its validity and applicability. The discussion opens avenues for enhancing the understanding and evaluation of woke culture within academic institutions.

Keywords: woke culture, wokeism, higher education, universities, DEI (Diversity, Equity & Inclusion)

Introduction

The broadening scope of wokeism across social and political realms signifies its evolution as a comprehensive framework for addressing systemic challenges. Integrating climate change and economic issues into the woke discourse reflects an acknowledgment of the interconnectedness of social justice, environmental sustainability, and economic equity, showcasing the transformative potential of wokeism as a catalyst for societal change (Toke, 2023). While likened to 19th-century communist ideology for its perceived
radicalism, it’s crucial to differentiate the ideological underpinnings, acknowledging variations in contexts, methods, and goals (Coyne, J. A. 2022).

The case of Silicon Valley Bank, highlighted by Graham (2023), illustrates tension between woke values and traditional business practices. Critics argue that emphasis on diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) may compromise profit motives. However, studies suggest DEI enhances business performance by fostering innovation, improving decision-making, and enhancing adaptability, positioning the integration of DEI principles as an essential strategy for sustainable and inclusive growth (Graham 2023).

While a thorough historical background of wokeism is beyond this paper’s scope, sources (e.g., Francisco, 2023) point to its left-wing roots, indicating a direct relationship between socialism and wokeism (Coyne, J. A. 2022). This connection yields diverse connotations, especially in former Soviet bloc countries associating socialism with totalitarian regimes and Soviet occupation, where wokeism is sometimes despised as ‘communism in modern clothes’ (Coyne, J. A. 2022). Despite widespread interest, publications directly addressing wokeism in universities are surprisingly scarce (Ludwig, H. 2023). We aim to fill this gap by analyzing dominant wokeism topics, structuring them into a diagnostic tool aimed at answering the question: How woke is your University?

This paper elucidates how woke culture manifests within a university context, introducing a synthetic diagnostic tool for a rigorous assessment, avoiding anecdotal evidence. It maintains a neutral stance, presenting a balanced view of wokeism attributes without claiming superiority of ‘woke’ universities over ‘less-woke’ ones. (Word count: 235) A synthetic diagnostic tool is a method or a device that can measure or evaluate a phenomenon or a condition using a combination of data and analysis (Cote C, 2021). A synthetic diagnostic tool for assessing wokeism in universities can help to:

- Understand the level and the impact of wokeism in universities.
- Identify the strengths and the weaknesses of wokeism in universities.
- Provide recommendations or suggestions for improvement or action.
- (Ludwig, H. 2022)

The paper is organized as follows:
- Section 2 reviews the literature on wokeism in general.
Section 3 looks at the specific characteristics of wokeism in the higher education context;
Section 4 proposes a framework for developing a synthetic diagnostic tool for assessing wokeism in universities.
Section 5 concludes the paper and discusses the limitations and the implications of the study.

**General overview of wokeism**

Wokeism has gained significant momentum in recent years, especially after the 2014 Ferguson protests and the Black Lives Matter movement. Wokeism has also expanded to include other issues, such as gender and sexual diversity, environmentalism, and decolonization (Karson, 2021: Ludwig, 2022). Wokeism has influenced various aspects of society, including culture, media, politics, and education.

This section reviews the literature on wokeism in general and in universities. It covers the following topics:

- The definition and the origins of wokeism.
- The psychology and the motivations of wokeism.
- The benefits and the advantages of wokeism.
- The criticisms, concerns, and challenges of wokeism.
- The examples and implications of wokeism in universities.

Wokeism, a term denoting a social and political movement addressing social injustices, inequality, and discrimination, was credited to Kelley in a 1962 New York Times article titled *If You’re Woke You Dig It* (Rosenblatt, E. 2017). Originating from the African American Vernacular English (AAVE) expression *stay woke*, it signifies remaining aware and vigilant of social and political issues, evolving into a broader movement advocating for social justice, equality, and dismantling systemic discrimination. Spiwak (Spiwak, 2023) traces wokeism’s roots to Latin America, observing a culture of grievance and victim instrumentalization.
Wokeism encapsulates the ideology or practice of woke culture, subject to positive or negative interpretations (Fenwick, 2021). It may symbolize awareness and activism or be used pejoratively to imply extremism or intolerance. The psychology and motivations behind wokeism encompass various factors:

- **Empathy and Compassion:** Motivated by genuine concern for the well-being and rights of the oppressed and marginalized (Cherry, 2023).
- **Identity and Belonging:** Provides meaning, purpose, and a coping mechanism for uncertainty and insecurity (Toke, 2023).
- **Justice and Morality:** Driven by a sense of justice, morality, and a commitment to uphold fairness. Reflects moral conviction, obligation, and a means to challenge the status quo (Toke, 2023).
- **Power and Control:** Fueled by a need for power and control, a desire to influence and dominate. Serves as a means to assert authority and superiority, coercing and manipulating others (Karson, 2021).
- **Anger and Aggression:** Motivated by feelings of anger and aggression in response to perceived threats and injustices. Functions as a way to vent frustration, resentment, and to attack and harm others (Karson, 2021).

(Karson, 2021; Pilkington, 2022; Toke, 2023).

The origins of wokeism can be traced back to the Civil Rights Movement, but it has gained significant momentum in recent years, especially after the 2014 Ferguson protests and the Black Lives Matter movement (Karson, 2017).

Some of the doctrines or principles of wokeism (in the US culture) include:

1. A rejection of American exceptionalism and a recognition of the historical and ongoing oppression of people of colour, women, LGBTQ+ people, and other marginalized groups by the dominant white, male, heterosexual, and Christian culture
2. A belief that systemic and institutional racism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination are pervasive and need to be challenged and dismantled
3. A view that disparities among racial groups, genders, sexual orientations, and other identities, such as in education, health, income, and representation, are evidence of discrimination and need to be addressed
5. A respect for the diversity and fluidity of gender identity and expression, and a rejection of the binary and essentialist notions of sex and gender.

6. A criticism of U.S. capitalism and consumerism, which are seen as exploitative, unsustainable, and harmful to the environment and human rights.


In Europe, with its unique historical traditions wokeism displays some distinguishing features (Raak, 2023; John, 2022; McAuley, 2021; Kumar, 2021; Ashlee, Zamora, & Karikari, 2016; Kahanec, Zaiceva, & Zimmermann, 2010; Cheatham & Maizland, 2020):

1. It is more concerned with the political heritage of Europe, namely the legacy of communism. The critics of wokeism point to the similarities with the communist doctrine which, using equally grandiloquent ideas, bears many similarities with wokeism. These critics express concern that mainstreaming wokeism would lead to disastrous results for the societies of the West. (John, 2022)

2. It is not preoccupied with issues with the law enforcement (Cheatham & Maizland, 2020)

3. It is less concerned with racial differences (e.g. Critical Race Theory). It seems generational issues are more important in Europe than racial issues. (McAuley, 2021; John, 2022)

4. Only a handful of European countries (Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Netherlands) were colonial powers, which implies that racial and ethnic issues are of secondary importance in the reminder of countries. (McAuley, 2021; Cheatham & Maizland, 2020)

5. For some reasons some ethnic minorities in Europe are not especially interested in jumping on the bandwagon of wokism (e.g. Turkish minority in Germany), or at least wokism is not an attractive beacon for them. (Kahanec et al., 2010)
Wokeism, while advocating for social justice, can yield negative consequences, depending on its practice and perception. Criticisms and challenges include:

- Intolerance, Polarization, and Conflict: Wokeism may foster intolerance, polarize individuals along ideological lines, and lead to hostile confrontations (Sanfilippo, 2021).
- Undermining Academic Freedom and Diversity of Opinion: Wokeism can limit academic freedom, autonomy, and diverse opinions in academic settings, punishing those deviating from accepted norms (Tinsley T, 2022; Filip B 2023).
- Imposing a Narrow View and Denouncing Dissent: Wokeism may impose a monolithic view on social issues, oversimplify problems, and demonize those challenging its assumptions (Paresky P., 2022; Sanfilippo, 2021).
- Compromising Standards and Integrity: Wokeism might distort facts to fit its narrative, neglecting the scientific method and peer review process, prioritizing ideology over academic rigor (Filip B 2023).
- Moreover, as highlighted by Nair Yasmin, woke campaigns may not focus on repairing structural inequities but on amassing profit for corporate players who continue to do harm (Yasmin, 2019).

(Economist, 2021; Mintz S, 2021; Yasmin, 2019; Chavalarias D, 2023; Rao 2023; Huneman and Chavalarias, 2023)

**Wokeism at universities**

Wokeism is a phenomenon affecting all levels of education. According to Hayden Ludwig wokeism in schools is a phenomenon that involves the adoption and implementation of woke culture and its principles in academic institutions. It can affect various aspects of university life, such as curriculum, faculty, administration, student culture, and campus climate. Wokeism in universities can have positive and negative effects, depending on how it is practiced and perceived (Ludwig, 2022).
Given a wide spectrum of woke culture it is difficult to decisively define wokeism either as an opportunity or threat to universities. Obviously strong focus on empathy towards many social issues may promote the development of social capital among graduates of universities. Some of the benefits of wokeism in universities are (Abrams, 2021):

- It promotes empathy, inclusivity, and awareness of diverse perspectives among students, faculty, and staff. (KNBBS-Sharer, 2023; Arsel et al., 2021)
- It encourages critical thinking, social responsibility, and civic engagement among students, faculty, and staff. (KNBBS-Sharer, 2023; Arsel et al., 2021)
- It may foster a culture of learning, innovation, and collaboration among students, faculty, and staff. (KNBBS-Sharer, 2023; Arsel et al., 2021)
- It enhances the quality and relevance of education, research, and service among students, faculty, and staff. (KNBBS-Sharer, 2023; Arsel et al., 2021)

(Mints S, 2021; Raak R, 2023)

Wokeism in universities, while having its benefits, can also lead to several drawbacks. It can create intolerance, polarization, and conflict among students, faculty, and staff, for example in student surveys. The overly-critical opinions of students may cause conflicts between professors and the university administration (Chavalerius D, 2023). Furthermore, it can undermine the academic freedom, autonomy, and diversity of opinion among students, faculty, and staff (Rao, 2023). Wokeism may also hinder innovation among students, as innovation involves a proactive attitude to problems. Woke culture overemphasizes contesting the reality, yet neglecting the need for development and proactive approach (Huneman and Chavalarias, 2023). Additionally, it can impose a narrow and monolithic view of social issues, and denounce anyone who disagrees with it, a phenomenon often referred to as ‘cancel culture’ (Chavalerius D, 2023). Lastly, it can compromise the standards and integrity of education, research, and service among students, faculty, and staff. Students may be encouraged to use anti-discrimination policies as an excuse and shield against their low performance in exams (Rao, 2023).
From the educational perspective wokeism can have positive effects on individuals and society, depending on how it is practiced and perceived. Some of the benefits and advantages of wokeism are (Toke N, 2023):

- The benefits of diversity, equity, and inclusivity in education are numerous. It promotes empathy, inclusivity, and awareness of diverse perspectives among individuals and groups (Banks et al., 2021).
- An inclusive curriculum offers important positive outcomes (Kite and Clark, 2022). It encourages critical thinking, social responsibility, and civic engagement among individuals and groups. It also fosters a culture of learning, innovation, and collaboration among individuals and groups (Barnes et al., 2022). Furthermore, it empowers and encourages minorities to participate in education (Hernandez et al., 2021).

Wokeism in universities is a phenomenon that involves the adoption and implementation of woke culture and its principles in academic institutions. It can affect various aspects of university life, such as curriculum, faculty, administration, student culture, and campus climate. Wokeism in universities can have positive and negative implications, depending on how it is practiced and perceived. Some of the examples and implications of wokeism in universities are (Take N, 2023; Ludwig H, 2022; Chavalarias D et al. 2023; Gary PM, 2023):

- Wokeism exerts its influence on various aspects of university life:
  1. Curriculum: Wokeism impacts the content and delivery of university curricula, introducing relevant topics while challenging biases. However, it may also politicize and distort the curriculum by imposing a specific ideology (Economist 2021; Elven VM, 2022; Green J et al., 2021; Wood P, 2022).
  2. Faculty: Wokeism affects faculty recruitment, retention, and promotion by encouraging diversity and providing opportunities. Yet, it can also pressure faculty to conform, creating a stressful environment and exposing them to threats (Chiou et al., 2021; Brauer M. et al., 2021; Davenport et al., 2022; Raak, R., 2023).
  3. Administration: Wokeism influences university governance by promoting policies aligned with its principles. However, it can undermine autonomy, subjecting universities to external pressures and creating conflicts (Mintz S 2021; Raak R, 2023; Tinsley T, 2022; Green J 2021).
4. Student Culture: Wokeism shapes student culture by fostering awareness and activism. However, it can also create divisions, reinforcing tensions among students and potentially indoctrinating or manipulating them (Abraham J, 2021; Ching Velasco, 2020; Soave R, 2021; Hanson VD, 2022).

5. Campus Climate: Wokeism impacts the campus climate by creating a safe and inclusive environment. Yet, it can also damage the climate by fostering fear and distrust, undermining values, and challenging the identity and mission of the university (Green J et al. 2021; Blaff A, 2022; Soave R, 2021; Ludwig H, 2022; Widdowson F, 2023).

**Framework for developing a synthetic diagnostic tool for assessing wokeism in universities**

This section introduces a framework for constructing a synthetic diagnostic tool to assess wokeism in universities. A synthetic diagnostic tool, as defined by Cote C (2021), combines data and analysis to measure or evaluate a phenomenon. In the context of assessing wokeism in universities, this tool aims to comprehend its level and impact, identify strengths and weaknesses, and offer recommendations for improvement or action (Brandeis University, 2021).

The framework consists of the following steps:

1. Define Dimensions and Indicators: Identify key aspects of woke culture (e.g., awareness, activism, inclusivity) and specify indicators reflecting its presence (e.g., policies, practices, outcomes).

2. Collect and Analyse Data: Gather relevant data from diverse sources (surveys, interviews, documents) and employ suitable methods (descriptive statistics, content analysis) for analysis.

3. Score and Rank Wokeism: Assign scores or ratings based on analysis and established criteria to each dimension and indicator. Rank the level of wokeism for different units of analysis (individuals, groups, institutions).
4. Interpret and Report Results: Communicate assessment results using visual aids (tables, charts) and provide recommendations for improvement or action based on the objectives of the assessment.

As a culmination of the literature review, a diagnostic tool has been developed, operationalizing diverse perceptions of wokeism. The tool is structured into five areas:

1. Management: Encompasses policies, strategies, and tactics implemented by university management, as reflected in strategic documents and HR practices (Propper C, 2013).
2. Organizational Culture: Examines values, routines, and rituals practiced within the university, focusing on influential figures and promoted behaviours (Marie A, 2022).
3. Faculty: Explores how the faculty responds to wokeism, examining alignment with values and the acceptance or rejection of woke culture (Taylor S, 2022).
5. Students: Examines student behaviors characteristic of wokeism, quantifying the percentage of active pro-woke students and evaluating potential clashes between pro – and anti-woke students (Rybiński, Kopciuszewska, 2020).

The tools describe many of the moments-of-truth” features, attitudes and reactions to wokeism. The tool is intended to weed out the most characteristic manifestations of wokeism which are:

1. specific to higher education,
2. are applicable in universities worldwide.
Table 1. (Part 01-05) How woke is your University?

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>PART 01</th>
<th>How widespread is a given practice/behaviour?</th>
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<tr>
<td>1 – It is a common or frequent practice,</td>
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### 1. The management

- University leadership rhetoric emphasizes social justice education, critical theory, and ideological themes aligned with woke culture principles (Abrams, 2021).
- Strategic priorities and policies related to diversity, equity and inclusion reflect the core assumptions of wokeism (e.g. systemic discrimination, privilege, critical theory etc.) (Ludwig, 2022).
- Decision making processes have been modified to increase stakeholder participation and engagement from marginalized groups (Karson, 2021).
- There is increased investment and resourcing for departments working on critical theory, grievance studies, and social justice initiatives (Mintz, 2021).
- Human resource management practices have undergone changes to attract and incentivize more faculty/staff aligned with woke culture (Fenwick, 2021).
- Attempts made to match student and faculty/staff demographics to national statistical averages for characteristics like race, gender etc. (Pilkington, 2022).
- University leadership rhetoric emphasizes social justice education, critical theory, and ideological themes aligned with woke culture principles (Abrams, 2021).
- Student complaints and protests are indiscriminately treated as an expression of maturity and civic engagement of students.
- Discrimination is used by some students as an excuse for their poor educational outcomes and used against the faculty.
- Professors following ideological neutrality are accused by the students of being
2. The organisational culture

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<td>The University encourages student protests</td>
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<td>The student parliament always takes the side of students in a student-professor conflict</td>
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<td>There is a prevalent assumption within the university community that systemic and institutional discrimination exists and needs to be addressed (Toke, 2023).</td>
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<td>Members who dissent from woke ideological positions face censorship, ostracization or accusations of perpetuating oppression (Karson, 2021).</td>
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<td>Events, speakers and honorary awards largely represent marginalized identity groups rather than mainstream voices (Abrams, 2021).</td>
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<td>Critical theory, critical race theory and affiliated frameworks are widely embedded in research and academic discourse (Mintz, 2021).</td>
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<td>Student activism and protests receive institutional support when aligned with social justice goals while other causes are less encouraged (Ludwig, 2022).</td>
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<td>Faculty recruitment and promotion decisions incorporate criteria for lived experience, personal ideology and commitment to equity agendas (Fenwick, 2021).</td>
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<td>Language guidelines and speech codes aligned with woke culture have been implemented, enforced and normalized across campus (Pilkington, 2022).</td>
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**Professors lower educational standards in order to avoid criticism from students**

**Many faculty members voluntarily incorporate elements of critical social justice education into their courses and pedagogy (Abrams, 2021).**

**There are formal and informal expectations on faculty to articulate a progressive stance on diversity issues (Karson, 2021).**

**Faculty evaluation processes have been updated to assess commitment to critical theory and active engagement in diversity initiatives (Mintz, 2021).**

**Freedom of expression is considered secondary to protecting vulnerable groups and marginalized identities (Ludwig, 2022).**

**Faculty are encouraged or compelled to include diversity statements outlining their contributions to equity causes (Fenwick, 2021).**

**Professional development and training opportunities focus extensively on unconscious bias, privilege, micro-aggressions and related concepts (Pilkington, 2022).**

**Appropriate grievance mechanisms are in place to enable complaints of discrimination against lecturers with different ideological views to be reported (Karson, 2021).**

**Many faculty members voluntarily incorporate elements of critical social justice education into their courses and pedagogy (Abrams, 2021).**

**There are formal and informal expectations on faculty to articulate a progressive stance on diversity issues (Karson, 2021).**

**Faculty recruitment efforts emphasize candidate diversity and alignment with equity, inclusion and social justice values (Toke, 2023).**

**Faculty evaluation processes have been updated to assess commitment to critical theory and active engagement in diversity initiatives (Mintz, 2021).**
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#### 4. The curricula

- Documents such as syllabi require gender nouns to be used
- There has been an increase in the introduction of courses focusing on critical race theory, postcolonial theory, gender studies etc. (Abrams, 2021).
- Traditional canons and texts have undergone greater scrutiny and review for representation and ideological concerns (Toke, 2023).
- Redesigning existing humanities and social sciences curricula to align with principles of diversity, equity and inclusion is an institutional priority (Mintz, 2021).
- Courses and programs frequently frame topics through the lens of systemic discrimination, marginalization of minorities, unconscious bias, etc. (Ludwig, 2022).
- Students have access to alternative ideological perspectives beyond a narrow range of approved worldviews on current and historical events (Pilkington, 2022).
- Attempts made to match faculty and student demographics in specific departments and academic disciplines (Karson, 2021).
- Expected course learning outcomes emphasize cultural competencies alongside traditional disciplinary knowledge and skills (Fenwick, 2021).
- Committees overseeing curriculum development, review and approval have representation from marginalized identity groups (Toke, 2023).
- There has been an increase in the introduction of courses focusing on critical race theory, postcolonial theory, gender studies etc. (Abrams, 2021).
- Traditional canons and texts have undergone greater scrutiny and review for representation and ideological concerns (Toke, 2023).
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### 4. The students

- Students associate discipline (e.g. enforcing deadlines, coming on time to class, not missing classes etc.) as forms of oppressions
- Students give higher grades to professors with lower standards than the rest of professors
- Students give lower grades to professors who enforce higher educational standards than the rest of professors
- When evaluating professors students are especially interested in identifying any possible signs of discrimination
- Students are actively engaged in on-campus activism and protests related to social justice causes.
- Students are outspoken in calling attention to perceived micro-aggressions, bias, or discrimination.
- Students participate in awareness campaigns and events highlighting issues faced by marginalized groups.
- Students are supportive of implementing university policies aligned with promoting diversity, equity and inclusion.
- Students favour expansion of academic content focused on critical theories and social inequality frameworks.
- Students form clubs and organizations specifically oriented around racial, gender, sexual etc identities.
- Students advocate for increased representation and rights of marginalized identity groups in campus spaces.

**Source:** own elaboration
Conclusion

This paper presents a synthetic diagnostic tool designed for the assessment of wokeism in universities. It extensively reviews literature on wokeism, offering a framework for the creation of this diagnostic tool. The provided examples demonstrate practical applications for measuring and evaluating the level and impact of wokeism within university settings.

Acknowledging its contributions, the paper highlights several limitations and implications that warrant consideration. First, the broad and general definition of wokeism employed might overlook nuanced variations within the movement. Second, reliance on secondary sources and hypothetical data raises concerns about the representation of the actual situation of wokeism in universities. Third, the subjective scoring and ranking system employed may lack the validity and reliability required for a comprehensive assessment. Lastly, ethical and practical challenges associated with implementing the assessment, such as consent, confidentiality, and feasibility, have not been thoroughly addressed.

In light of these considerations, the paper proposes directions for future research and practice. It recommends refining and operationalizing the definition and measurement of wokeism, testing and validating the tool and framework with primary and empirical data, and applying more objective and rigorous methods for scoring and ranking. Additionally, it calls for addressing ethical and practical challenges associated with the assessment, ensuring the protection of participants’ rights and interests.

The paper envisions that the synthetic diagnostic tool can significantly contribute to understanding and improving the phenomenon of woke culture and its ideology within academic institutions. It aims to advance the quality and relevance of education, research, and service in universities.
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