

Why are there so Few Conservatives in Academia? Testing the Self-Selection Hypothesis

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This study examines the self-selection hypothesis that the reason for a largely liberal academia is conservative students are less interested in becoming professors than liberal students. Proponents of this theory argue that conservative students are more likely to forgo academia in favor of a career in a higher paying field, while liberal students are more likely to pursue jobs that are community or service-oriented, like social work or higher education. This study presents the results of an online survey of 171 honors students at a private Midwestern university. Although conservative students were more likely than liberal students to agree that graduate school is expensive, they were similarly likely to express an interest in an academic career. Further, conservative students did not rank salary more highly than liberal students did when ranking factors important to their career. Conservative students were significantly more likely than liberal students to believe that their personal ideology negatively affected their grades, and that professors nationwide are mostly liberal.

A number of recent studies find that liberals outnumber conservatives in academia (Cardiff, and Klein 2005; Corngold, and Waddington 2006; Kelly-Woessner, and Woessner, 2006; Mariani and Hewitt, 2008). Although the ratio of liberals to conservatives in academia varies by university and area of expertise – with the social sciences and humanities being the most liberal and military studies being the least liberal – there is a liberal majority in almost all disciplines (Cardiff, and Klein 2005). Faculty ideology is important because it affects how students feel about their professors, and how well students learn (Kelly-Woessner, and Woessner 2008).

Although researchers are starting to examine the potential consequences of faculty ideology, there is no consensus on why there are so few conservatives in academia. One theory is that liberal faculty members discriminate against conservatives and give preference to faculty members who share their liberal worldview (Kelly-Woessner, and Woessner 2006). A second theory is that college faculties are liberal due to self-selection, as conservatives are less likely than liberals to pursue jobs in academia (Rothman, Lichter, and Nevitte 2005). Other scholars argue that liberals tend to be more community oriented, and look towards the academic community as a group they are eager to join, while conservatives turn away from academia because of their experiences with liberal professors in college (Kelly-Woessner, and Woessner 2006). Still others suggest that conservatives may be more interested in getting a good-paying job, while liberals are less concerned with money and more willing to spend a few more years in a graduate school to become a professor.

This paper presents the results of an online survey of honors students at a private Midwestern college. This survey tests the self-selection hypothesis by comparing liberal and conservative students' career objectives and their perceptions about the desirability of an academic career. The survey results indicate that there is no significant difference between conservatives and liberals when it comes to how they rank salary when considering attributes they are looking for in a career. In addition, conservative students and liberal students are equally likely to express an interest in a career as a college professor. Finally, conservative students are more likely than liberal students to view college professors as liberal and agree that their political ideology had a negative effect on the grades they received in college.

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Since the survey results show that conservatives do not self-select themselves out of academia, some other explanation for the liberal majority in academia must exist.

Literature Review

There is surprisingly little research on the subject of faculty ideology. A number of survey-based studies find that the majority of professors are liberal (Cardiff, and Klein 2005; Losco, and DeOllos 2007; Mariani and Hewitt 2008). Likewise, studies based on voting registration records indicate that the vast majority of college professors register as Democrats (Klein and Stern 2004).

Lottes and Kuriloff (1994) argue a liberal arts education, as well as an Ivy League education, influence students' political ideologies, pushing them to the left. Other research, however, suggests otherwise. Mariani and Hewitt (2008) focus on whether students are affected by the liberal majority in academia. Rather than only measuring the ideology of students during freshmen and senior year, the study also took into account professor ideology. Mariani and Hewitt found that students shifted towards the left by 10%, and that 27% of students ended their university years more liberal than they started, while only 16% ended more conservatively (Mariani, and Hewitt, p. 777). The authors argue that this change is in line with the general change in political ideology of the population in the studied age ranges; young people in the general population were just as likely as college students to become more liberal in the same four years. Thus the political affiliations of professors seemed to have little to no effect on students' political identity changes throughout their college career.

Though there is little evidence that professors are able to change students' political opinions, there is plenty of data showing that students become more liberal over their college career (Emler, and Frazer 2009; Lottes, and Kuriloff 1994; Mariani, and Hewitt 2008; Kelly-Woessner, and Woessner 2009). Lottes and Kuriloff (1994) show that not only are seniors more liberal than freshmen, they tend to be more open to feminism and homosexuality as well. In addition, there is evidence that students recognize and respond to faculty ideology. Kelly-Woessner and Woessner's (2006) study surveyed college students, asking them whether they knew the political ideology of their professors, and how much they felt they learned in the course. The authors found that students with the same ideology as their professors gave the class higher ratings than students who disagreed with their professor's ideology (499-500).

The argument that college faculties are overwhelmingly liberal has been contested by researchers who argue the evidence of a liberal, Democratic academy is flawed or incomplete (Prashad 2006; Young 2007; Zipp, and Fenwick 2006). In their survey of department chairs, Losco and DeOllos (2007) conclude that there is no political bias in classrooms. For his part, Jacoby (2005) contends that studies which find there is a liberal bias in academia are not representative, but disproportionately drawn from departments that tend to be liberal, like the humanities and social sciences, rather than more conservative departments. Jacoby also argues that studies about whether students believed their professors used the classroom to spread their political ideals had questions in their surveys that were poorly worded and encouraged students to exaggerate professor bias. Jacoby also notes that ideological imbalances are commonplace in society, and these imbalances are more problematic in the FBI, CIA, Pentagon, and police than universities (Jacoby 2005). In this, Jacoby is acknowledging that ideological self-selection is a key factor in career choices.

Despite the objections of Jacoby and others, the bulk of the evidence indicates that faculty members are disproportionately liberal, at least in comparison with the general population. This raises an important question: why are such a high percentage of faculty members liberal? Robin Wilson's (2005) descriptive review of students studying to become teachers details

conservative students' frustrations with liberal professors. Although the article is revealing, it is purely anecdotal. Wilson points out the concern that schools often assess students based on their "professional disposition," which often includes political issues (Wilson 2005). The fact that schools grade students based on political issues is important because there is evidence that many schools promote liberal ideals in students wishing to become teachers. One explanation for why professors and teachers tend to be liberal is that the training process assesses them based on liberal ideals. Reed Browning (2004) offers many suggestions to universities on how to modify their hiring practices in order to allow for a more diverse campus. In doing so, Browning also suggests liberal students are more likely to pursue advanced academic studies, noting that "while academic talent is found among students across the ideological spectrum, students on the left are far likelier than those on the right to pursue a Ph.D" (Browning, 2004). Though his point may be true, Browning does not offer any citation, or evidence to support this belief.

Rothman, Lichter, and Nevitte's (2005) also tackle the question of why so many professors are liberal. The three authors not only reexamine whether there is a liberal majority in college professors, but also look at the types of colleges that hire conservatives and other minorities in academia. The authors conduct a multivariate analysis and conclude "that even after taking into account the effects of academic achievement, along with many other individual characteristics, conservatives and Republicans taught at lower quality schools than did liberals and Democrats" (pg 15).

Jere Surber (2010) suggests that professors are liberal because conservatives have "contributed least to any detailed or thoughtful study of history." His argument is that thoughtful studying of history naturally leads professors to side with those who were oppressed in the past. Surber argues that professors side with the lower class in America, and become liberals as a result. Surber also mentions that the discrepancy between time and money spent on education and money earned in their careers causes professors to become liberals. In addition, Surber states that "there are few opportunities for liberal-arts scholars to supplement their incomes by serving on government and corporate boards, filing patents and licenses, and, of course, obtaining generous research grants" (Surber 2010).

Ethan Fosse and Neil Gross suggest that the professorate may be liberal because people expect professors to be liberal. In this way, academia's liberal bias is self-reinforcing according to Fosse and Gross. Fosse and Gross argue that since conservatives see that academia is filled with liberals, conservatives are less interested in joining academia. This study also finds that liberal bias in academic hiring is not as important as some conservatives have argued. In contrast to Surber, Fosse and Gross argue that professors are not liberal because liberals are more intelligent than conservatives; rather, professors are chosen "on the basis of a conjunction of perceived academic potential and liberal politics" (Fosse, and Gross, p. 57).

Several different authors have proposed many causes for why professors tend to be liberal. One of the main theories is that department chairs and others in the hiring process, who tend to be liberal, are more likely to hire people who share their political views. Some have even argued that conservatives are less intelligent than liberals.¹ Another proposed explanation is that conservatives self-select themselves out of jobs in academia, whether it is because they were frustrated with liberal professors when they were in college, or they wish to pursue a career path that is more financially rewarding.

¹ See, for example, the comments of Duke philosophy professor Robert Brandon in Cindy Yee, "DCU Sparks Varied Reactions," *The Chronicle*, Duke University Student Newspaper, February 10, 2004. Note also Professor Brandon's clarification ("Guest Commentary: Clarification and Reflection," *The Chronicle*, February 13, 2004).

Research Design

This paper examines whether there is evidence that conservatives self-select themselves out of careers in academia. To answer this question, I conducted an online survey of honors students at a small private university located in the Midwestern United States. An invitation to participate in the study was sent by e-mail to all honors students at the university. A total of 117 students participated in the survey.

One key limitation is that the sample is not representative of all students nationwide. The survey targets a convenience sample that is somewhat representative of honors students at smaller private universities; however, the sample is neither representative nor randomly selected. The students at this institution tend to come from families with relatively higher incomes in comparison to college students in general. Results drawn from a public university or a community college may differ from those in this study.

Given that this study is about self-selection, it is somewhat ironic that students “self-select” themselves into this study by choosing to respond to an e-mail asking for their participation. The issue of self-selection is important because the survey will not reach students of every discipline or Grade Point Average (G.P.A.) range. Though this represents a limitation of sorts, selecting honors students targets the survey to a group of high performing students for whom a career in academia is a realistic option. The students in this group would typically have higher than average GPAs, and are probably more likely to attend graduate school than the general student body at their university.

The main independent variable in the study is the political ideology of the student taking the survey. The political ideology of students is an ordinal variable based on a 7-point scale ranging from very liberal to very conservative. The main dependant variable is the student’s level of interest in becoming a college professor, which is an ordinal variable based on a four point scale of career interest (ranging from 1 – “uninterested,” to 4 - “very interested”).

Students were asked how likely they are to attend graduate school in order to determine whether students who identify themselves as liberal are more likely to attend graduate school than students who identify themselves as conservative.

One key assumption of the self-selection hypothesis is that students expecting to earn higher salaries are more likely to chose careers outside of academia, while students who are more interested in teaching or helping others may be willing to sacrifice a higher salary to have a job they would enjoy. The importance of salary is measured using an ordinal variable based on student responses to a question that asked them to rank what qualities (salary, location, etc) they are looking for in a career. The relative importance of salary can vary from 9 (least important) to 1 (most important).

Another factor relevant to self-selection is whether liberal and conservative students have different experiences with their professors in college. Conservative students may be more likely than liberal students to have negative experiences with professors, which could be a factor that discourages them from pursuing academic careers later in life. For this reason, the survey includes questions about whether students perceive the majority of their college professors to be liberal or conservative, and how satisfied students are with their college professors thus far.

Though our main interest is whether students’ political ideology affects their interest in becoming a college professor, there are also intervening variables that need to be taken into account, the most important being students’ gender, class year and grade point average. In this survey, GPA is measured using an ordinal variable based on different GPA categories (see Appendix).

Research Question and Hypotheses

Do conservatives self-select themselves out of academia? Based on the arguments put forward in favor of self-selection theory, we would expect to find the following:

- Conservative students will be less interested in becoming professors than liberal students (Rothman, Lichter, and Nevitte 2005).
- Conservative students will place “salary” higher on the list of qualities they are looking for in a career than liberal students (Surber 2010).
- Conservatives who are less satisfied by their professors or who believe they have been treated unfairly will be less likely to express an interest in a career in academia (Kelly-Woessner, and Woessner 2006).
- Conservative students will have a lower grade point average than liberal students (Jacoby 2005).

Analysis

I will begin by examining the sample (see Figure 1). Most students who took the survey were liberal, but there were enough conservatives that analysis is possible. There are more females than males in our sample, which could be one explanation for the liberal majority of respondents as numerous studies suggest that women are more likely to be ideologically liberal than men. The sample was spread evenly across all four years, however, since the study was performed in the fall, freshmen did not have a GPA earned from the university yet, so they were excluded them from the GPA description. The freshmen in our sample are more conservative than other students in the sample. One possible concern is that freshmen conservatives make up a large portion of the study and, given that freshmen do not have a GPA to report, this may make it more difficult to examine the theory that conservatives have a lower GPA.

Figure 1: Description of Sample

	Liberal	Moderate	Conservative	All
N	82	29	60	171
	48.0%	17.0%	35.1%	100%
Sex				
Male	41.5%	27.6%	51.7%	42.7%
Female	58.5%	72.4%	48.3%	57.3%
Class year				
First year	25.6%	24.1%	40.0%	30.4%
Second year	26.8%	24.1%	28.3%	26.9%
Third year	24.4%	27.6%	11.7%	20.5%
Fourth year	22.0%	24.1%	18.3%	21.1%
Other	1.2%	0.0%	1.7%	1.2%
GPA#				
3.50-4.00	73.4%	72.8%	60.0%	-----
3.00-3.49	21.6%	27.3%	40.0%	-----
2.50-3.00	3.3%	0.0%	0.0%	-----
Below 2.50	1.7%	0.0%	0.0%	-----

GPA is for second through fourth year students only.

Next, I conducted a comparison of means to assess differences between liberal and conservative students in the sample (see Figure 2). The data indicates that there was no statistically significant difference between liberals' and conservatives' expressed interest in attending graduate school or pursuing a Ph.D. Likewise, there was no statistically significant difference in the extent that conservatives and liberals would describe graduate school as "too difficult" or whether they would agree that their "grades are too low to go to graduate school."

Figure 2: Comparison of Means

	Liberal	Conservative	Sig.
GPA Category (2 nd through 4 th years only)	5.88	5.69	.440
Likely to attend grad school	6.22	6.12	.549
Likely to get a PhD	2.99	3.01	.585
Grad School is too hard	2.47	2.48	.945
My grades are too low for grad school	2.04	1.92	.402
I would rather pursue other career interests	2.41	2.22	.263
I'm tired of school	2.20	2.05	.342
I might as well go to grad school...	2.29	2.10	.242
Grad school is too expensive	3.00	2.62	.020**
I can make more money doing something else	2.63	2.40	.203
I would rather get a job right away	2.53	2.53	.993
I would rather get an MBA than a PhD	2.34	2.33	.967
Will go to grad school but not right away	2.81	2.58	.254
You need to have a grad degree these days	3.30	3.32	.943
Salary Rank, from 1 (high) to 9 (low)	4.62	4.93	.445
Interest in becoming a professor	2.77	3.75	.933
Likelihood of becoming a professor	3.11	2.88	.404
Takes too long to become a professor	2.69	2.72	.863
Being a professor is not the right job for me	3.49	3.68	.334
I would make a good professor	3.53	3.50	.872
I would enjoy doing academic research	3.50	3.53	.888
I would enjoy teaching undergrads	3.66	3.62	.793
Being a professor sounds boring	2.33	2.22	.482
College Teaching Doesn't Pay Enough	2.32	2.43	.513
Satisfaction with Professors	4.27	4.23	.729
Professor Unfair due to Ideology	3.86	3.43	.008***
Professor Ideology at your School (Liberal)	7.07	7.25	.310
Professor Ideology Nationwide (Liberal)	7.05	7.50	.003***

Comparison of Means, Independent Samples T-Test, * $p < .10$; ** $p < .05$; *** $p < .01$

Higher numbers = agree; Lower numbers = disagree

Liberals and conservatives answered almost identically on the question about whether they would like to get a job right away out of college, and very similarly about whether they would rather get an MBA than a PhD. Though liberals ranked salary lower on a scale of important factors they were looking for in a job, the difference was not statistically significant. Surprisingly, liberals and conservatives ranked their interest in becoming a professor roughly the same, and there was no statistically significant difference in the likelihood that liberals and conservatives see themselves becoming professors.

There are a few areas where there were statistically significant differences between liberals and conservatives in the sample. Liberals were more likely than conservatives to agree that graduate school is “too expensive.” Surprisingly, liberals were also more likely to agree that their grades were negatively affected by their political ideology. Though conservatives and liberals answered relatively similarly for the question about the political ideology of their professors during their college career, there was a significant difference in how they viewed professors nationwide. Conservative students were significantly more likely than liberal students to describe professors nationwide as liberal.

Finally, I conducted two regression analyses to assess the impact of political ideology on the importance of salary. The first analysis (Figure 3) examined all students and controlled for class year as well as gender. The regression indicates that students’ political ideology did not have a statistically significant effect on how important students’ ranked salary as a factor in career choice. The only variable with a significant effect on salary ranking was year in college, which was negatively associated with salary ranking, suggesting that students in their earlier years of college are more likely to rank salary highly than students in later years of college, all things equal. Moreover, the R Square of .59 indicates that the model does a poor job of explaining change in the dependent variable (just 5.9% of change can be attributed to the variables in the model, taken together).

Figure 3: Effect of Political Ideology on Salary Ranking, All Students

	B (Slope)	Standard Error	Beta	Sig
Political Ideology	-.080	.116	-.054	.488
Sex (Female)	-.459	.381	-.093	.231
Class Year	-.424	.161	-.205	.009***
Constant	6.400	.619	-----	.000***

OLS Regression, Dependent Variable: Salary Ranking (1-9, Most Important Rankings are higher)
N=162; R Square = .059; *p<.10; **p<.05, ***p<.01

Figure 4 presents the results of a regression analysis of 2nd through 4th year students. When excluding freshmen from the regression analysis (because they do not have a college GPA yet) and adding GPA to the analysis, little changes. Although political ideology has a stronger effect on the ranking of salary when excluding freshmen, it is still not significant. The effect of sex on the ranking of salary has been reduced compared to the previous regression analysis, and it is still not significant. Excluding freshmen caused the effect of class year on salary to drop so that it is only significant at the .10 level (as opposed to the .01 level in the previous model). Finally, GPA has no significant effect on the ranking of salary, and the R-square remains low – just .058 in this analysis.

Figure 4: Effect of Political Ideology on Salary Ranking, Sophomores through Seniors

	B (Slope)	Standard Error	Beta	Sig
Political Ideology	-.140	.150	-.089	.354
Sex (Female)	.064	.456	.013	.889
Year	.492	.270	-.171	.072*
GPA	-.258	.195	-.124	.189
Constant	8.112	1.455	-----	.000***

OLS Regression; Dependent Variable: Salary Ranking (1-9)
N = 112, R Square = .058; *p<.10; **p<.05, ***p<.01

Conclusion

This study set out to determine whether conservative students in college were less likely to become professors because they self-selected themselves out of academia. It also tested the hypothesis that conservative students would rank salary higher than liberal students when considering attributes they are looking for in a career once they are done with their education. Instead, the study found no such correlation exists, at least in this sample of students. The analysis does indicate, however, that freshmen tend to be far more conservative than other classes, though honors students as a group are predominantly liberal. From the results, there is no indication that conservatives in this group are more likely than liberals to self-select themselves out of academia. Though further research is necessary, this finding suggests that researchers should look towards other explanations for the liberal majority in academia.

The study did find that liberal students, more than conservative students, consider graduate school too expensive for them. Further study is needed to assess the potential impact of financial background on academic career choices. In addition, further study is also needed to assess the argument that conservatives are less intelligent than liberal students. Though 73.3% of liberal students had a GPA over 3.50 and only 60% of conservatives had a GPA in the same range, our analysis excluded many conservative freshmen students, as they did not have a GPA. This resulted in more than 30% of respondents being excluded, and freshmen were predominantly conservative, so taking them out could have skewed the results.

Among the honors students in our survey, 48% of respondents described themselves as liberal, compared to 35% who considered themselves conservative. This finding suggests that honors students tend to be liberal, at least in comparison to the population at large. This study also finds liberals are more likely than conservatives to say that their grades were affected because of their ideology. This is an unusual finding and deserves further examination to see if it is replicated in other college environments. Though there was no difference in how conservatives and liberals described Xavier professors, there was a difference in how conservatives and liberals viewed professors nationwide. This finding may not be surprising given the attention that has been paid to the issue of professor ideology in recent years.

In terms of the importance of salary, there was no significant difference between conservatives and liberals on how important this factor was in thinking about a career. When considering the impact of multiple variables on salary rankings, only class year had a significant effect. Political ideology, sex, and GPA did not affect students' ranking of salary as a factor in their career choice. The results did, however, indicate that upperclassmen are more likely to rank salary lower in importance than lower-classmen.

Further study is needed to assess whether these results can be replicated in studies with larger sample sizes or samples that draw upon a wider variety of student majors and college environments. An analysis of a much larger and more diverse population could produce different results. Even though there were some limitations to this study, there appears to be little support for the hypothesis that conservatives self-select out of academia as a result of salary considerations or lack of interest in an academic career. This leaves the door open for further studies to determine the reason why academia is predominantly liberal.

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Appendix: Survey Questions and Responses

1. Year in College:

- First-year undergraduate student/Freshman
- Second-year undergraduate student/Sophomore
- Third-year undergraduate student/Junior
- Fourth-year undergraduate student/Senior
- Fifth-year (or more) undergraduate student
- Other

2. Sex:

- Male
- Female

3. What is your major? _____

4. What is your current G.P.A.?

- 2.4 or below
- 2.5-2.75
- 2.76-2.99
- 3.0-3.25
- 3.26-3.49
- 3.5-3.75
- 3.76-4.0

5. When it comes to politics do you usually think of yourself as very liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, or very conservative?

- Very liberal
- Liberal
- Slightly liberal
- Moderate
- Slightly conservative
- Conservative
- Very conservative

6. How likely are you to attend graduate school, law school, or some other post-undergraduate degree program at some point in the future?

- Definitely attending
- Very likely to attend
- Somewhat likely to attend
- Unsure
- Somewhat unlikely to attend
- Very unlikely to attend
- Definitely not attending

7. Do you expect to get a PhD in the future?

- Yes, definitely
- Yes, most likely
- Unsure
- No, probably not
- No, certainly not

8. In thinking about graduate school, to what extent do you think the following statements apply to you? (Participants rank each statement from Strongly Agree, Agree, Neither Agree Nor Disagree, Disagree, or Strongly Disagree)

- The course work in graduate school is too hard
- My grades are too low to get into a good graduate school
- I would rather pursue other career interests than go to graduate school
- I'm tired of school and do not want to go to graduate school
- I don't know what I want to do, so I might as well go to graduate school
- I cannot afford to go to graduate school
- I can make more money doing something else that doesn't require a graduate degree
- I would rather get a job right away than attend graduate school
- I would rather get an MBA than a PhD
- I will attend graduate school at some point, but not right away
- You really need to have a graduate degree these days

9. Rank the following attributes in their level of importance to you when choosing a career. Please rank all choices 1-9 with 1 being MOST important and 9 being LEAST important, using each number only once:

- Benefits
- Culture of company
- Flexible work schedule
- Having people respect what I do for a living
- Intellectual stimulation
- Location
- Making a difference in other people's lives
- Opportunities for advancement/promotion
- Salary

10. How would you rate your interest in becoming a college professor?

- Very interested
- Interested
- Somewhat interested
- Somewhat disinterested
- Uninterested

11. How likely do you think it is that you will become a college professor one day?

- Very likely
- Likely
- Somewhat likely
- Somewhat unlikely
- Unlikely
- Very unlikely

12. When thinking about the possibility of pursuing a career as a college professor, which of the following statements apply to you (Participants rank each statement from Strongly Agree, Agree, Neither Agree Nor Disagree, Disagree, or Strongly Disagree)

- It takes way too long to become a college professor
- I'm not really sure if being a college professor would be the right job for me
- I would make a good college professor
- I would enjoy doing academic research
- I would enjoy teaching undergraduate students
- Being a college professor seems pretty boring
- College teaching does not pay enough for me to consider this as a career

13. How satisfied would you say you are with your professors so far?
- Very satisfied
 - Satisfied
 - Indifferent
 - Unsatisfied
 - Very unsatisfied
14. Do you believe that your political views unfairly helped or hurt your course grades?
- Yes, my grades were sometimes lower than they should have been due to my political views
 - Yes, my grades were sometimes higher than they would have been due to my political views
 - Yes, my grades were sometimes higher and sometimes lower due to my political views
 - No, my grades were not unfairly affected by my political views
15. In general do you believe the professors that you have had courses with DURING YOUR COLLEGE CAREER were conservative, liberal, or what?
- Almost all conservative
 - Mostly conservative
 - Somewhat conservative
 - Fairly balanced
 - Somewhat liberal
 - Mostly liberal
 - Almost all liberal
16. In general, do you believe college professors NATIONWIDE are conservative, liberal, or what?
- Almost all conservative
 - Mostly conservative
 - Somewhat conservative
 - Fairly balanced
 - Somewhat liberal
 - Mostly liberal
 - Almost all liberal

Thank you for participating in this research project, your answers are greatly appreciated.

