



Ideology of Faculty in the Social Sciences and Humanities

Daniel Klein

Department of Economics

Santa Clara University



Then and Now

Democrats per Republican

	1964 Pres. elect.	1968 Pres. elect.	1972 Pres. elect.	Composite '64/'68/'72	Klein- Stern 2003
Social Science	8.9 : 1	3.8 : 1	3.5 : 1	4 : 1	8 : 1
Humanities	6.6 : 1	3.1 : 1	2.4 : 1		

(Ladd & Lipset pp. 62-64)

Two studies I would like to tell you about



- Klein-Stern survey of 6 nationwide academic associations
- Klein-Western study of voter registration at Berkeley and Stanford

Klein-Western Voter Reg Study

- Andrew Western, a junior at Santa Clara U., majoring in Economics and in Political Science.
- Andrew collected and organized the data





23 academic departments at Berkeley and Stanford

- **Social Sciences**: Anthropology, Economics, Political Science, Psychology and Sociology
- **Humanities**: English, French and Italian, History, Linguistics, Music, Philosophy, and Rel. Studies
- **Hard Sciences and Math**: Biology, Chemistry, Mathematics, Neurobiology/ Neurology, and Physics
- **Professional schools and departments**: Civil and Environmental Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Law, Journalism, Accounting, and Marketing

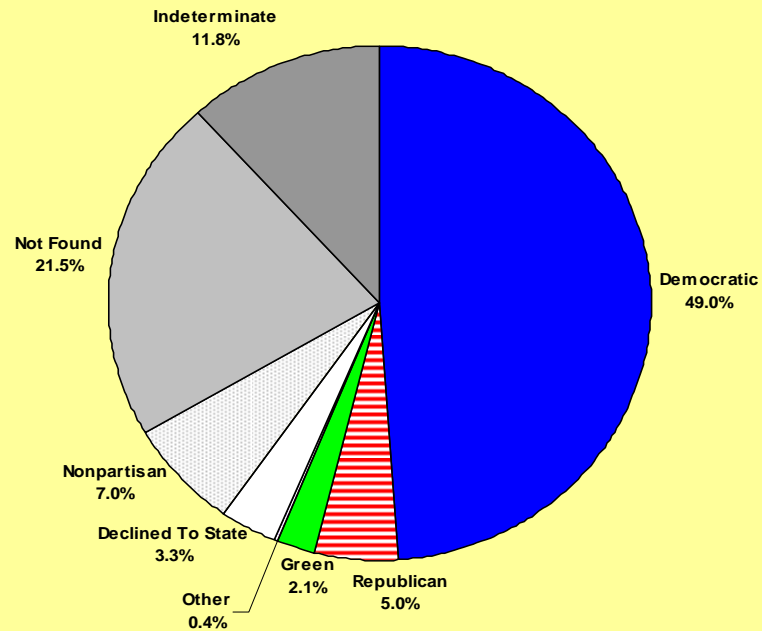


Berkeley-Stanford Voter Reg

- Tenure-track only
- 1497 names in all
- Seven counties
- Systematic method
- Got reads on 67% of names
- Put our data on the web (names redacted)

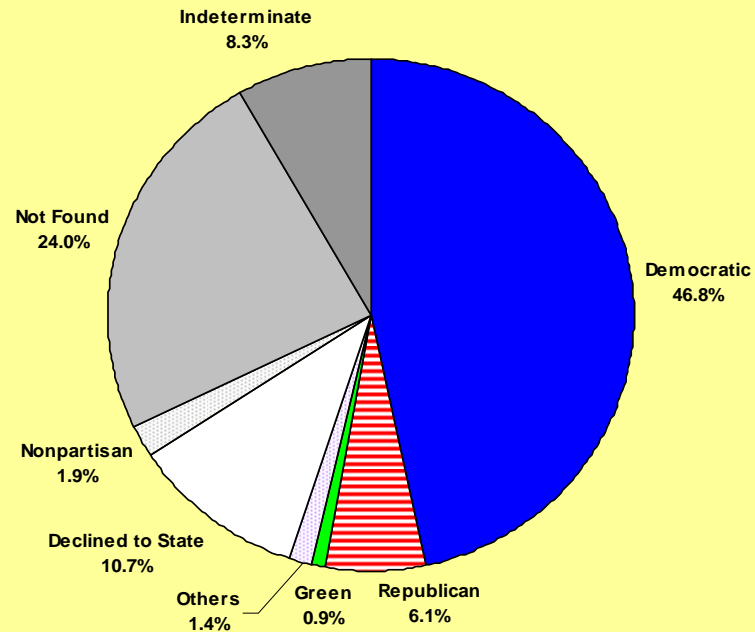
Berkeley: 9.9 to 1

Party registration of UC-Berkeley faculty
(N=909)



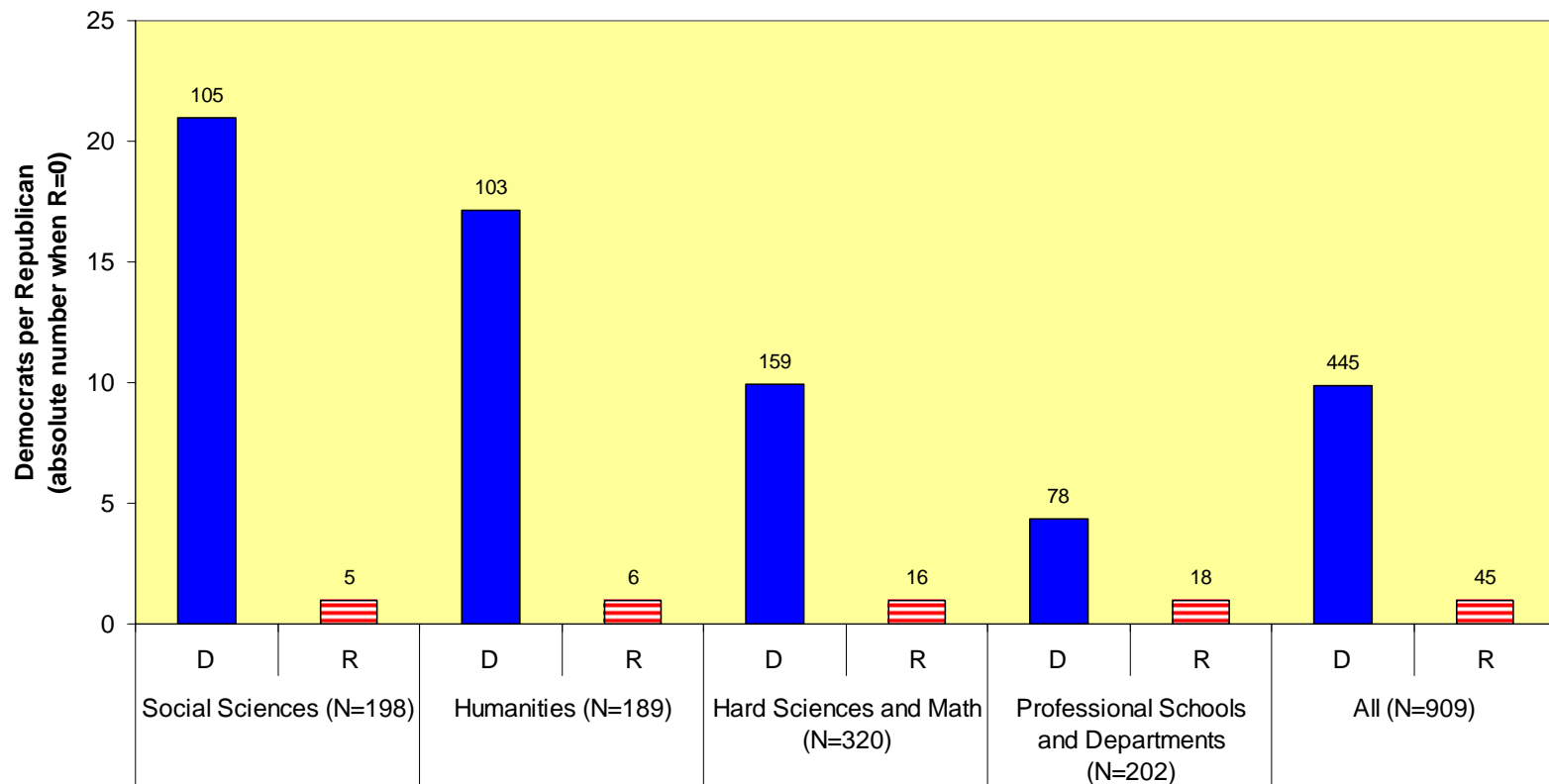
Stanford: 7.6 to 1

Party registration of Stanford University faculty
(N=588)



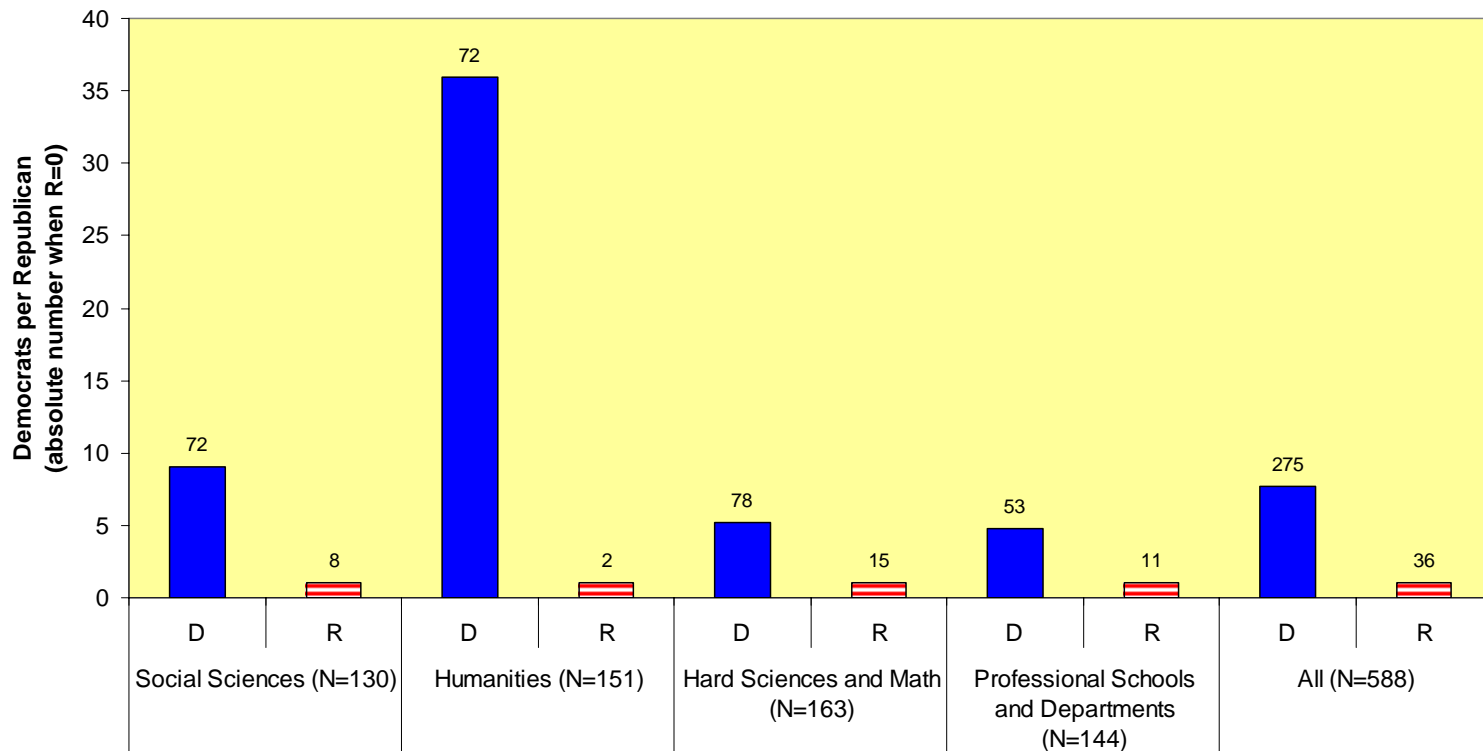
Broad Groupings: Berkeley

UC-Berkeley broad groupings' D:R ratios



Broad Groupings: Stanford

Stanford University broad groupings' D:R ratios





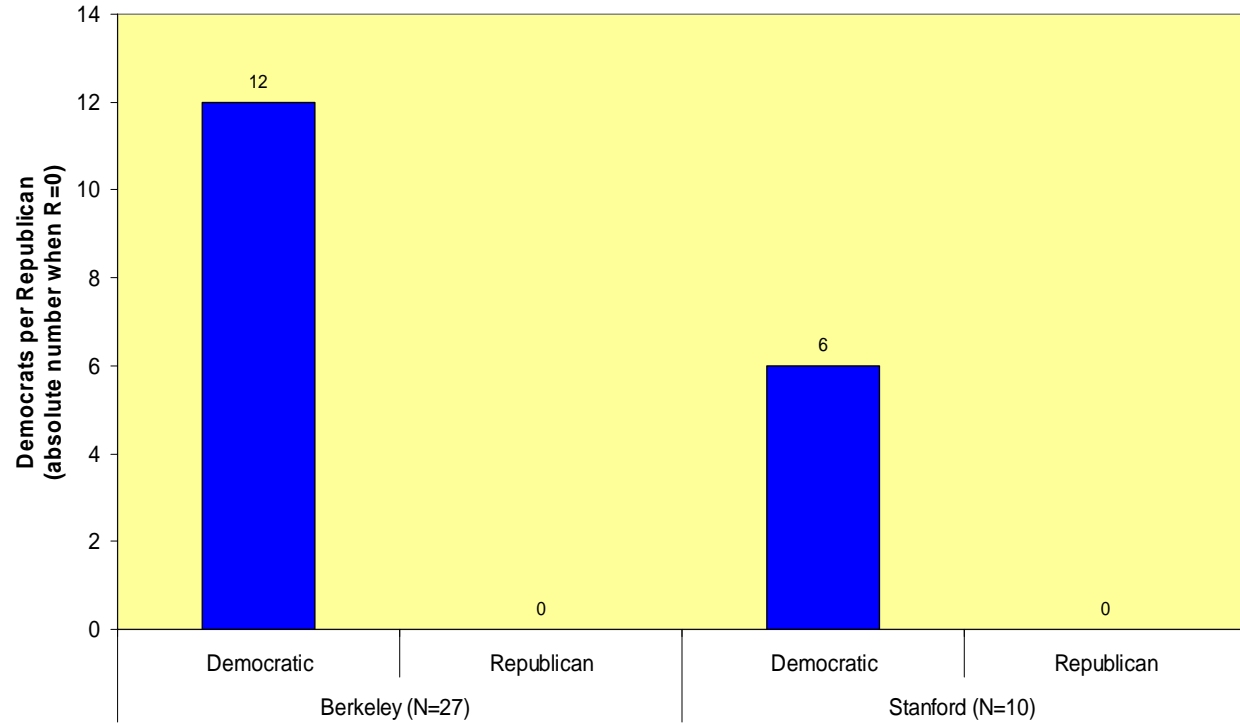
Social Sciences and Humanities Berkeley and Stanford

352 Democrats and 21 Republicans

16 to 1

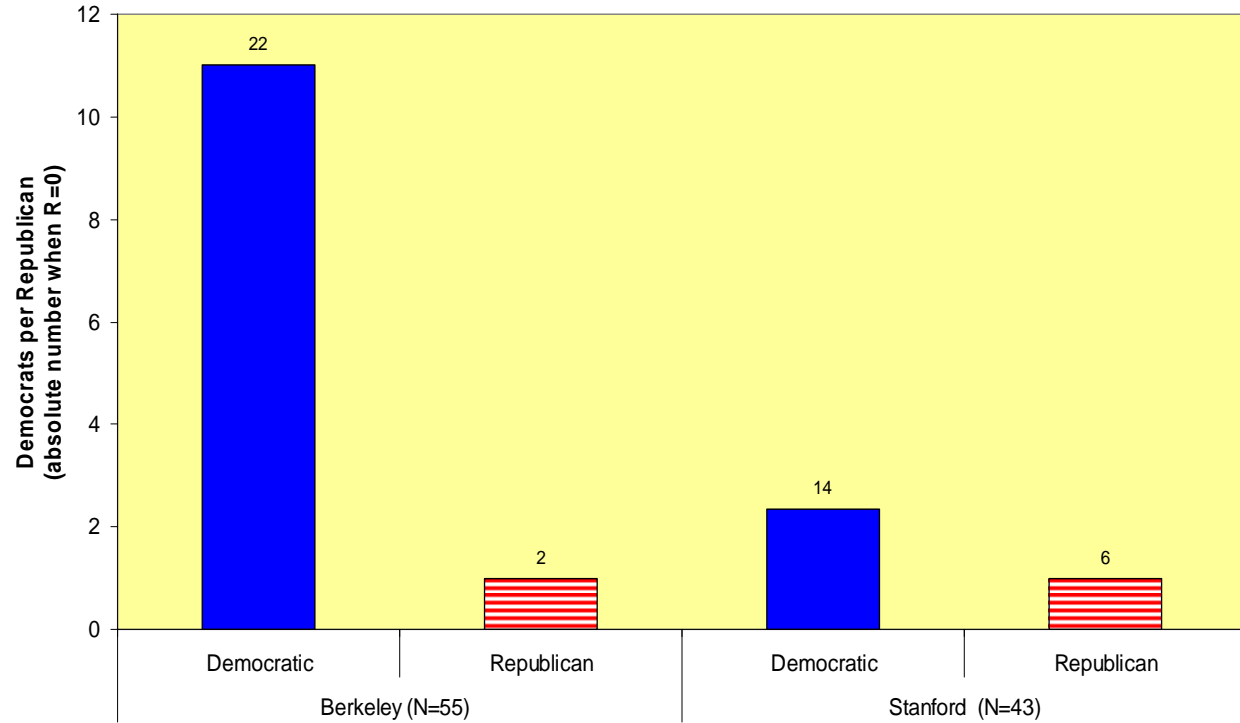
Anthropology

Anthropology departments' D:R ratios



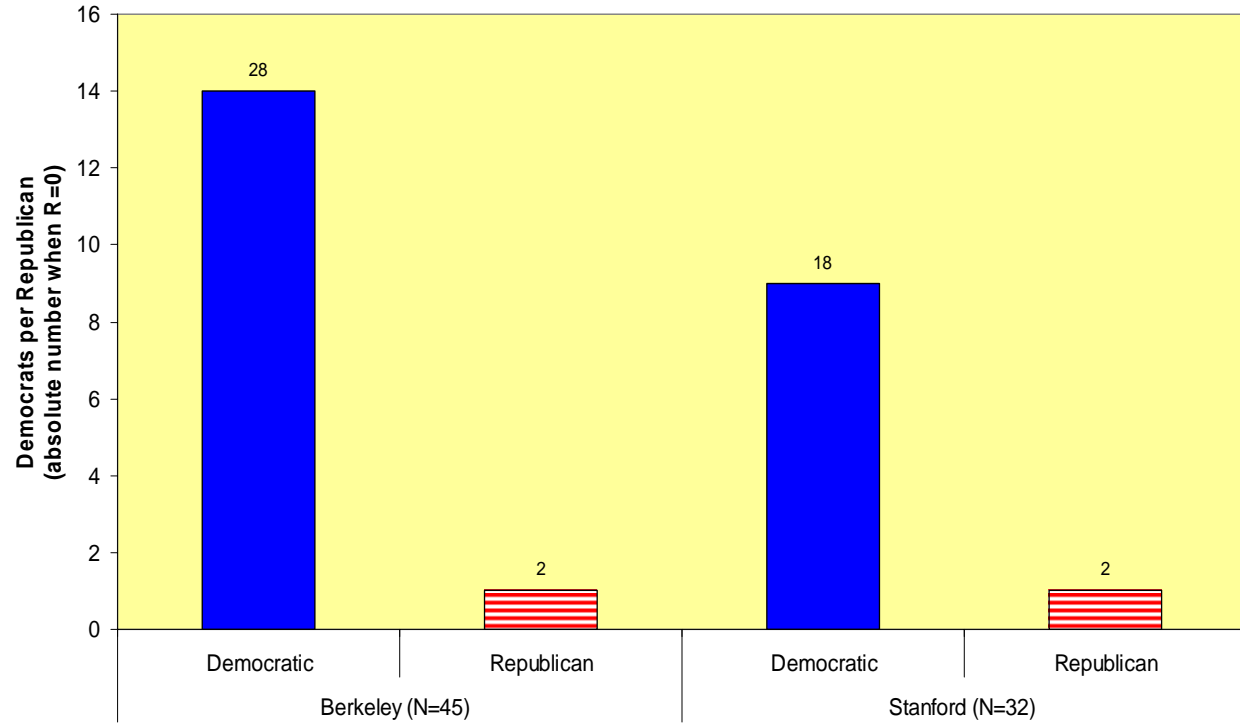
Economics

Economics departments' D:R ratios



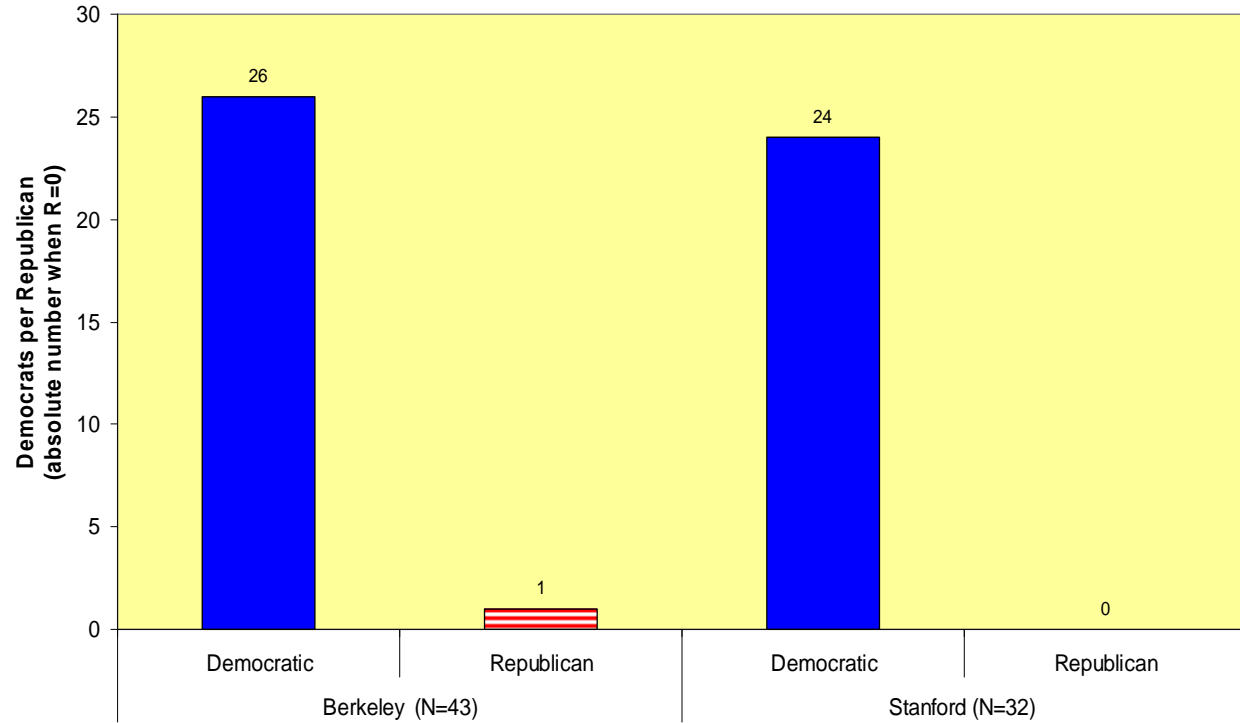
Political Science

Political Science departments' D:R ratios



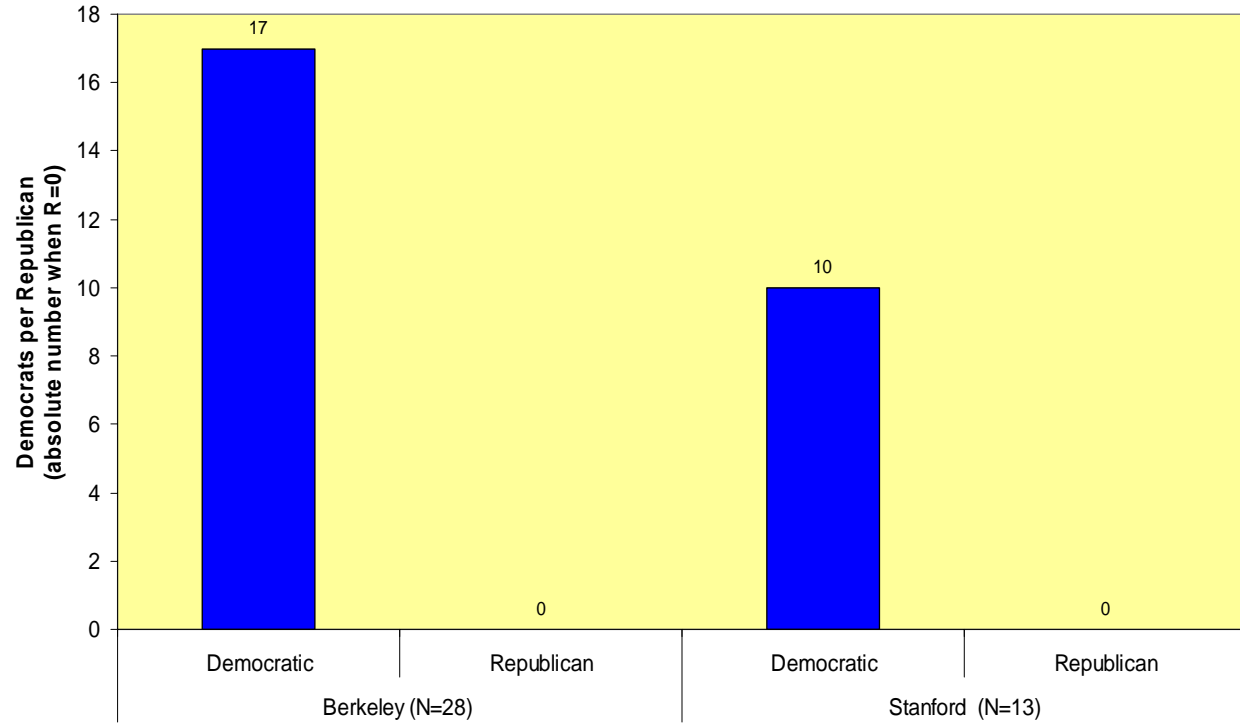
Psychology

Psychology departments' D:R ratios



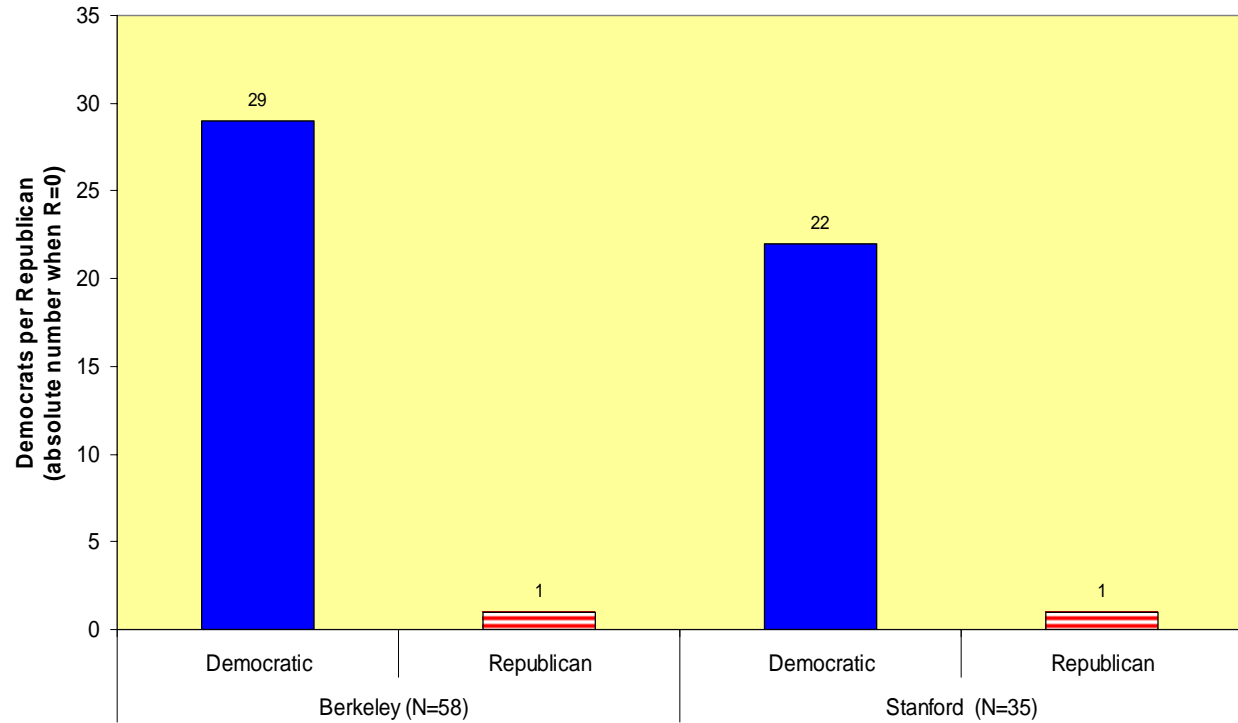
Sociology

Sociology departments' D:R ratios



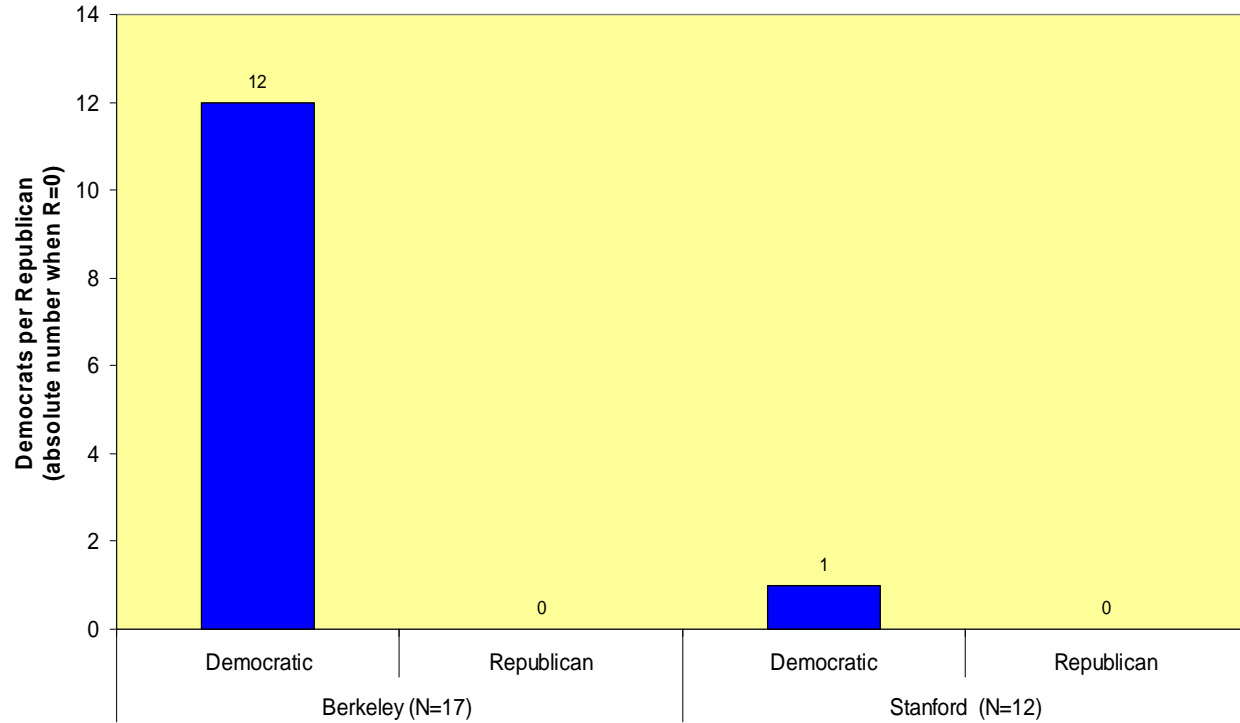
English

English departments' D:R ratios



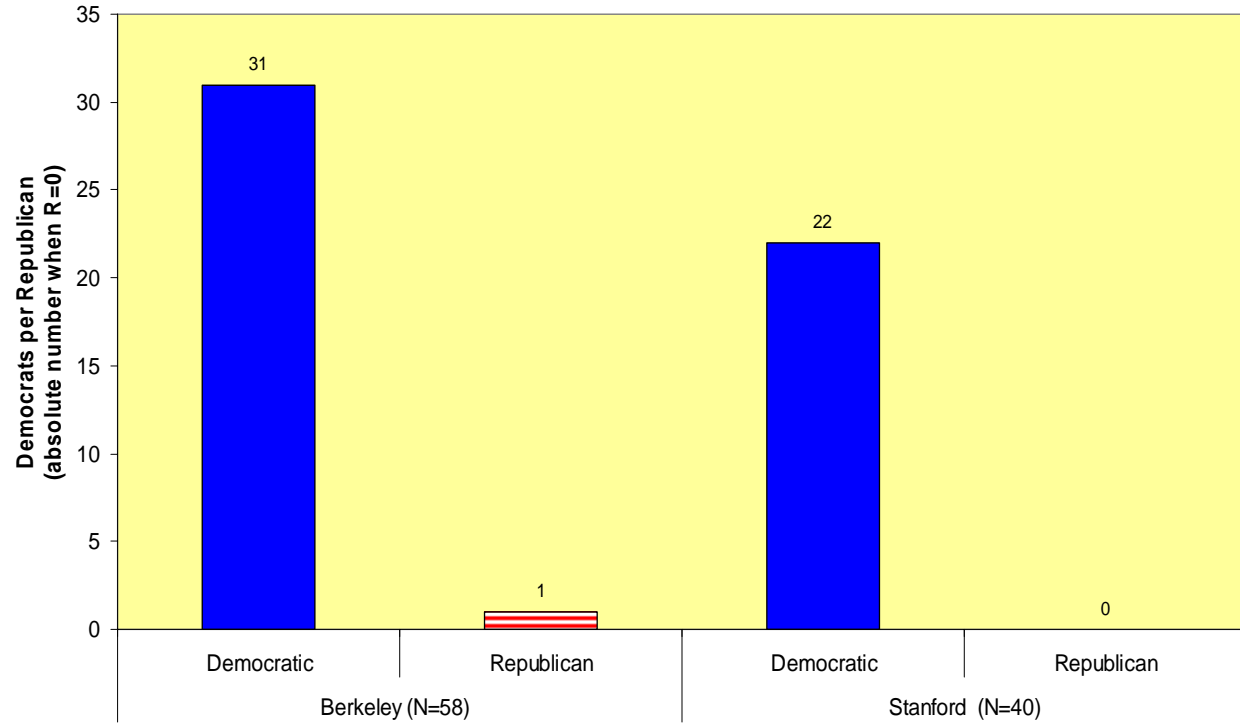
French and Italian

French & Italian departments' D:R ratios



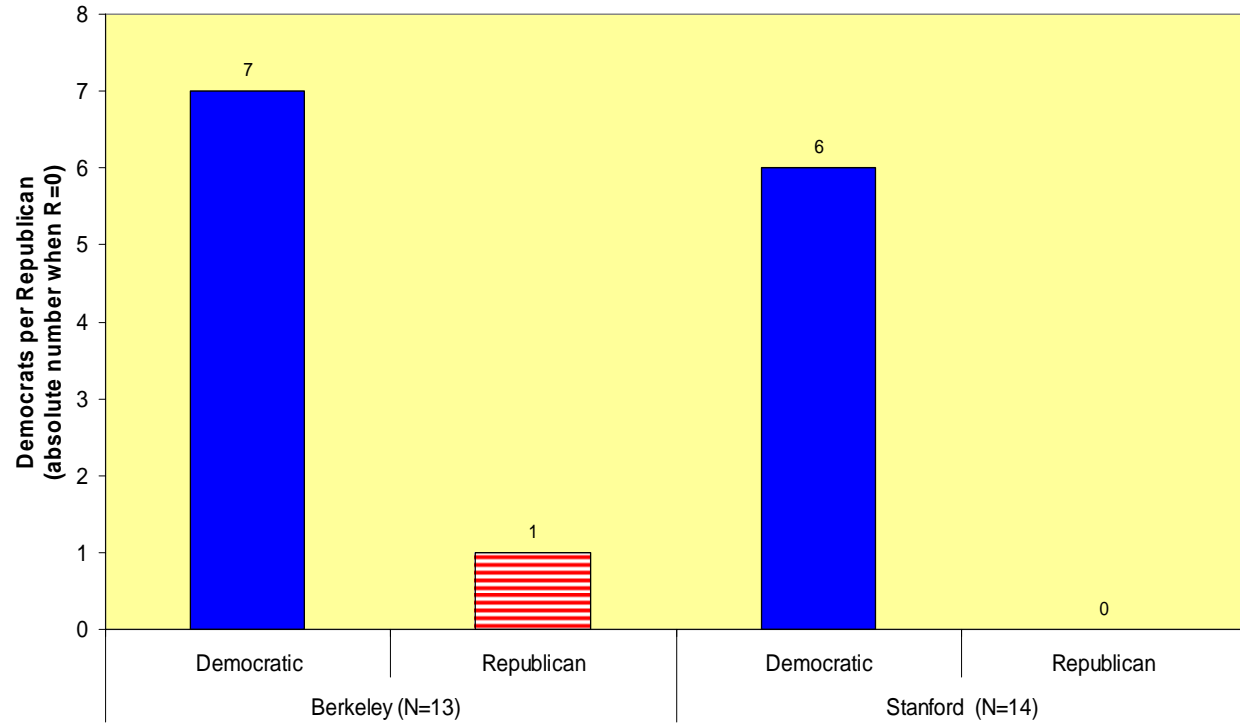
History

History departments' D:R ratios



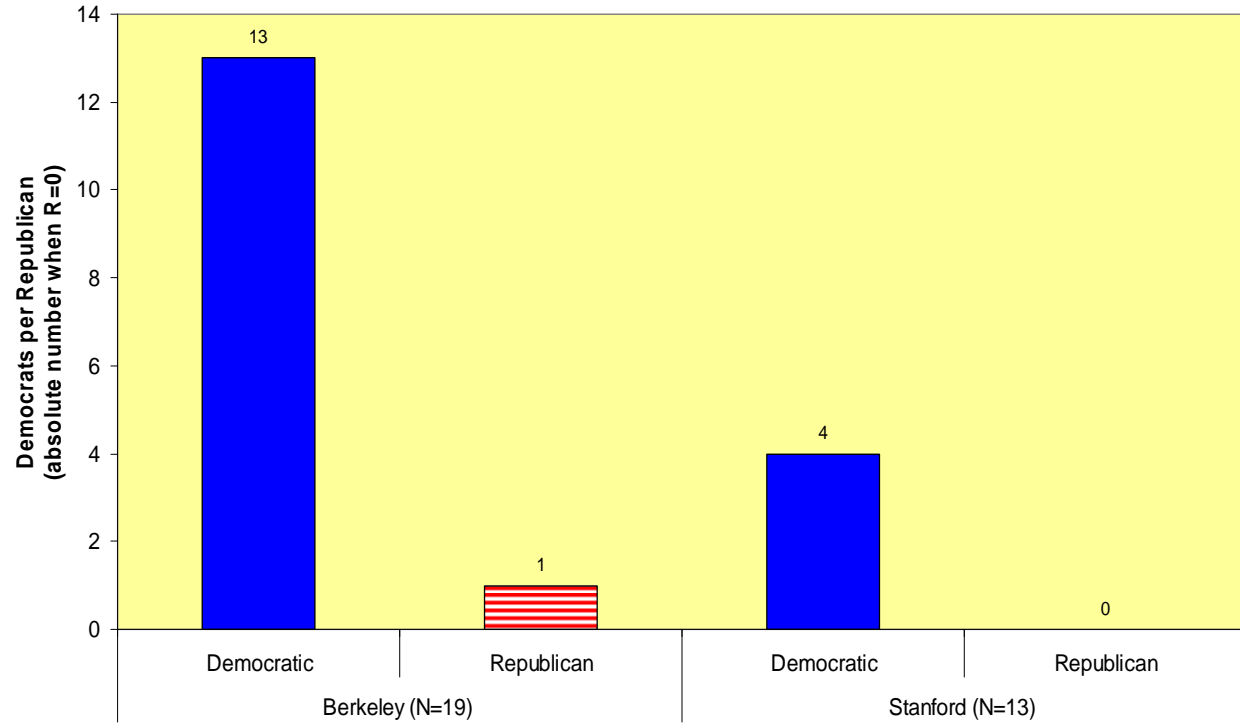
Linguistics

Linguistics departments' D:R ratios



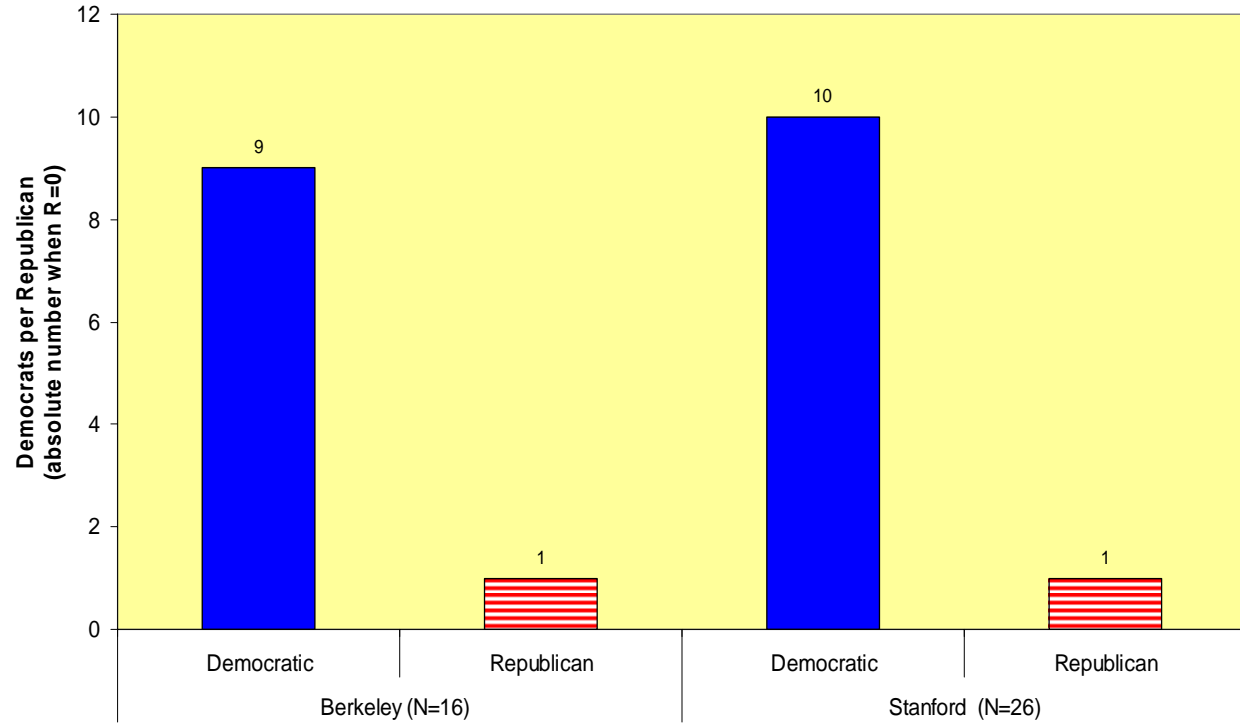
Music

Music departments' D:R ratios



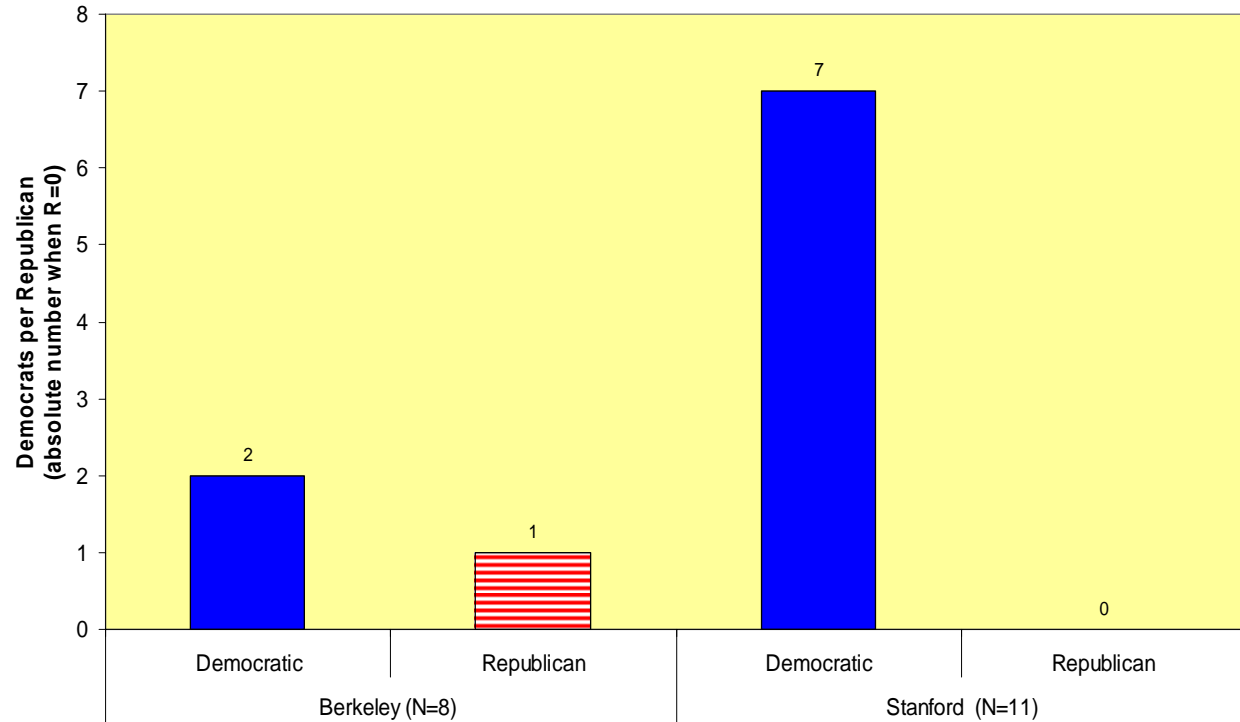
Philosophy

Philosophy departments' D:R ratios



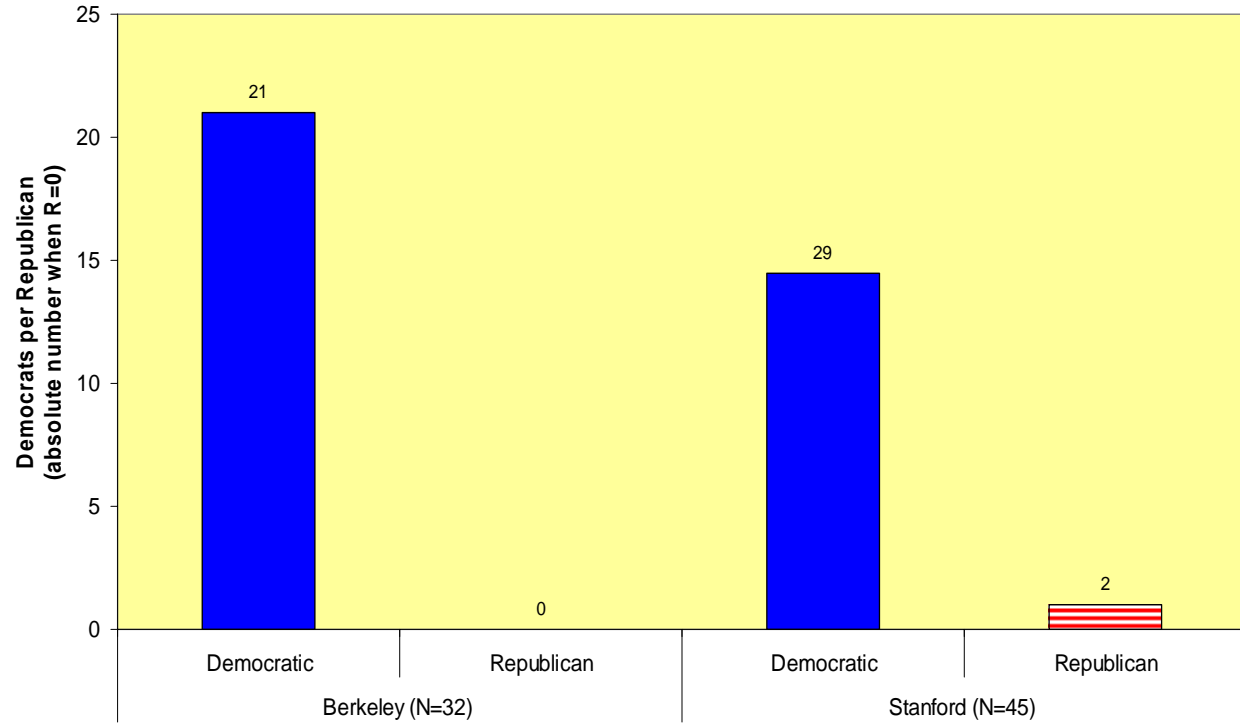
Religious Studies

Religious Studies departments' D:R ratios



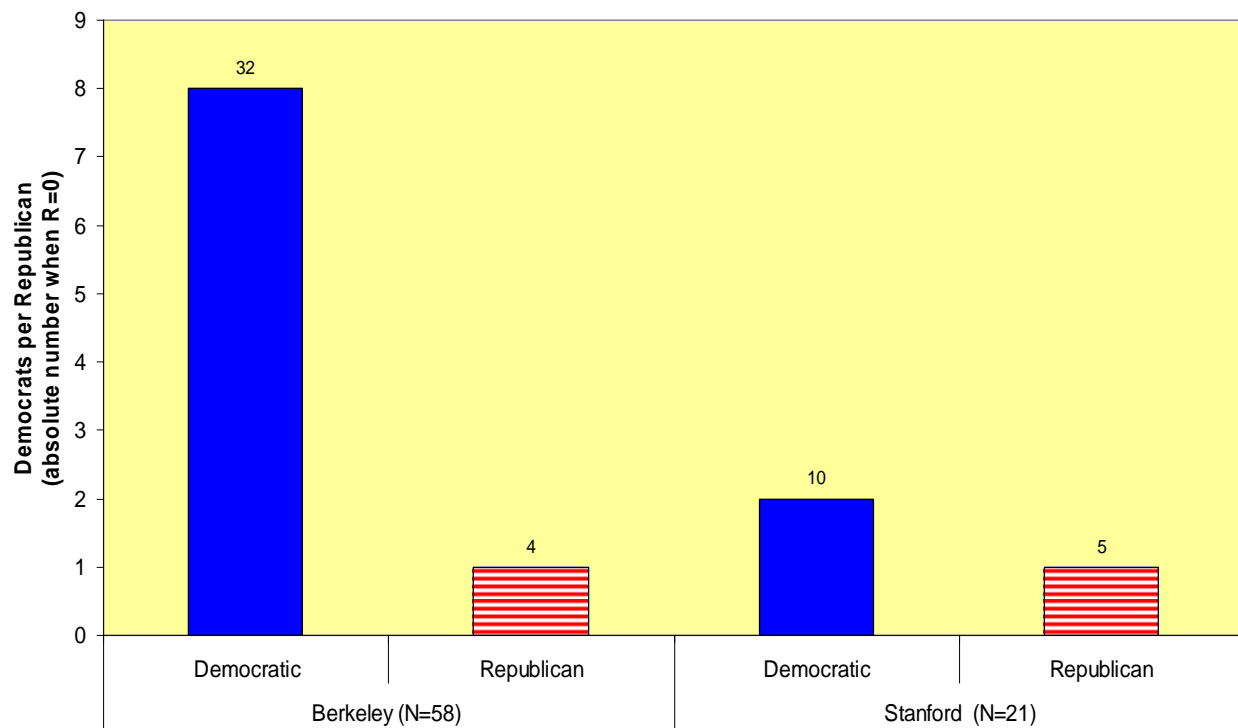
Biology

Biology departments' D:R ratios



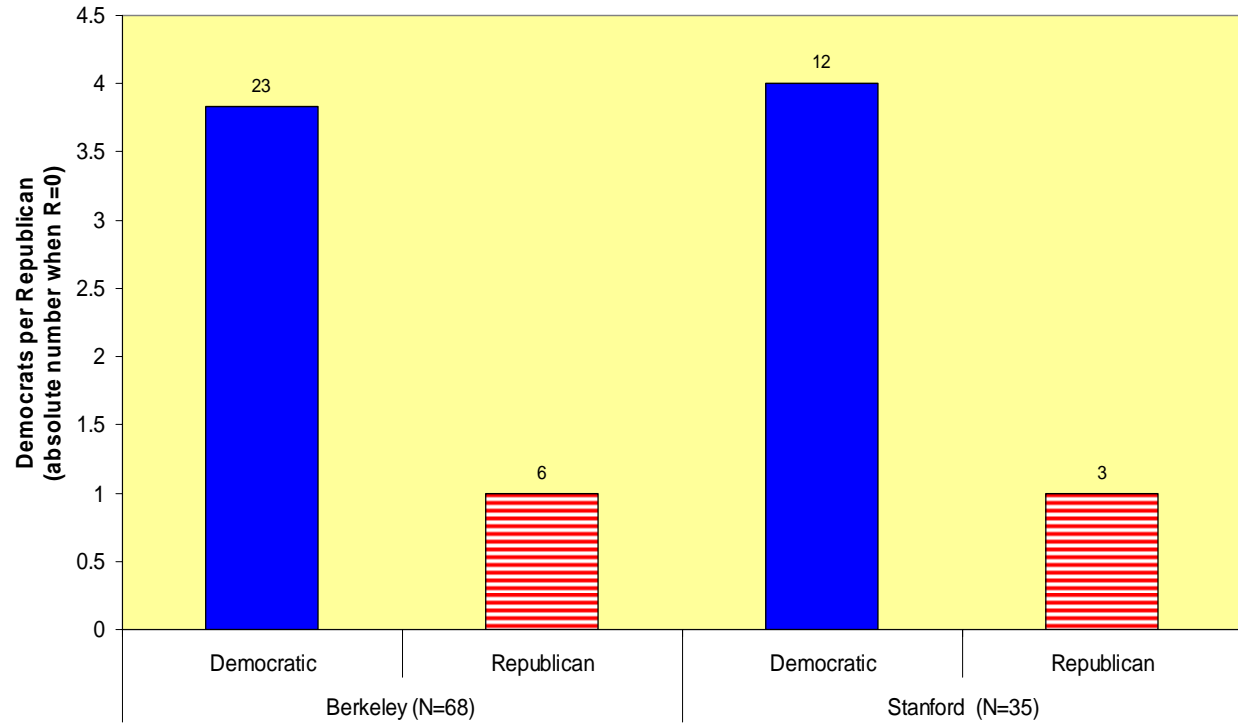
Chemistry

Chemistry departments' D:R ratios



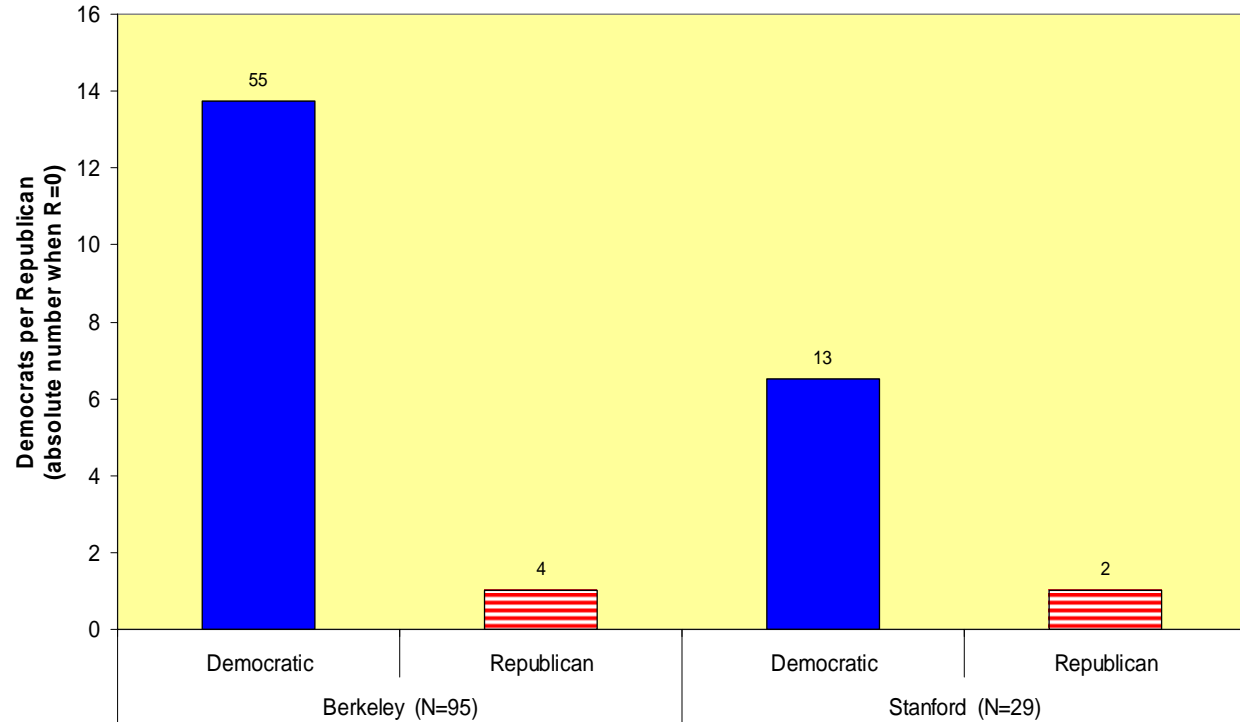
Mathematics

Mathematics departments' D:R ratios



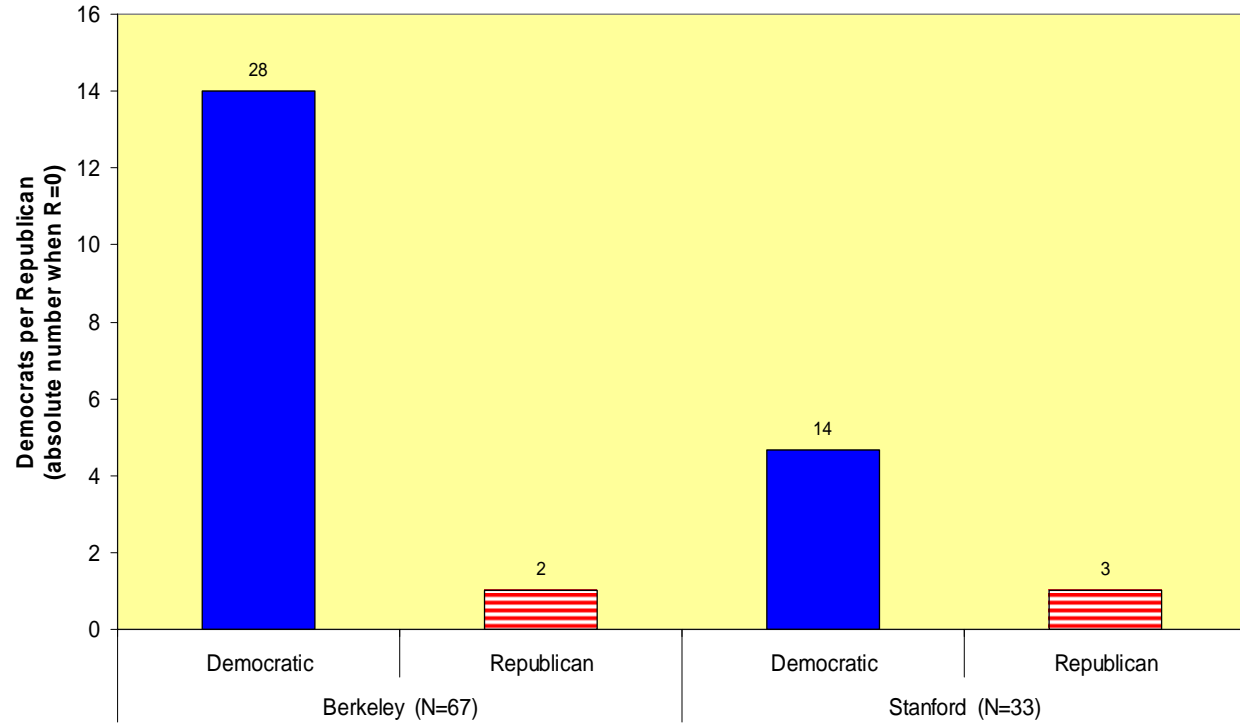
Neurobiology/Neurology

Neurology/Neurobiology departments' D:R ratios



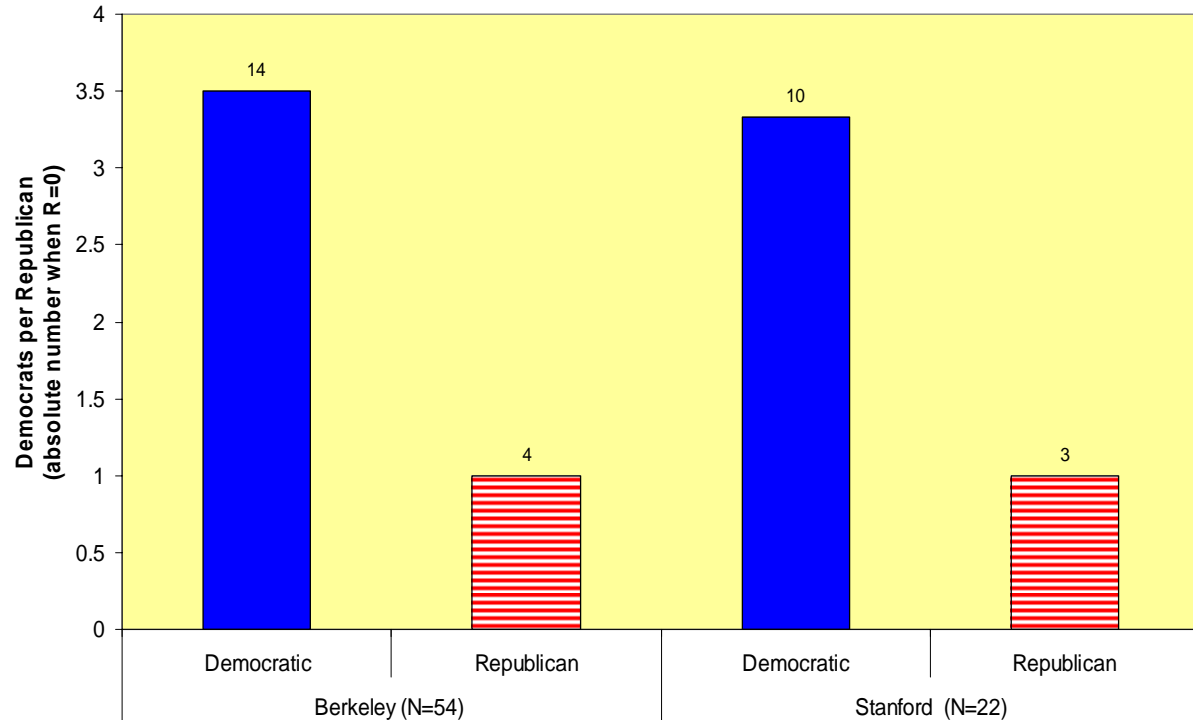
Physics

Physics departments' D:R ratios



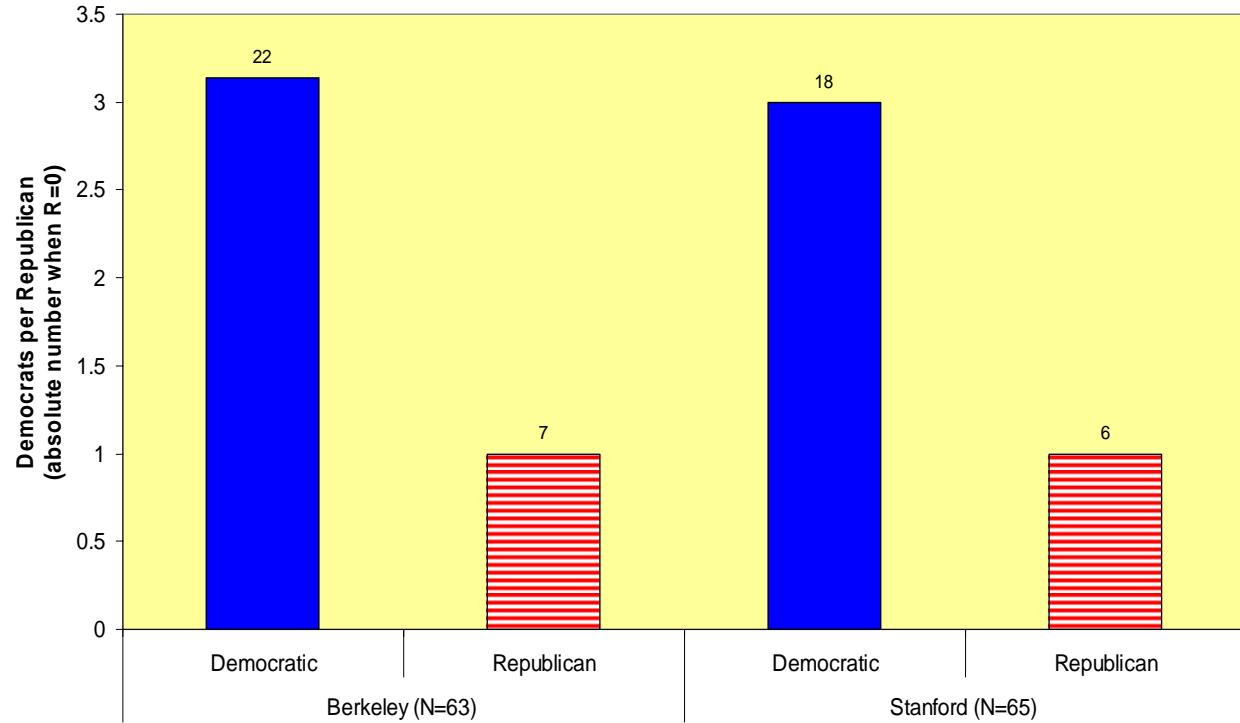
Civil and Environmental Engineering

Civil & Environmental Engineering departments' D:R ratios



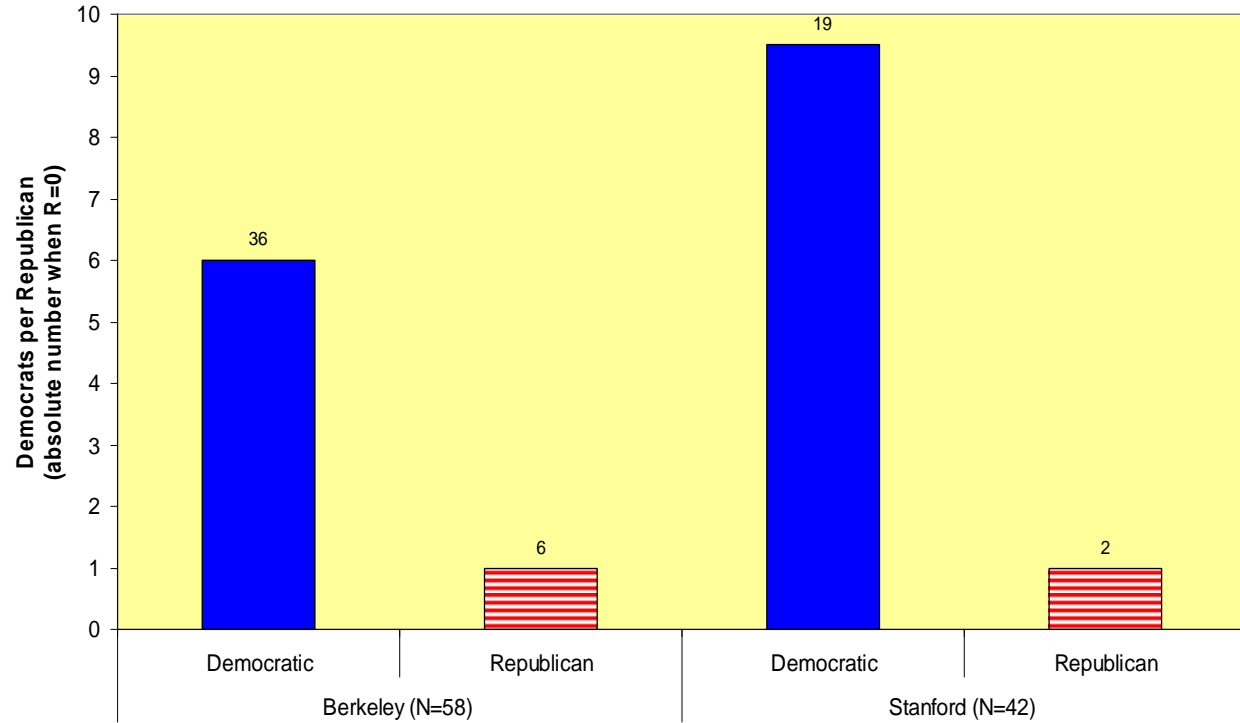
Electrical Engineering

Electrical Engineering departments' D:R ratios



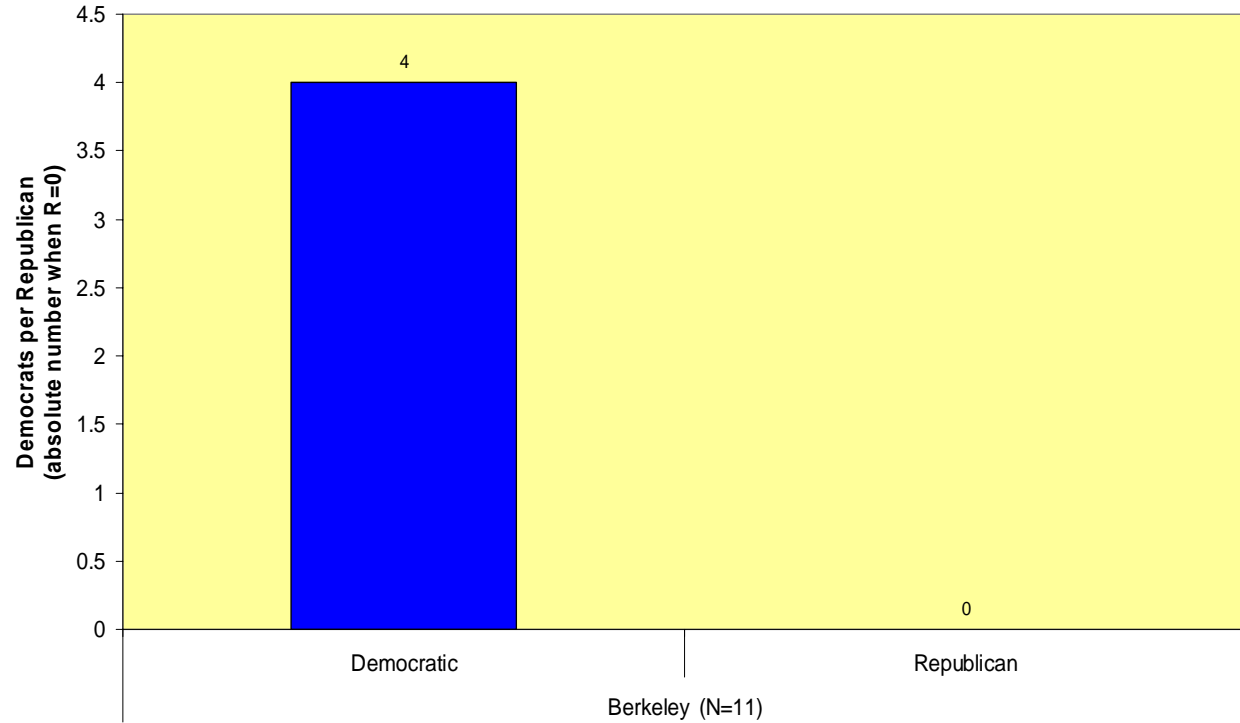
Law

Law schools' D:R ratios



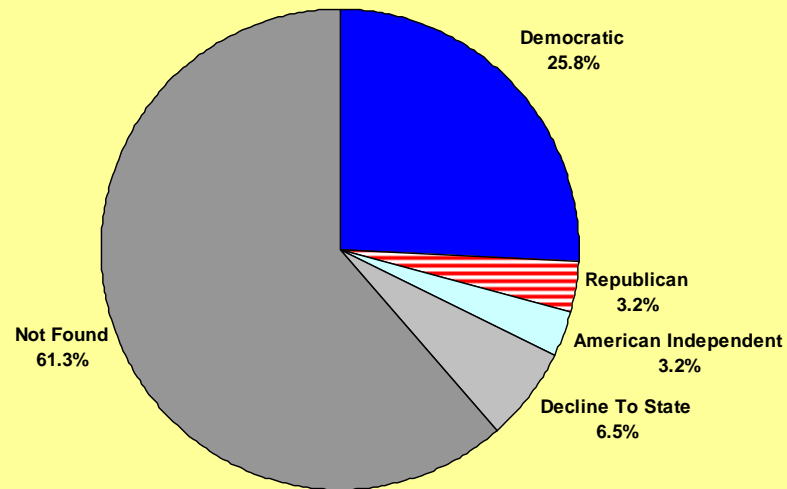
Journalism

Journalism schools' D:R ratio



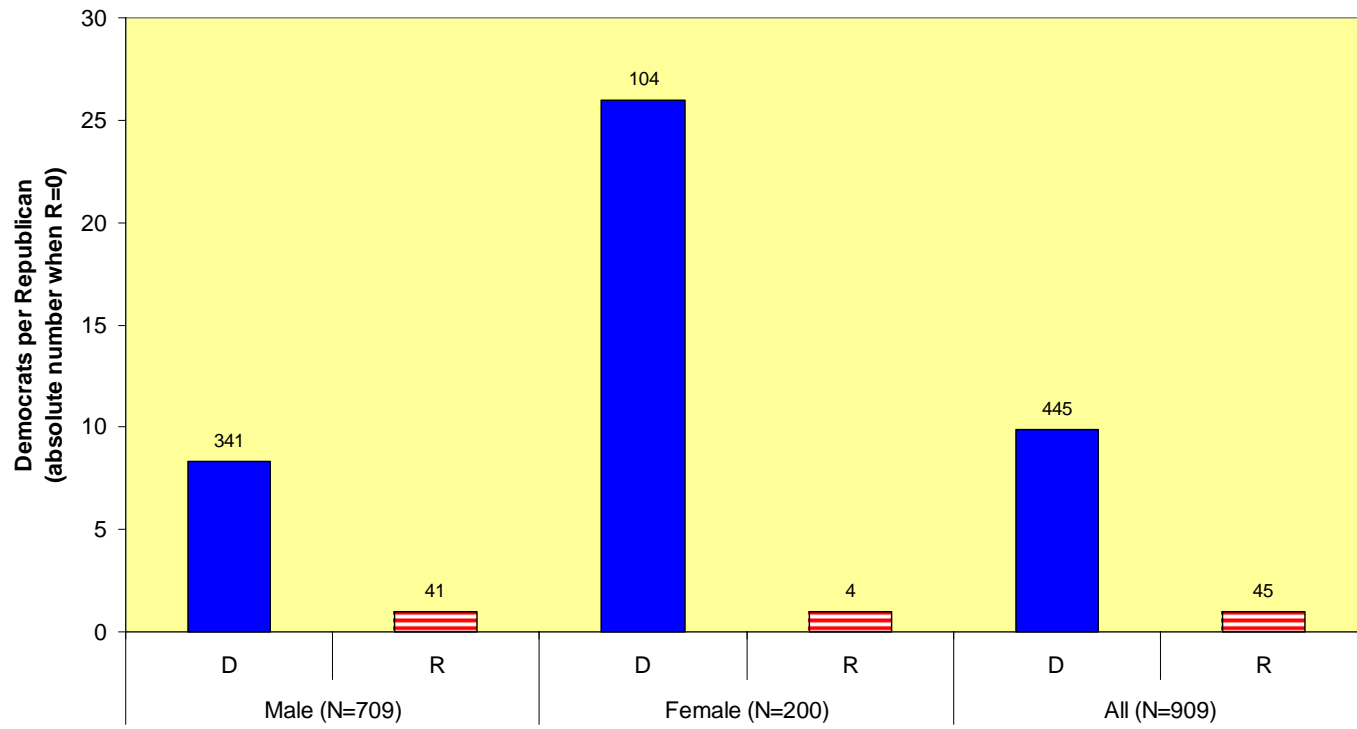
Accounting and Marketing

Accounting and Marketing dept. data for Berkeley and Stanford
(N=31)



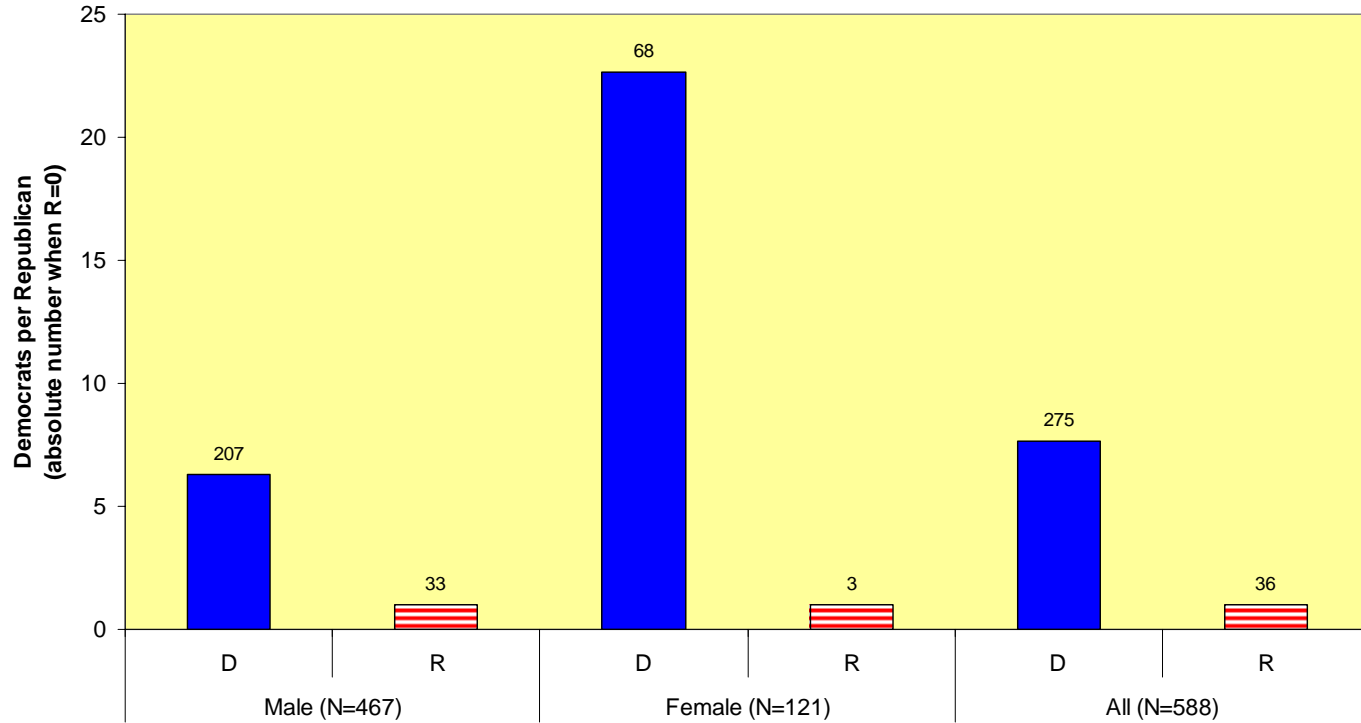
Gender, Berkeley

UC-Berkeley faculty gender D:R ratios



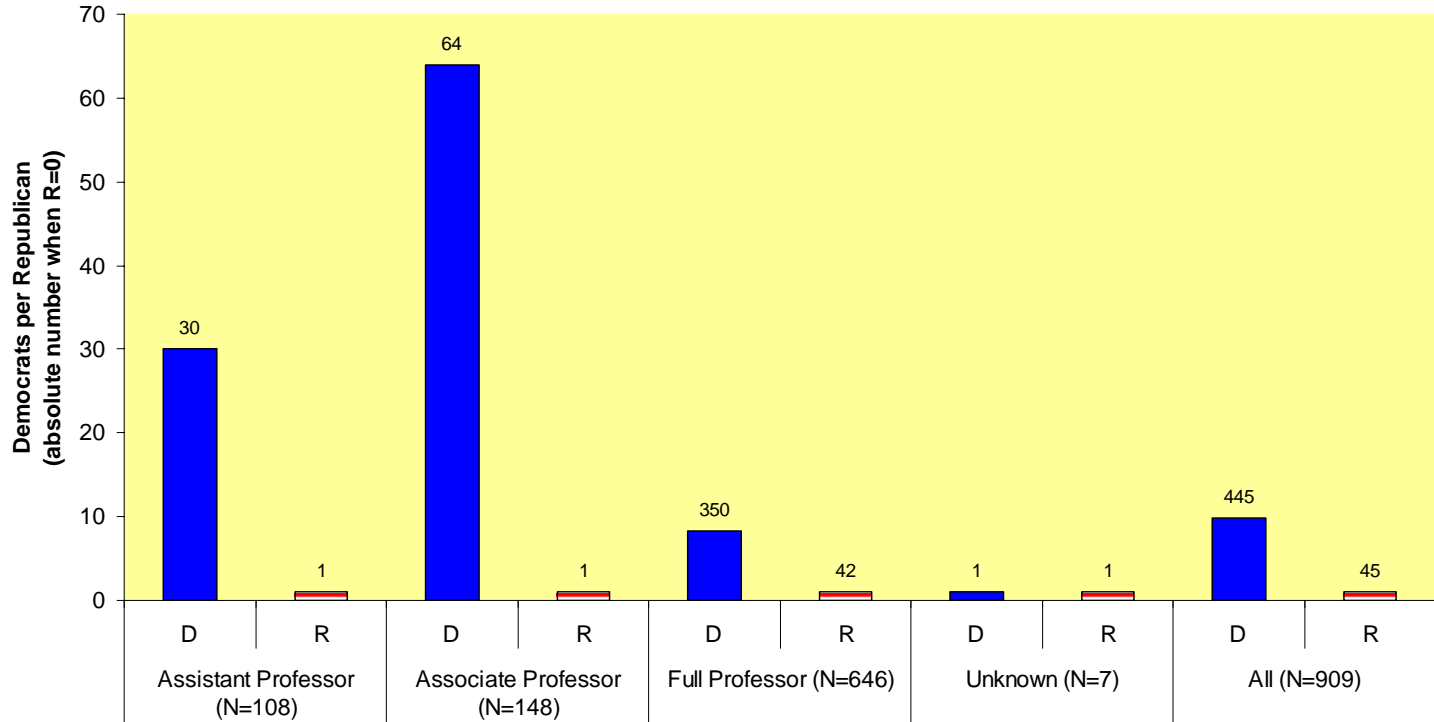
Gender, Stanford

Stanford University faculty gender D:R ratios



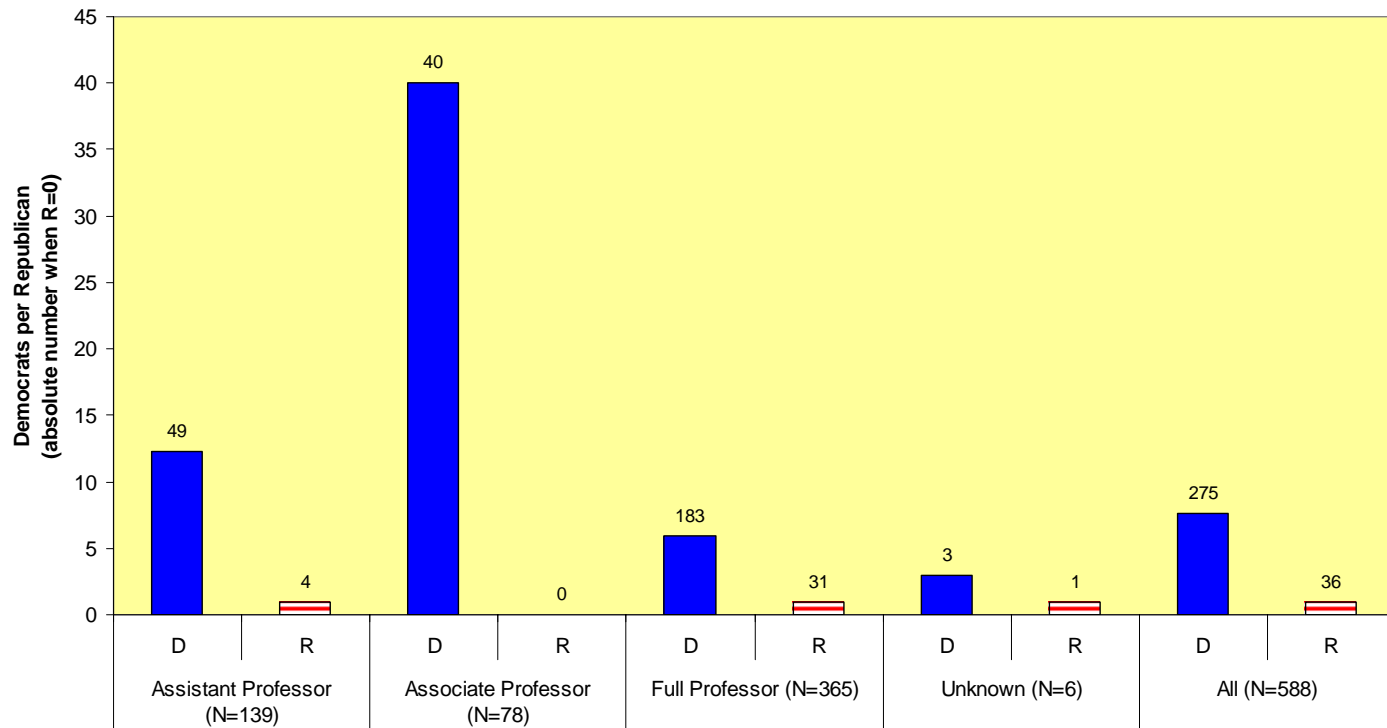
Rank, Berkeley

UC-Berkeley faculty rank D:R ratios



Rank, Stanford

Stanford University faculty rank D:R ratios





Rank, Berkeley and Stanford

- Among all Associate and Assist. Profs:
 - 183 Democrats
 - 6 Republicans
 - Ratio of 30.5 to 1
 - And of the 6 Repubs, 5 are Assistant
- Republicans are an endangered species
- Lopsidedness will get more extreme



From 2 Schools to 32

- Center for the Study of Popular Culture (David Horowitz) and *The American Enterprise* (Karl Zinsmeister) collected voter reg data on 32 elite schools.
- Economics, English, History, Philosophy, Political Science, and Sociology
- Found 10 to 1



“Spot-check” of CSPC/ *TAE*

- Berkeley and Stanford were among CSPC/ *TAE*'s 32.
- We compared line by line, department by department.
- We found 10.7 to 1 compared to their finding of 8.7 to 1.
- This lends support to the integrity of their 10 to 1 finding for the 32 schools.

Klein-Stern Survey of 6 Academic Associations

- Charlotta Stern, Assistant Prof., Swedish Inst. for Social Research, Stockholm Univ.
- Ph.D., Sociology, Stockholm Univ., quantitative sociologist.





Survey and data

- Conducted April 2003
- Handled and certified by independent controller
- 5,486 U.S. members of 6 assns
- 1678 (nonblank) surveys came back
Response rate 31 percent



Survey of academic associations

- Am. Anthropological Assn (1000)
- Am. Economics Assn (1000)
- Am. Historical Assn (1000)
- Am. Soc. for Pol. and Legal Phil. (486)
- Am. Political Science Assn (1000)
- Am. Sociological Assn (1000)



Survey of academic associations

	Surveys completed	Response rate (%)
Anthropology	349	34.9
Economics	264	26.6
History	297	30.9
Phil. (pol./legal)	108	22.6
Political Science	309	31.0
Sociology	351	35.2
Total	1678	30.9



Academics up to 70

- Pleased check your primary employment (if retired, kindly answer retrospectively):

academic

public
sector

private
sector

independent
research

other

- Academics up to 70: 1029



The voting question

- To which political party have the candidates you've voted for in the past ten years mostly belonged?

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<hr/>
Democratic	Green	Liber.	Republican	other

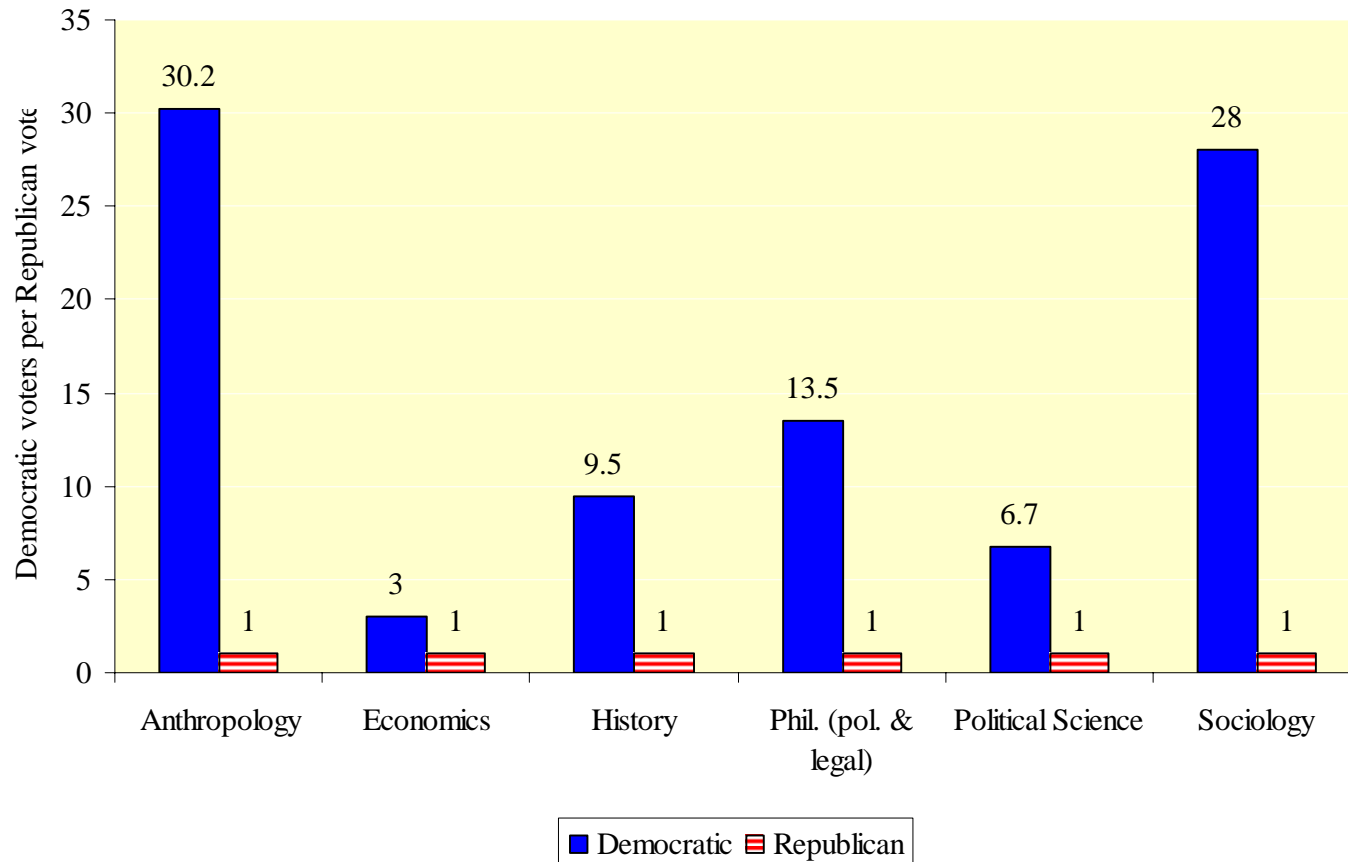
1029 respondents:

828	Democratic
81	Republican
16	Green
12	Libertarian
55	Miscellaneous
37	Declined to answer

96 percent answered the question.

Democratic to Republican

Figure 1
D to R Ratio of Six Academic Associations





Two possible biases

- Membership bias: Maybe Democrat historians are more likely than Republican historians to join the AHA
- Response bias: Maybe Democrat historians are more likely than Republican historians to return the survey



Biases Unlikely Significant

- Not much reason to expect either bias
- The voter registration ratios are similar, discipline by discipline



Estimating D to R throughout Social Sciences/Humanities

- Departmental composition for:
 - big university (we used Berkeley)
 - small university (we used Santa Clara)
- Assume Econ is 3 to 1
- Non-Econ
 - lower-bound assumption: 8 to 1
 - reasonable assumption: 10 to 1



Social Sciences/Humanities Nationwide

- Big school:
 - Lower-bound: 7.1 to 1
 - Reasonable: 8.6 to 1
- Small school:
 - Lower-bound: 7.0 to 1
 - Reasonable: 8.4 to 1
- Conclusion
 - Certainly 7 to 1
 - **Reasonable to speak of 8 to 1**



Republicans Sorted Out

	Academic	Not academic
D:	962	324
R:	112	78

8.6 to 1

4.2 to 1

Significant at 1%



Public vs. Private Schools

	Public	Private
D:	585	354
R:	54	48
Ratio:	10.8 to 1	7.4 to 1

P-value 0.065



Policy Questions

Tariffs on imported goods to protect American industries and jobs:

- | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| support | support | have mixed | oppose | oppose | Have | |
| strongly | mildly | feelings | mildly | strongly | no opinion | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | |

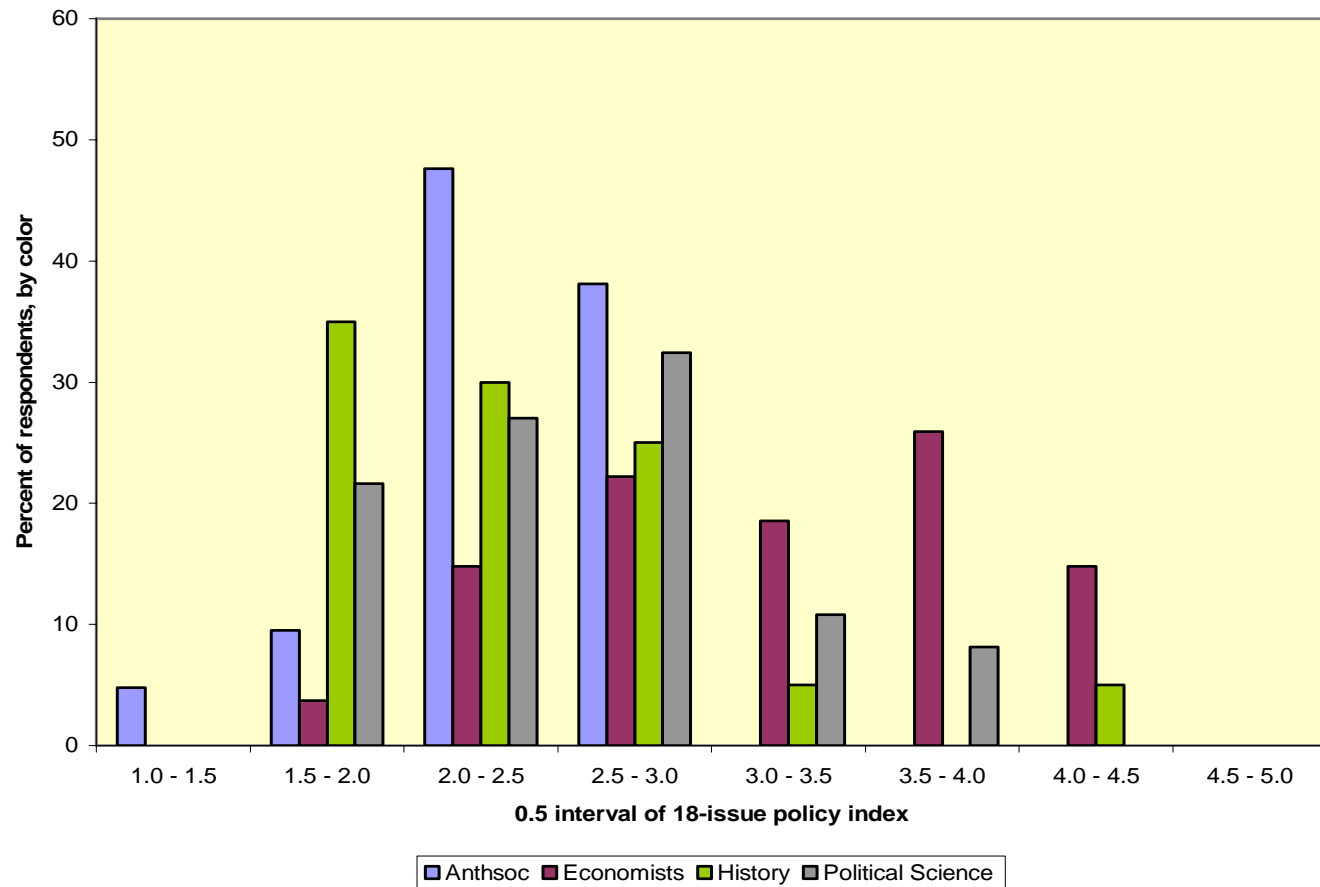


18 Policy Questions

Tariffs, minimum wage, OSHA, FDA, EPA, discrimination, drugs, prostitution, gambling, guns, govt ownership, redistribution, schooling, monetary policy, fiscal policy, immigration, military, foreign aid

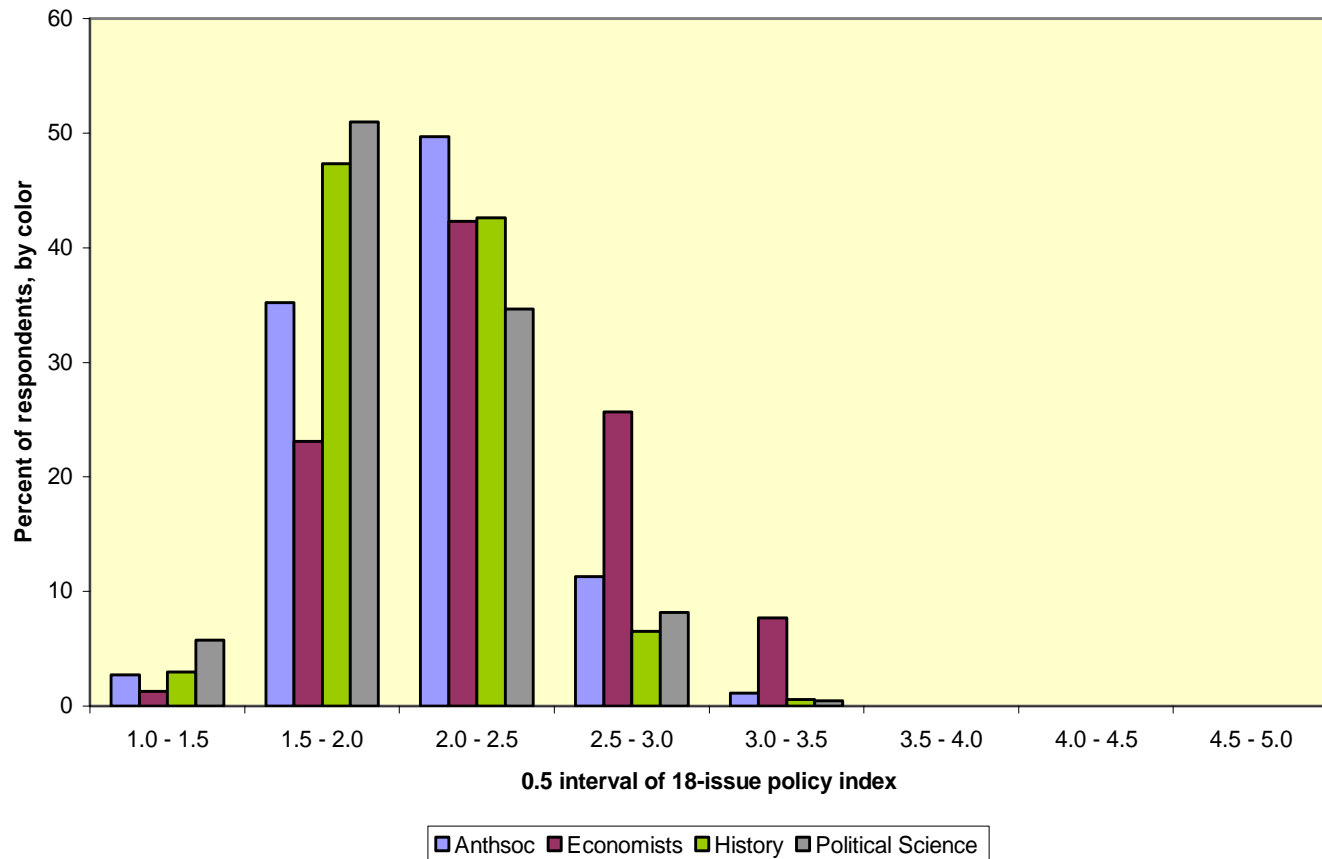
Republican Profs' Policy Views

Distribution of 18-isse policy index scores of Republican academics in the disciplines



Democrat Profs' Policy Views: More statist, Less diverse

Distribution of 18-issue policy index scores of Democratic voters in the disciplines





Questions in our mind

- Why does the Left dominate?
 - Leftists are smarter
 - Leftists care, others want money
 - Groupthink
- How you answer will reflect your ideology
- There's no not taking sides



Groupthink

- Nationwide, each History dept functions within a mono-centric club called History
- The club hierarchy cuts laterally across the country
- The XYU History dept is more a creature of History than of XYU
- Within a university, each dept is autonomous
- Each dept operates by majority rule

What Is to Be Done?

By University Administrators

- Hire more conservatives and libertarians
- How?
 - Affirmative-action: Check an ideology box?
 - Property rights within depts (Stephen Balch)
 - Create campus institutes
 - Create new departments

What Is to Be Done?

By Taxpayers, Donors, and Parents

- Know what you pay for
- You might decide you don't want to pay for it



Conclusions

- Academia is a major part of our culture
- Its values and ideas are very one-sided
 - 8 to 1 in social sciences and humanities
 - The Left has a narrow tent



Conclusions

- The facts are established
- The public is still in the dark
- We need more awareness
- When the public is aware, the academy will have to respond
- Awareness is an end in itself. It helps us to understand the culture around us.



Selected References

Papers by Daniel B. Klein and Charlotta Stern:

"How Politically Diverse are the Social Sciences and Humanities? Survey Evidence from Six Fields," *Academic Questions*, forthcoming.

"Economists' Policy Views and Voting," *Public Choice*, forthcoming.

"Democrats and Republicans in Anthropology and Sociology: How Do They Differ on Public Policy Issues?," *The American Sociologist*, forthcoming.

Paper by Daniel B. Klein and Andrew Western:

"How Many Democrats per Republican at UC-Berkeley and Stanford? Voter Registration Data across 23 Academic Departments," *Academic Questions*, forthcoming.

[LINK TO RESEARCH PAPERS](#)