Ideology of Faculty in the Social Sciences and Humanities

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Santa Clara University
## Then and Now

Democrats per Republican

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Social Science</th>
<th>Humanities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>8.9 : 1</td>
<td>6.6 : 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>3.8 : 1</td>
<td>3.1 : 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>3.5 : 1</td>
<td>2.4 : 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Composite '64/'68/'72

4 : 1

Social Science

Humanities

Klein-Stern 2003

8 : 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)

- Democratic: 49.0%
- Republican: 5.0%
- Nonpartisan: 7.0%
- Green: 2.1%
- Other: 0.4%
- Not Found: 21.5%
- Declined To State: 3.3%
- Indeterminate: 11.8%
Party registration of Stanford University faculty (N=588)

- Democratic: 46.8%
- Republican: 6.1%
- Green: 0.9%
- Indeterminate: 8.3%
- Not Found: 24.0%
- Declined to State: 10.7%
- Nonpartisan: 1.9%
- Others: 1.4%
Broad Groupings: Berkeley

UC-Berkeley broad groupings' D:R ratios

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Democrats (D)</th>
<th>Republicans (R)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Sciences (N=198)</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanities (N=189)</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hard Sciences and Math (N=320)</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Schools and Departments (N=202)</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All (N=909)</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Broad Groupings: Stanford

Stanford University broad groupings’ D:R ratios

Democrats per Republican (absolute number when R=0)

- Social Sciences (N=130): D=72, R=8
- Humanities (N=151): D=2, R=2
- Hard Sciences and Math (N=163): D=78, R=15
- Professional Schools and Departments (N=144): D=53, R=11
- All (N=588): D=275, R=36
Social Sciences and Humanities
Berkeley and Stanford

352 Democrats and 21 Republicans

16 to 1
Anthropology departments' D:R ratios

Anthropology

Democratic Republicans
Berkeley (N=27)

Democrats per Republican
(absolute number when R=0)

Democratic
Berkeley (N=27)

Republican

Democratic
Stanford (N=10)

Republican

12

6

0
Economics departments’ D:R ratios

Democrats per Republican (absolute number when R=0)

- Berkeley (N=55): 22
- Stanford (N=43): 2
- Democratic
- Republican

Economics
Political Science departments’ D:R ratios

Democrats per Republican (absolute number when R=0)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Democratic Berkeley (N=45)</th>
<th>Republican Berkeley</th>
<th>Democratic Stanford (N=32)</th>
<th>Republican Stanford</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Psychology departments' D:R ratios

Psychology departments' D:R ratios

Democrats per Republican (absolute number when R=0)

Democratic Berkeley (N=43) 26
Democratic Stanford (N=32) 24
Republican Berkeley 1
Republican Stanford 0
Sociology departments' D:R ratios

Democrats per Republican (absolute number when R=0)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Berkeley (N=28)</th>
<th>Stanford (N=13)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democratic</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
English departments' D:R ratios

Democrats per Republican

(absolute number when R=0)

- Berkeley (N=58): 29
- Stanford (N=35): 22

Democratic

Republican

Democratic

Republican
French and Italian departments’ D:R ratios

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Democratic</th>
<th>Republican</th>
<th>Democratic</th>
<th>Republican</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berkeley (N=17)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanford (N=12)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Democrats per Republican (absolute number when R=0)
History departments' D:R ratios

- Berkeley (N=58): 31 Democrats per Republican
- Stanford (N=40): 22 Democrats per Republican

Note: The ratio of Democrats per Republican (absolute number when R=0)
Linguistics departments' D:R ratios

Democrats per Republican (absolute number when R=0)

- Berkeley (N=13): 7 Democrats
- Stanford (N=14): 6 Democrats
- Republican: 0 Democrats
Music departments' D:R ratios

Democrats per Republican (absolute number when R=0)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Berkeley (N=19)</th>
<th>Stanford (N=13)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democratic</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Philosophy departments' D:R ratios

Democrats per Republican (absolute number when R=0)

- Berkeley (N=16): Democratic = 9, Republican = 1
- Stanford (N=26): Democratic = 10, Republican = 1
Religious Studies

Religious Studies departments' D:R ratios

Democrats per Republican (absolute number when R=0)

- Democratic Berkeley (N=8): 2
- Republican Berkeley: 1
- Democratic Stanford (N=11): 7
- Republican Stanford: 0
Biology

Biology departments' D:R ratios

Democrats per Republican (absolute number when R=0)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Democratic</th>
<th>Republican</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berkeley (N=32)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanford (N=45)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chemistry departments' D:R ratios

Democrats per Republican (absolute number when R=0)

- Berkeley (N=58): Democratic = 32
- Stanford (N=21): Democratic = 10
- Republican = 4 (Berkeley) and 5 (Stanford)
Mathematics departments' D:R ratios

Democrats per Republican (absolute number when R=0)

- Berkeley (N=68): Democratic: 23, Republican: 6
- Stanford (N=35): Democratic: 12, Republican: 3
Neurobiology/Neurology departments' DːR ratios

Democrats per Republican
(absolute number when R=0)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Berkeley (N=95)</th>
<th>Stanford (N=29)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democratic</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Physics departments' D:R ratios

Democrats per Republican (absolute number when R=0)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Democratic</th>
<th>Republican</th>
<th>Democratic</th>
<th>Republican</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berkeley</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanford</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N=67)</td>
<td>(N=33)</td>
<td>(N=33)</td>
<td>(N=33)</td>
<td>(N=33)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Civil and Environmental Engineering

Civil & Environmental Engineering departments' D:R ratios

Democrats per Republican (absolute number when R=0)

- Berkeley (N=54): Democratic 14, Republican 4
- Stanford (N=22): Democratic 10, Republican 3
Electrical Engineering departments’ D:R ratios

- Berkeley (N=63): Democrats per Republican = 22
- Stanford (N=65): Democrats per Republican = 18
Law schools’ D:R ratios

 Democrats per Republican (absolute number when R=0)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Democratic</th>
<th>Republican</th>
<th>Democratic</th>
<th>Republican</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berkeley</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanford</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(N=58) (N=42)
Journalism schools' D:R ratio

Democrats per Republican (absolute number when R=0)

Berkeley (N=11)
Accounting and Marketing dept. data for Berkeley and Stanford (N=31)

- Democratic: 25.8%
- Republican: 3.2%
- Decline To State: 6.5%
- Not Found: 61.3%
- American Independent: 3.2%
Gender, Berkeley

UC-Berkeley faculty gender D:R ratios

Democrats per Republican (absolute number when R=0)

- Male (N=709): D=341, R=41
- Female (N=200): D=104, R=4
- All (N=909): D=445, R=45
Gender, Stanford

Stanford University faculty gender D:R ratios

Democrats per Republican (absolute number when R=0)

- Male (N=467): 207 Democrats, 33 Republicans
- Female (N=121): 68 Democrats, 3 Republicans
- All (N=588): 275 Democrats, 36 Republicans
UC-Berkeley faculty rank D:R ratios

Democrats per Republican (absolute number when R=0)

Assistant Professor (N=108)

Associate Professor (N=148)

Full Professor (N=646)

Unknown (N=7)

All (N=909)
Rank, Stanford

Stanford University faculty rank D:R ratios

Democrats per Republican (absolute number when R=0)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Democrat</th>
<th>Republican</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Professor (N=139)</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate Professor (N=78)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Professor (N=365)</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown (N=6)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All (N=588)</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discipline</th>
<th>Surveys completed</th>
<th>Response rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anthropology</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>34.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phil. (pol./legal)</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Science</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>35.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1678</strong></td>
<td><strong>30.9</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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?

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic Association</th>
<th>Democratic Voters</th>
<th>Republican Voters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anthropology</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phil. (pol. &amp; legal)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Science</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend:
- Democratic
- Republican
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 structure 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Academic</th>
<th>Not academic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D:</td>
<td>962</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R:</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.6 to 1        4.2 to 1

Significant at 1%
### Public vs. Private Schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Public</th>
<th>Private</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D:</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R:</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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:

- [ ] support
- [ ] support
- [ ] have mixed feelings
- [ ] oppose
- [ ] oppose

1 2 3 4 5

- Have no opinion
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- issue policy index scores of Republican academics in the disciplines

0.5 interval of 18-issue policy index

Percent of respondents, by color

Anthsoc  Economists  History  Political Science
Democrat Profs’ Policy Views: More statist, Less diverse

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

- Anthsoc
- Economists
- History
- Political Science
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
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:


Paper by Daniel B. Klein and Andrew Western:


LINK TO RESEARCH PAPERS