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FACULTY PARTISAN AFFILIATIONS IN ALL DISCIPLINES: A VOTER-REGISTRATION STUDY

ABSTRACT: *The party registration of tenure-track faculty at 11 California universities, ranging from small, private, religiously affiliated institutions to large, public, elite schools, shows that the "one-party campus" conjecture does not extend to all institutions or all departments. At one end of the scale, U.C. Berkeley has an adjusted Democrat:Republican ratio of almost 9:1, while Pepperdine University has a ratio of nearly 1:1. Academic field also makes a tremendous difference, with the humanities averaging a 10:1 D:R ratio and business schools averaging 1.3:1, and with departments ranging from sociology (44:1) to management (1.5:1). Across all departments and in-stitutions, the D:R ratio is 5:1, while in the "soft" liberal-arts fields, the ratio is higher than 8:1. These findings are generally in line with comparable previous studies.*

The conventional wisdom about the politics of the American univer-sity holds that the professoriate, particularly in the humanities and social sciences, has a leftward tilt. Empirical investigation of the topic has pri-marily taken two forms, surveys and voter-registration studies.[1] The re-sults of the two approaches have been mutually reinforcing, and have confirmed the conventional wisdom. In the humanities and social sci-

ences, and at elite institutions, a "one-party system" appears undeniable. But our investigation shows that elsewhere on campus, such as in the business school, and at religious and explicitly conservative colleges and universities, the situation is very different.

This paper expands the voter-registration approach. It covers a broad range of schools: public and private, large and small, religious and secular, elite and mid-tier, liberal-arts and professional. Although the schools are all located in California, they are geographically dispersed across the state's three largest metropolitan areas: the San Francisco Bay area, Los Angeles, and San Diego.

Elsewhere in these pages, Klein and Stern 2005b provides a lengthy summary of research on the ideological views of academics, including voter-registration research. Therefore, our summary of previous voter-registration research is brief, and we confine ourselves to the investigation of Democrat:Republican ratios among faculty without directly exploring ideology.

Table 1 compares some of our findings (column D) to the Democrat:Republican ratios discovered in previous voter-registration and survey research. (As the comparisons show, each investigation has its peculiarities, and no method is definitive.) Within any given line of Table 1, our findings tend to be on the low end. This results from our inclusion of Prostestant-oriented, "conservative," and non-elite schools. When there are so few Republicans to start with, just a few more in the denominator can dramatically reduce the D:R ratio.

Our Politics

The topic of this paper is inherently political. Readers will rightly ask who is doing the investigation, and why. The lead author, Christopher F. Cardiff, felt politically homeless through his first four opportunities to vote for president. Eventually, he found that his beliefs are best described as libertarian-tending-to-vote-Republican. As an economist, his chief research interest is education policy. His motivation to conduct this investigation arose from the monolithic political culture that his daughter seemed to confront (in his eyes) as she shopped for an undergraduate education. Daniel Klein, the second author, is an economist whose family members were uniformly Democratic, but around age 17 he went from being apolitical to considering himself libertarian. In 1980 he voted for the Libertarian presidential candidate, but

Table 1. Our D:R ratios compared to previous studies of seven liberal-arts disciplines.

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	Survey Studies			*Voter-Registration Studies*		
	Klein & Stern	Rothman et al.	Brookings	*Cardiff & Klein*	5 misc. studies	Horowitz & Lehrer
Anthropology	30.2	*		*10.5*	21*	
Economics	3.0	2.1	3.7	*2.8*	1.6	4.3
English		29		*13.3*	19.3	18.6
History	9.5	14.3	4.1	*10.9*	75	20.7
Philosophy	13.5	5.0		*5.0*	24	8.9
Political Sci.	6.7	7.6	4.8	*6.5*	7.9	7.9
Sociology	28.0	39*	47.0	*44.0*	32*	30.4

*Indicates zero Republicans.

Sources:

Column A: 2003 survey data for academics through age 70 from Klein and Stern 2005a.

Column B: 1999 survey data obtained directly from Robert Lichter, used in Rothman et al. 2005, and detailed in "Lichter" worksheet of the Excel file available at <http://www.gmu.edu/departments/econmics/klein/Voter/FinalApril106Redacted.xls>.

Column C: 2001 survey data from Brookings 2001 and Light 2001.

Column D: 2004–2005 voter-registration data gathered for this paper from California records.

Column E: 2003–5 voter registration data pooled from separate investigations at Capital University, Dartmouth College, Duke University, Ithaca College, and the University of Nevada-Las Vegas, detailed in "Other Schools" worksheet of the Excel file available at <http://www.gmu.edu/departments/economics/klein/Voter/FinalApril106Redacted.xls>.

Column F: 2001–2002 voter registration data for 32 elite schools reported in Horowitz and Lehrer 2002.

has never since voted for any office. For him, this study is part of an ongoing attempt to understand why U.S. political culture does not more readily and thoroughly embrace libertarian ideas, which (in his eyes) seem so worthy.

Methodology

This study takes Klein and Western's 2004 voter registration data on Berkeley and Stanford tenure-track professors (excluding emeriti faculty) and adds data from nine more schools. In selecting the nine additional schools, we sought to include not only major institutions, but also institutions and departments we thought were likely homes for Republicans, and that were geographically feasible for us to study. We extended the study from the San Francisco Bay area to include less-Democratic regions of California. We included two Catholic-affiliated universities (Santa Clara University and the University of San Diego); two Protestant ones (Point Loma Nazarene University and Pepperdine University); a small secular college with a reputation for political diversity (Claremont McKenna College); a top engineering school (California Institute of Technology); a large, mid-tier university (San Diego State University); and two large, elite public research universities (University of California, San Diego, and University of California at Los Angeles).[2]

For these nine schools, unlike Berkeley and Stanford, the faculty data we gathered are comprehensive.[3] Lists of tenure-track faculty (excluding emeriti) were generated from online course catalogs. We collected voter-registration information for these faculty members by searching the records of county registrars of voters, fanning out to surrounding counties as necessary (given cost constraints). For example, Pepperdine University is located in Los Angeles County near Ventura County. If we were unable to locate a faculty member using Los Angeles County records, we then checked Ventura County. Any records still not located would be checked in less likely counties surrounding Los Angeles. Similarly, records were checked for San Francisco Bay-area universities in seven different counties. Because of the large size of San Diego County and the location of the universities within it, we searched only the San Diego registrar of voters for those schools' faculties.

When a search discovered multiple voters with the same name and different party registrations, we marked the result "indeterminate." We included all "inactive" and "pending" status records in our search, and "canceled" registrations when they appeared to indicate the right person. Date of birth was also used to eliminate duplicate records when a voter was obviously too young or too old to be a faculty member.[4]

There is nothing in our methodology that detects or compensates for

Figure 1. Example of departmental naming.

Actual department names	*Generic department name*	*Division*
Africana Studies		
Asian Studies	Ethnic Studies	Humanities
Women's Studies		
Ethnic Studies		

See "Dept. Mapping" in the Excel spreadsheet available at <http://www.gmu.edu/departments/economics/klein/Voter/FinalApril106Redacted.xls> for details about actual department names.

voters who register as members of a party in order to influence its primary election, but who plan on voting against that party in the general election. We believe the number of such voters to be extremely small.

Some individual faculty members are affiliated with more than one department. To avoid double counting, these faculty members were placed in a single department.[5]

We grouped actual department names, which sometimes differ ("political science" versus "government," for example), into a generic department heading; we then grouped the departments into divisions. Figure 1 provides an example.

In this article, when we use the term "department," we mean the generic department. The composition of *divisions* by (generic) departments is as follows:

Fine Arts: Art, Performing Arts, Music.

Humanities: Ethnic Studies, History, Languages and Literatures, Linguistics, Philosophy, Religious Studies.

Social Sciences: Anthropology, Economics, Political Science, Psychology, Sociology.

Hard Sciences/Math: Biology, Chemistry, Earth Sciences, Neurosciences, Physics, Mathematics.

Engineering: Mechanical and Aerospace Engineering, Civil and Environmental Engineering, Biological and Chemical Engineering, Computer Science, Electrical Engineering, Materials Science.

Business: Accounting, General Business, Finance, Information Systems, Management, Marketing.

Social-Professional: Education, Communication, Law, Social Welfare and Policy.

Medicine/Nursing/Health: Medicine, Nursing, Psychiatry, Health.

Military/Sports: Military Science, Physical Education.

Figure 2. Tenure-track faculty party affiliation for selected California universities.
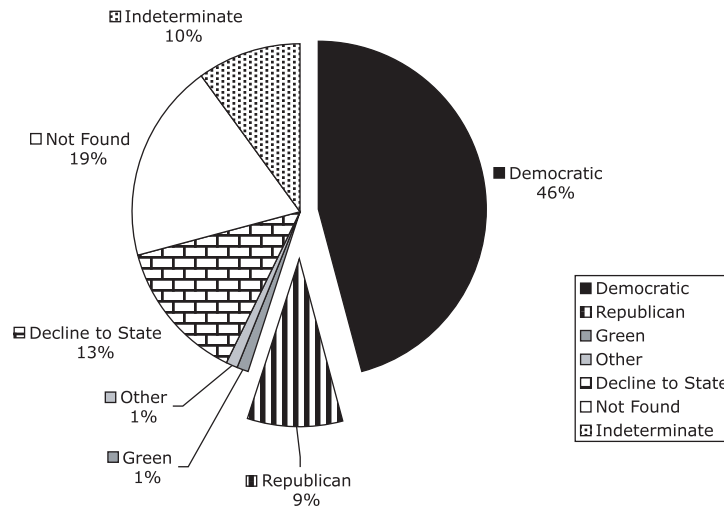
No previous survey or voter-registration study is nearly as broad as our coverage here.

Overall Faculty Political Affiliation

We found 6,449 tenure-track faculty names at the eleven schools. We obtained political readings (including "nonpartisan" and "declined to state") for 4,563 of the names, or 70.8 percent. The pie chart in Figure 2 shows the overall breakdown of party registration for all schools surveyed.

In this paper we focus on ratios of registered Democrats to Republicans. This focus tends to obscure a fact that is shown clearly in the pie chart, namely that 45 percent were not identified as either Democrat or Republican. Some commentators might infer that Democrats can hardly be said to dominate academe—indeed, the chart suggests that registered Democrats constitute less than 50 percent of the faculty. However, *survey* research that reaches the affiliations of the large portion here unidentified confirms that the academy is dominated by people who vote and self-identify Democratic (Rothman et al. 2005; Klein

Table 2. California faculty political affiliation, by school.

	N	Dem.	Rep.	Ds per R
UC Berkeley (23 depts.)	909	445	45	8.7 (adjusted)
UCLA	1801	857	119	7.2
Stanford (23 depts.)	588	275	36	6.7 (adjusted)
UCSD	978	467	71	6.6
SCU	334	174	29	6.0
Caltech	287	131	31	4.2
SDSU	691	317	77	4.1
USD	303	141	39	3.6
CMC	134	45	25	1.8
PLNU	136	40	41	1.0
Pepperdine	288	68	77	0.9
Total	*6449*	*2960*	*590*	*5.0*

and Stern 2005b). And since we deliberately sought to include universities and departments where we thought Republicans might be located, Figure 2 probably understates the degree of the "one-party campus" by over-representing Republicans.

Table 2 lists the schools in order of their ratio of registered Democrats to Republicans. For Berkeley and Stanford, where a sample of only 23 departments was investigated, we have employed an adjustment factor to arrive at pseudo-comprehensive D:R ratios. The adjustment factor is calculated by examining how the D:R ratio for UCLA and UCSD changes when we confine the sample for each of those schools to the departments investigated at Berkeley and Stanford.[6]

The large, elite schools are clustered at the top, with the highest D:R ratios. In casting a wider net in search of D:R balance, we caught some Republicans, particularly in the Protestant schools. Pepperdine, for example, enjoys a reputation as a conservative school—the dean of its law school is Kenneth Starr—and its D:R ratio of 0.9:1 is the lowest in the study. It's a closely balanced faculty, politically—but not a conservative one, to the extent that party tracks ideology. It only appears "conservative" because at other schools, one would find four, six, or eight Democrats for every Republican, instead of just one. In contrast, the

Catholic-affiliated universities (SCU and USD) are solidly Democratic, although to a lesser degree than the large, elite schools.

Is There a Regional Effect?

Some researchers suggest that the imbalance between Democrats and Republicans on university faculties reflects regional patterns (Ames et al. 2005, 3). It seems to us that there are a number of possible mechanisms linking campus and regional politics. The political tenor of the region may affect a would-be professor's decision to apply for or to accept a position. Also, some of the professors who are settled at a campus might be swayed by the region's political tenor. Moreover, a causal mechanism may run from the campus to the region. For example, UC-Berkeley and Stanford University are major cultural and even demographic factors in the San Francisco Bay area, and might be part of the explanation of why voting in the area is as Democratic as it is.

To explore the connection between region and campus, we examined the three University of California campuses. To make the data uniform, we calculated new overall D:R ratios for UCLA and UCSD based on data only from departments that matched those covered in the UC-Berkeley data. We also examined the D:R ratios for the pertinent counties, based on voter-registration records for the 2004 presidential elections.[7] In the case of UC-Berkeley and UCLA, this is a composite ratio based on the counties where professors from those universities are registered. For example, 76.2 percent of UC-Berkeley professors were registered in Alameda County, so when calculating the composite ratio for the Berkeley component of the San Francisco Bay region, we weighted voter registrations in Alameda at 76.2 percent (Contra Costa County was weighted 18.7 percent, San Francisco 3.7 percent, and others less than 1 percent). Our study found 98.3 percent of UCLA professors registered in Los Angeles County, and 100 percent of the UCSD professors whose records we located were in San Diego County. University and regional data are shown in Figure 3.

At first glance, Figure 3 would seem to show a connection between campus politics and region. UC-Berkeley, the campus with the highest D:R ratio, is in the region with the highest D:R ratio, and UC-San Diego, the campus with the lowest D:R ratio, is in the region with the lowest D:R ratio. It is possible, however, that other factors complicate this comparison. Berkeley is different from UCLA and UCSD in ways

Figure 3. 23-department D:R ratios for selected University of California campuses and for corresponding regions.
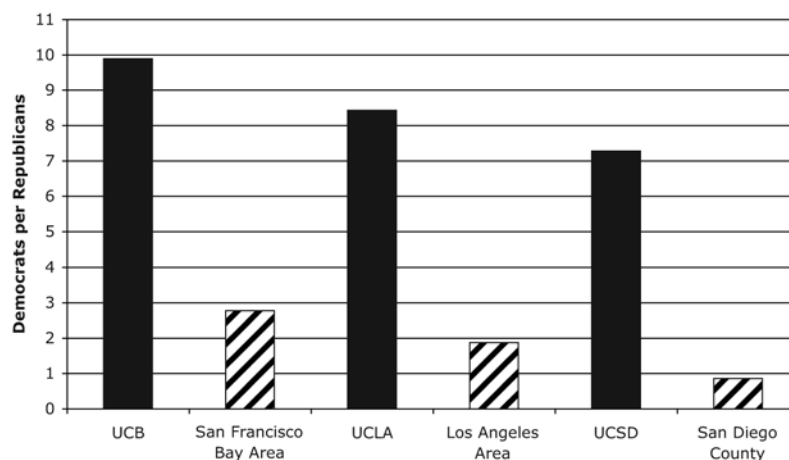
other than being situated in the San Francisco Bay area. Although UCLA and UCSD are both considered high-prestige institutions, Berkeley is the most prestigious school in the UC system. If there is, as seems evident elsewhere in our and others' findings, a tendency for those at the top of the academic pyramid to vote Democratic, it is not surprising that Berkeley leads the pack, followed by the next most-prestigious UC schools, UCLA and UCSD, in rank order.

In any case, the results suggest that any regional effect is not large. The San Diego region is slightly more Republican than Democratic. If the regional effect were a dominating factor, then the faculty of UCSD would be close to balanced. Instead, the 23-department faculty ratio is more than 7:1 (and the comprehensive faculty ratio is 6.6:1).

Results by Division

Table 3 lists the results by academic division. The data confirm earlier studies about the predominance of Democrats in the humanities and social sciences. Also noteworthy is the variation across divisions.

The humanities and social sciences are the ones most likely to influence students politically, since professorial politics presumably plays little role in learning chemistry or medicine. The high D:R ratios in the hu-

Table 3. Faculty political affiliation by type of academic division.

	N	Dem.	Rep.	Ds per R
Humanities	1153	600	60	*10.0*
Arts	313	151	20	*7.6*
Social Sciences	1039	529	78	*6.8*
Hard Sciences/Math	1635	792	126	*6.3*
Medicine/Nursing/Health	489	233	49	*4.8*
Social Professional	662	315	71	*4.4*
Engineering	700	213	85	*2.5*
Business	389	116	86	*1.3*
Military/Sports	69	11	15	*0.7*
Total	*6449*	*2960*	*590*	5.0

manities and social sciences therefore lend credence to concerns about the academy becoming an echo chamber for a dominant point of view.

The only division that favors Republicans is military/sports, which is the smallest division. As with the business category, the surprise is not that military/sports is less Democratic than other divisions, but that it is not more Republican than it is. In business education, the low ratio of 1.3 Democrats per Republicans indicates that the latter are not marginalized, but that they are not dominant, either.

Results by Department

Table 4 lists the results by (generic) department, with the most Democratic departments first. In departments near the top of the list, Republi-

Table 4. Faculty political affiliations by department.

Generic Department	N	Dem.	Rep.	Ds per R
Sociology	146	88	2	*44.0*
Ethnic Studies	90	49	3	*16.3*
Performing Arts	90	48	3	*16.0*
Neurosciences	180	105	8	*13.1*
Languages & Literature	511	262	22	*11.9*
Psychiatry	130	71	6	*11.8*
History	290	164	15	*10.9*

Table 4. (continued)

Generic Department	N	Dem.	Rep.	Ds per R
Biology	446	247	23	10.7
Anthropology	111	63	6	10.5
Art	98	44	5	8.8
Psychology	295	169	21	8.0
Religious Studies	75	40	5	8.0
Linguistics	67	30	4	7.5
Health	51	29	4	7.3
Political Science	225	124	19	6.5
Mathematics	342	136	24	5.7
Social Welfare & Policy	90	47	9	5.2
Earth Sciences	97	40	8	5.0
Education	220	105	21	5.0
Materials Science	14	5	1	5.0
Philosophy	120	55	11	5.0
Music	125	59	12	4.9
Physics	313	140	33	4.2
Chemistry	257	124	30	4.1
Communication	98	44	11	4.0
Medicine	247	108	27	4.0
Law	254	119	30	4.0
Economics	262	85	30	2.8
Civil Environmental Engineering	133	42	15	2.8
Bio. & Chemical Engineering	52	13	5	2.6
Electrical Engineering	269	83	33	2.5
Computer Science	114	35	15	2.3
Mechanical & Aerospace Engineering	118	35	16	2.2
Nursing	61	25	12	2.1
Management	173	61	34	1.8
Marketing	58	12	7	1.7
Accounting	51	15	13	1.2
Physical Education	45	11	10	1.1
Information Systems	59	16	15	1.1
General Business	20	7	7	1.0
Finance	28	5	10	0.5
Military Science	24	0	5	0.0

cans are almost as rare as third-party voters are in the general electorate. At the end of the list are smaller departments that are evenly balanced (general business, physical education) or actually more Republican than Democratic (military science, finance).

There are no surprises in Table 4, but it is worth noting some anomalies. In social science, two departments stand out. Sociology's 44:1 ratio is far above the 6.8:1 ratio among all of the social scientists, pooled. At the other end, economics, at 2.8:1, is far below the social sciences' overall ratio.

Selective Comparison of Departments at Different Schools

It is impractical to print a table that shows data by individual school for all 42 generic departments. In Table 5, we have culled departments of special interest to indicate the granularity of the data. (For other departments, consult the Excel file available at <http://www.gmu.edu/ departments/economics/klein/Voter/FinalApril106Redacted.xls>.)

Pepperdine illustrates how aggregating the data across all departments can mislead. While the school is politically "balanced" overall, there are significant Democratic majorities (2.6:1 and 1.9:1) in the humanities and social-science departments that are presumably most influential on undergraduate political beliefs, even at Pepperdine.

The case of Claremont McKenna also shows the need to disaggregate the data by department. Some of its faculty members tout it as "one of the most politically balanced schools in the country" (ISI 2004,128), which may be technically correct: Democrats outnumber Republicans by only 1.8 to 1. The specialty of Claremont McKenna is its social-science division, which has an overall ratio of 0.8:1—more Republicans than Democrats. But when we look at the social-science departments individually, economics is exactly evenly divided between Democrats and Republicans (3:3); psychology has no Republicans (5:0); and only political science (called Government at CMC), the largest department, is overwhelmingly Republican (2:10).

Old Elephants

Those Republicans who can be found among the faculty are disproportionately full professors. As seen in Table 6, the younger ranks,

(tenure-track) assistant and (tenured) associate, mostly show the highest D:R ratios. This is especially true at Berkeley and Stanford. The implication is that in the future, unless young Democratic professors occasionally mature into Republicans, the D:R ratios are going to become more extreme. The most notable exception is Pepperdine University, where the trend is going the other way.

Gender Effects

Republicans have a gender gap on campus (in addition to many other gaps). Except at Caltech and the Protestant colleges (Pepperdine and PLNU), the D:R ratio among female faculty is much higher than among men. At relatively conservative Claremont McKenna, where the men are about evenly divided, the women are 18:1 Democratic. The female faculty also have D:R ratios above 12:1 at Berkeley, Stanford, Santa Clara, UCLA, and UCSD, compared to an overall ratio—at all schools and in all departments—of 8.4:1.

We did not control for the tendency of female professors to be younger, which might mean that in part, their partisan affiliations are part of the younger-faculty effect. (The latter, on the other hand, might itself be partly attributable to the relatively large number of female assistant and associate rather than full professors.)

What Does It All Mean?

Here we list some of the questions raised by these data, without trying to answer more than a few of them very tentatively:

- Why are the arts, humanities, and social sciences so dominated by Democrats?
- Do certain disciplines inherently support social-democratic ideology, so that they only attract Democrats (or conversely, repel Republicans)? Could this be the explanation for why sociology departments across all schools are almost completely Democratic?
- Why does economics stand out in the social sciences as a discipline where Republicans are not merely marginal?
- Is there something to the idea that voting Republican is less appealing to scholarly and scientific sensibilities?

Table 5. D:R ratios by school, division, and selected departments.

| | SF Bay Area | | | Los Angeles Area | | | | San Diego Area | | | | |
	UCB	Stan.	SCU	UCLA	Pepp.	Caltech	CMC	UCSD	SDSU	USD	PLNU	Total
Art	n.c.	n.c.	4*	13.0	0.5	n.a.	n.a.	11*	8.0	4*	3.0	8.8
Performing Arts	n.c.	n.c.	4.0	23.0	1*	n.a.	n.a.	15*	5.0	0.0	n.a.	16.0
Music	13.0	4*	1*	14*	0.3	n.a.	n.a.	17.0	2.3	0.0	0.5	4.9
Fine Arts total	*13.0*	*4**	*9.0*	*25.0*	*0.6*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*43.0*	*4.0*	*4**	*1.0*	*7.6*
Languages & Literature	41.0	23.0	5.3	10.5	4.0	5*	5.0	13.0	35*	7.0	2.5	11.9
History	31.0	22*	5.0	11.3	1.0	6*	5.0	27.0	11.0	1.3	2.0	10.9
Linguistics	7.0	6*	n.a.	7.0	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	5.0	5.0	n.a.	n.a.	7.5
Philosophy	9.0	10.0	7*	3.0	0.0	1*	2.0	3.0	5*	2.0	0.0	5.0
Religious Studies	2.0	7*	13*	n.a.	4.0	n.a.	2.0	n.a.	1*	10.0	1.0	8.0
Ethnic Studies	n.c.	n.c.	3*	12.5	0!	n.a.	0.0	7*	14*	n.a.	n.a.	16.3
Humanities total	*18.0*	*34.0*	*9.8*	*9.8*	*2.6*	*12**	*3.5*	*10.6*	*35.5*	*3.8*	*2.0*	*10.0*
Anthropology	12*	6*	11*	4.5	n.a.	0.0	n.a.	10.0	3.0	3*	n.a.	10.5
Economics	11.0	2.3	7.0	2.8	6!	0.7	1.0	6.0	5*	4.0	1.0	2.8
Political Science	14.0	9.0	6*	13.5	1*	0.5	0.2	21.0	9*	9*	2*	6.5
Psychology	26.0	24*	14*	14.0	6.0	0.0	5*	4.2	2.7	8.0	0.3	8.0
Sociology	17*	10*	n.a.	31.0	2*	n.a.	n.a.	17*	4*	5*	2.0	44.0
Social Sciences total	*21.0*	*9.0*	*38.0*	*9.2*	*1.9*	*0.6*	*0.8*	*9.0*	*5.3*	*11.0*	*1.2*	*6.8*

Communication	4*	n.a.	8.0	0.0	2.5	n.a.	n.a.	7*	3.7	7.0	0.5	4.0
Education	n.c.	n.c.	5*	11.7	2.0	n.a.	n.a.	3*	5.4	5.3	0.4	5.0
Law	6.0	9.5	9.0	8.0	0.4	n.a.	0.0	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	4.0
Social Welfare & Policy	n.c.	n.c.	n.a.	24.0	4!	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	5.3	n.a.	2*	5.2
Social-Professional total	*6.7*	*9.5*	*10.3*	*11.0*	*0.7*	*n.a.*	*0.0*	*n.a.*	*5.0*	*5.8*	*0.7*	*4.4*
Hard Sci./Math total	*9.9*	*5.2*	*3.7*	*8.3*	*0.5*	*6.5*	*3.8*	*7.7*	*4.5*	*4.8*	*1.7*	*6.3*
Engineering total	*3.3*	*3.1*	*3.0*	*3.8*	*n.a.*	*1.7*	*n.a.*	*1.8*	*2.8*	*1.0*	*1!*	*2.5*
Business total	*2.0*	*6**	*1.4*	*2.4*	*0.7*	*n.a.*	*1.0*	*6.0*	*1.1*	*0.9*	*0.4*	*1.3*
Medical/Health total	*n.c.*	*n.c.*	*n.a.*	*4.9*	*5!*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*9.3*	*5.2*	*4.0*	*0.5*	*4.8*
Military/Sports total	*n.c.*	*n.c.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*1**	*n.a.*	*1.7*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*1**	*0.5*	*0.7*
Grand total	*9.9*	*7.6*	*6.0*	*7.2*	*0.9*	*4.2*	*1.8*	*6.6*	*4.1*	*3.6*	*1.0*	*5.0*

"N.c." means not collected; "n.a." means not applicable.
* indicates zero Republicans; ! indicates zero Democrats; 0.0 indicates no Democrats or Republicans

Table 6. Democrats per Republican, by professorial rank.

Rank	SF Bay Area			Los Angeles Area				San Diego Area			
	UCB	SU	SCU	UCLA	Pepp.	Caltech	CMC	UCSD	SDSU	USD	PLNU
Full	8.3	5.9	3.8	6.6	1.0	4.9	1.4	6.2	3.9	2.6	0.8
Assoc.	30.0	12.3	10.6	9.7	0.7	10.0	2.5	8.1	6.8	6.0	1.9
Asst.	64.0	40*	6.5	8.9	0.8	1.1	2.6	7.1	3.1	4.2	0.8

* indicates zero Republicans

Table 7. Faculty partisan identification by gender.

	SF Bay Area			Los Angeles Area				San Diego Area			
	UCB	SU	SCU	UCLA	Pepp.	Caltech	CMC	UCSD	SDSU	USD	PLNU
Male	8.3	6.3	4.6	6.2	0.8	4.2	1.1	5.6	2.7	2.5	1.0
Female	26.0	22.7	12.6	13.0	1.2	4.3	18.0	15.0	8.9	6.9	0.9

- If ideology plays no role at all in the hard and applied sciences, what are we to make of the 2.5:1 Democratic:Republican ratio in engineering, the 4.1:1 in chemistry, 4.2:1 ratio in physics, 10.7:1 in biology, or the 13.1:1 in neurosciences?
- To what extent does faculty ideology influence what students think?

Any attempt to answer the last two of these questions would have to flesh out the relationship between *partisan* and *ideological* proclivities. It seems clear that political ideology is intimately bound up, in some way, with the professional culture in many, if not most, academic disciplines. What other explanation than ideology could there be for the partisan variations between, say, sociologists and economists?

Survey research shows that party affiliation among academics does correspond to their ideology, although not in a completely straightforward way (Rothman et al. 2005; Klein and Stern 2005b). In general, academics who vote Democratic have more social-democratic and pacifist views. Republican academics have views that are generally more conservative, libertarian, or some combination thereof, relative to Democrats.

Given the consistency of our findings with the previous research, we believe that it can be stated emphatically that American faculty, especially in the social sciences and humanities, are overwhelmingly Democratic in affiliation and social-democratic in orientation. This news will still be controversial to some; to others, it will be stunningly obvious. In either event, however, it should now be possible to move on to addressing questions of the sort we have listed above.

NOTES

1. Another method of empirical investigation uses publicly reported campaign contributions (e.g., McEachern 2006), but since only small numbers of people contribute to either party, it is hard to draw inferences from such data.
2. The Berkeley and Stanford data were collected by Andrew Western during the first half of 2004. The Santa Clara data were collected by Patrick Peterson during the autumn of 2004. The data for all of the San Diego-area and Los Angeles-area schools were collected by Christopher Cardiff and Brianna Cardiff during August–December 2005.
3. Scripps Institute of Oceanography is the one exception to our comprehensive review of the nine universities. Although associated with UCSD, Scripps faculty were not included, due to time constraints and the fact that their uniqueness does not permit comparisons with departments or divisions at other schools.

4. A status of "cancel" was definitive when it was the only record that matched a faculty name. This occurred in 1.5 percent of the records. Birthdates before 1935 and after 1978 were used to eliminate ambiguous records; this occurred for 0.3 percent of the records.

5. Typically, professors were placed in the first department listed, or the first one where they were located in an alphabetic sort by department.

6. The adjustment factor is 0.88, arrived at by adding the average of UCLA's comprehensive ratio divided by UCLA's 23-department ratio, on the one hand, to UCSD's comprehensive ratio divided by UCSD's 23-department ratio, on the other. Thus, $(0.5)(7.2/8.4) + (0.5)(6.6/7.3) = .88$. For Berkeley, then, the ratio reported in Table 2, 8.7, is $(0.88)(9.9)$. For Stanford, we have $6.7 = (0.88)(7.6)$.

7. California Secretary of State. 2004. "Report of Registration as of October 18, 2004." <http://www.ss.ca.gov/elections/sov/2004_general/sov_pref_pg5_6_ror.pdf>

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