



The Ideological Profile of Harvard University Press: Categorizing 494 Books Published 2000-2010

David Gordon¹ with Per Nilsson²

[LINK TO ABSTRACT](#)

[A note on authorship: This piece is written by David Gordon, principally in the first person singular; he created the data by examining the books treated here. Per Nilsson organized the data and produced the displays and Excel appendices.]

Academics in the social sciences today face a tight job market, and very few can hope to teach at an Ivy League university. But institutional rank is a matter of surpassing importance for nearly everyone in academe. Those who get a job seek to hold on to it or to advance to a more prestigious institution.

One way to advance, probably the most important, is by publications—“publish or perish” is no mere platitude but a basic principle of university life. But, just as universities are ranked, so are journals and university presses. For publishing books, certain presses stand foremost in academic renown, and our article investigates one of these elite presses. A social scientist who gets his book published by Harvard University Press (HUP) has scored a major coup: he has enhanced his chance of beating the odds and moving up the pyramid. Meanwhile, those who dislike the system can do little to change it. The top universities and the top university presses are tightly linked.

On what basis does HUP select books in the social sciences and humanities for publication? Anyone interested in the contemporary American university will

1. Senior Fellow, Ludwig von Mises Institute, Auburn, Alabama 36832-4501.

2. Consultant, Demoskop, Stockholm, Sweden, SE-114 75.

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have reason to consider this question important. How does the orientation of a manuscript, in terms of political ideology, affect its chances at HUP? Other things being equal, will HUP be more congenial toward a leftist manuscript or author, than a classical liberal? How will a conservative fare? A communitarian? A supporter of the contemporary welfare state?

One might be inclined to dismiss the issue of political orientation as misplaced. Unlike Monthly Review Press or Regnery, HUP does not openly advance a particular political outlook. It issues no guidelines to prospective authors that say, e.g., “only leftists and centrists need apply.” Still, there is reason to think that an investigation of HUP’s political tilt will not return empty-handed. Someone who wishes to submit a manuscript to Harvard must first contact an Acquisitions Editor with a proposal. The Senior Editor for Social Sciences is Michael Aronson, who tells prospective authors: “I acquire books in economics, law, political science, and sociology. Although my interests are wide-ranging and eclectic, I am particularly interested in problems of capitalism, including distribution, inequality, market instability, resource depletion, and climate change.”³ It hardly seems unreasonable to think that Mr. Aronson might not welcome a proposal to show that markets work well and that inequality is not a problem.

I survey 494 books published in the period 2000 into 2010, in the five principal “social-science” areas: business and economics, history, philosophy, political science, and sociology. The set of 494 titles also includes a residual set of 28 Law titles. HUP assigns each book a primary subject area and then secondary areas. In January of 2010 we downloaded HUP’s own listing of all its social-science titles. As this article goes to press, one can download the current version of the file that we started with at [this HUP link](#), but the HUP’s presentation of the information has changed since when we downloaded in January 2010. When we downloaded the “Social Science” Excel file it contained six separate spreadsheets: Business & Economics, Current Events,⁴ History, Philosophy, Political Science, and Sociology. Now HUP offers the same data, but in a different array of files and spreadsheets.

Going by the book’s initial publication date (as opposed to later paperback or revised editions), we considered books published since 2000, thus we cover the full decade 2000 thru 2009, plus the good number of 2010 titles that were listed as of January 2010 and that became available for review thru about October 2010 when I concluded my data collection.

3. See <http://www.hup.harvard.edu/resources/authors/mike.html>.

4. To start, the Current Events spreadsheet contained just ten titles since 2000, three of which were removed in the “first pass.” Most of the remainder were then sorted to one of the other subject areas, so, in the end, the entire subject area of Current Events is eliminated. That is why it does not appear in any of the reported results.

First-pass removal of many titles: After downloading the HUP “Social Science” Excel file and omitting the pre-2000 titles, the first thing I did was to make a “first pass” to remove titles for which a political slant would seem to matter little or find little platform. We make transparent the removals made at this first pass in the “First-pass Removal of Titles” Excel sheet [linked here](#) and at Appendix 1. This “first pass” was necessary to reduce the number of books to be surveyed. To give a flavor of the first-pass removals, I list the first five titles removed from the five main spreadsheets:

Sample of titles removed in my “first pass”:

Business and Economics: *The Economic History of Byzantium*; *Unfinished Business: Ayukawa Yoshisuke and U.S.-Japan Relations, 1937-1953*; *From Cotton Mill to Business Empire: The Emergence of Regional Enterprises in Modern China*; *Dilemmas of Russian Capitalism: Fedor Chizhov and Corporate Enterprise in the Railroad Age*; *Organizing Control: August Thyssen and the Construction of German Corporate Management*

History: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers 53*; *The Life of Lazaros of Mt. Galesion*; *Siegecraft: Two Tenth-Century Instructional Manuals by “Heron of Byzantium”*; *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Volume 99*; *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture*

Philosophy: *Articulating Reasons: An Introduction to Inferentialism*; *Kant’s Final Synthesis: An Essay on the Opus Postumum*; *Happiness, Death, and the Remainder of Life*; *Unshadowed Thought: Representation in Thought and Language*; *Signs of Sense: Reading Wittgenstein’s Tractatus*

Political Science: *Rethinking the 1898 Reform Period: Political and Cultural Change in Late Qing China*; *Nationalizing the Russian Empire: The Campaign against Enemy Aliens during World War I*; *Trust in Troubled Times: Money, Banks, and State-Society Relations in Republican Tianjin*; *The Gift of Science: Leibniz and the Modern Legal Tradition*; *Flag Wars and Stone Saints: How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech*

Sociology: *Restoring the Balance: Women Physicians and the Profession of Medicine, 1850-1995*; *The Breakdown of the State in Lebanon, 1967-1976*; *King Croesus’ Gold: Excavations at Sardis and the History of Gold Refining*; *Beyond the Synagogue Gallery: Finding a Place for Women in American Judaism*; *Return to Nisa*

I hope that this sample of 25 removed titles shows the reasonableness of simplifying my task, by removing books unlikely to express or reflect a particular political ideology, particularly within a modern western context. I understand that virtually any title could, in fact, provide a platform for ideological rumination and projection. I simply removed the titles that appeared less ripe for such expression. In completing my “first pass,” the portion of titles removed by the respective primitive spreadsheets were roughly as follows: Business & Economics 15%;

History 58%; Philosophy 69%; Political Science 15%; and Sociology 57%.⁵ Again, my decisions are transparent in the Excel file at Appendix 1.

After my “first pass,” there remained 494 titles, which form the basis of this study. The 494 titles represent a large and unbiased sample of all HUP “Social Science” titles during the 10+ years covered. But, really, it is more than a sample: It is the entire population of titles that survived my first pass—which is transparently unbiased. Still, as the 494 titles come after my “first pass,” they are not the complete catalog for the subjects and years surveyed, so one should not project the ideological percentages reported below onto the entire subject areas sub-populations, nor onto the “Social Science” catalog as a whole. (If all of the titles—that is, the pre-first-pass set—had been included, the “Reticent” and “Not relevant to judgments about public policy” numbers would be *much* greater than what we report below, shrinking the proportions for *every* ideological category.) There is no reason to think, however, that the proportions of the ideological categories relative to *one another* would change if the removed titles had not, in fact, been removed.

For its Law titles, HUP offers a separate Excel file. We did not work with the Law listing, which is voluminous. We have a set of 28 Law titles for which HUP had also given a *secondary* listing in one of the social-science areas. I relegate to a footnote the details of how books were assigned to a subject category.⁶ Appendix 2 contains our final data with my ideological coding.

Thus, following the “first pass” removals, we have a listing of titles potentially relevant for the task at hand, a listing that, except for the odd title that could not be acquired for examination, is complete for all books in the five social-science areas, based on a primacy-ranking in subject listing, for 10+ years from 2000 into 2010, plus a sample of the Law titles. If one were to cast doubt on our results about the relative ideological representation, it could only be a doubt about the ideological coding I assigned to the 494 books.

I placed each book into an ideological category. The categories were:

5. These percentages are rough: These spreadsheets were primitive: many titles in these sheets are cross-listed and some of the dates are incomplete. It was only after removing titles that we cleaned up and completed the data for those that remained.

6. We adapted the subject-area spreadsheets so that a book would be listed in no more than one subject-area spreadsheet. Going from the “Social Science” spreadsheets after the “first pass” removals had been made, the books were initially sorted by the book’s first subject listing (by HUP, as shown in our appendix spreadsheets). Six subjects had more than a few titles, namely Business & Economics, History, Law, Philosophy, Political science, and Sociology. We then sifted the books that had first-subject listings elsewhere into one of these six by following the book’s second or third listing. A few titles, such as *The Success of Open Source*, actually fell out of the sample altogether, because, in this case, it started in the Current Events listing, which was very brief and got eliminated, and the book’s only secondary listing was Computers.

1. Communitarian
2. Tending Communitarian
3. Left
4. Centrist leaning left
5. Centrist
6. Centrist leaning conservative
7. Conservative
8. Tending classical liberal
9. Classical liberal
- Reticent
- Not relevant to judgments about public policy

Some remarks about the ideological categorization: The categorization shown above is schematic, though imperfectly. At number 5 we have “Centrist”, and that is flanked by “Left” and by “Conservative.” Off in the wings, as it were, are “Communitarian” and “Classical liberal.” By “classical liberal” we mean the original liberalism, as represented, for example, by William Gladstone, who was four times Liberal prime minister of Britain. I write from a classical liberal/libertarian perspective—reader beware! I am uncomfortable treating conservative and classical liberal together as “the Right,” but our analysis in some sense does join them as “anti-left.” When the nine categories are arrayed in the order shown above, we have Communitarian on the far left and Classical liberal on the far right. We recognize that this array can be misleading, but such are the limitations of visual schematics.

My examination of the books mostly took place at the UCLA library, nearby my home in Los Angeles. I did not attempt the Herculean task of reading completely every of the 494 books included, but each was considered to a degree sufficient to assess its category. The Excel file of Appendix 2 contains my summary remarks about each book in Column E, and my ideological coding for the book in Column B. In an effort to counter possible bias that might result from my own classical liberal orientation, I tried whenever possible to put books in the “Classical liberal” and “Conservative” categories. We wished to avoid “proving” that Harvard tends left by wrongly coding books as leftist. Again, the ideological coding I assigned to each book is transparently accessible in the Excel file at Appendix 2: Please submit a comment to this journal if you detect a bias in my work.

The HUP Social Sciences Catalog Tilts Heavily Left

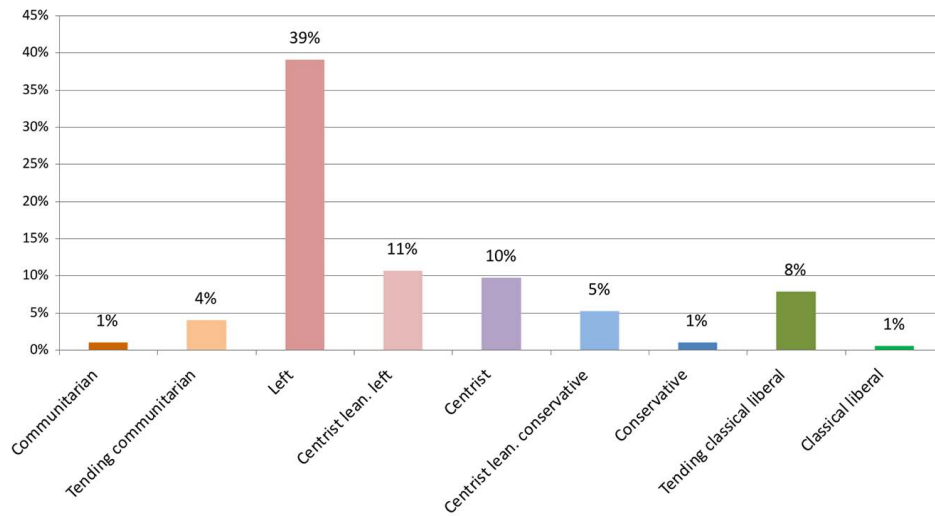
Table 1 provides the basic results in numerical form. Again, I had removed a large number of titles in my “first pass,” but not surprisingly there still remained 55 titles that I then subsequently deemed to not have been relevant to the matter of ideological categorization; further, for another 47 of the books I found the authors too reticent about political ideology to enable a coding. Hence from the 494 titles that remained after my “first pass,” only 392 were given an ideological coding corresponding to the list of nine categories above.

Table 1: The 494 HUP Titles by Subject Area and Ideological Category

	Bus & Econ	History	Philosophy	Political Science	Sociology	Law	Total
Communitarian	1 2%	0 0%	4 11%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	5 1%
Tending communitarian	0 0%	14 5%	1 3%	3 5%	2 4%	0 0%	20 4%
Left	13 23%	94 37%	15 39%	28 46%	34 62%	9 33%	193 39%
Centrist lean left	15 27%	17 7%	3 8%	5 8%	10 18%	3 11%	53 11%
Centrist	12 21%	27 11%	1 3%	4 7%	1 2%	3 11%	48 10%
Centrist lean conservative	1 2%	15 6%	1 3%	5 8%	0 0%	4 15%	26 5%
Conservative	0 0%	2 1%	0 0%	2 3%	0 0%	1 4%	5 1%
Tending classical liberal	3 5%	21 8%	3 8%	5 8%	3 5%	4 15%	39 8%
Classical liberal	2 4%	0 0%	1 3%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	3 0.6%
Not relevant to judgment	0 0%	39 15%	9 24%	3 5%	2 4%	2 7%	55 11%
Reticent	9 16%	28 11%	0 0%	6 10%	3 5%	1 4%	47 10%
<i>Total</i>	<i>56</i> <i>11%</i>	<i>257</i> <i>52%</i>	<i>38</i> <i>8%</i>	<i>61</i> <i>12%</i>	<i>55</i> <i>11%</i>	<i>27</i> <i>5%</i>	<i>494</i> <i>100%</i>

The results are given visual representation in Figure 1. The percentages shown do not add up to 100 because they are based on the 494 titles, which includes the 102 titles deemed either “Reticent” or “Not relevant to judgments about public policy,” two categories which have been suppressed from the figure.

Figure 1: All HUP Books Surveyed, by Ideology

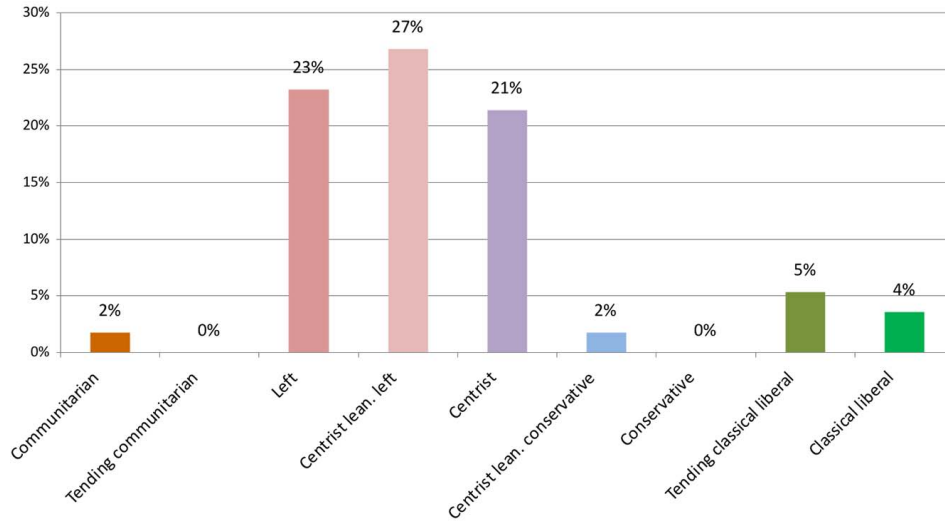


Note: Not shown are 21 % Reticent or Not relevant to judgments about public policy.

The four categories positioned on the left side of Figure 1 greatly outweigh those on the right side. The categories Communitarian, Tending communitarian, Left, and Centrist leaning left account for 55 percent, while the categories Classical liberal, Tending classical liberal, Conservative, and Centrist leaning conservative account for only 15 percent (the remainder being Centrist and the two neuter categories). Moreover, only eight of the titles (1.6 percent of the 494) can be counted as squarely Conservative or Classical liberal, while 198 of the titles (40 percent) can be counted as squarely Left or Communitarian.

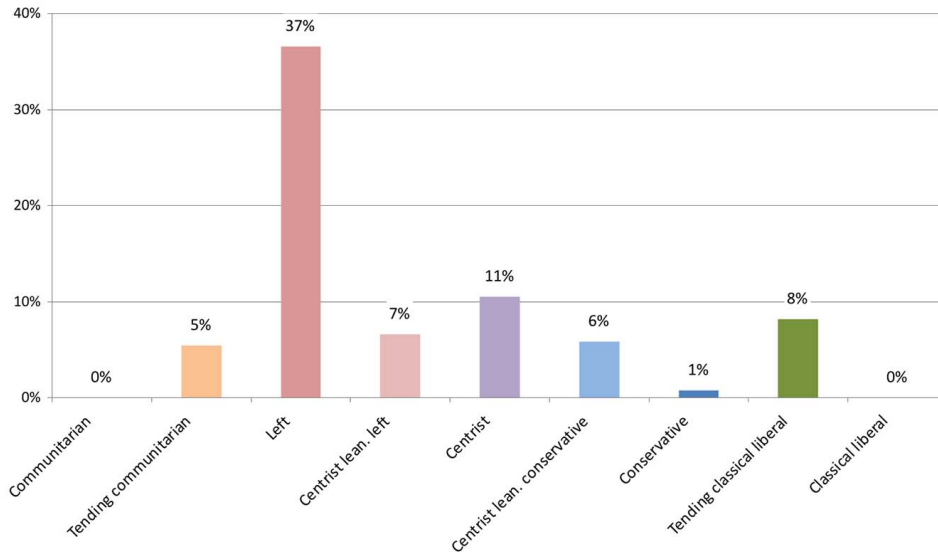
Figures 2 through 7 show the breakdown for each of the six subject areas included in our survey (again, Law is a residual category, as explained above).

Figure 2: HUP Business & Economics Books 2000-2010 (56 titles), by Ideology



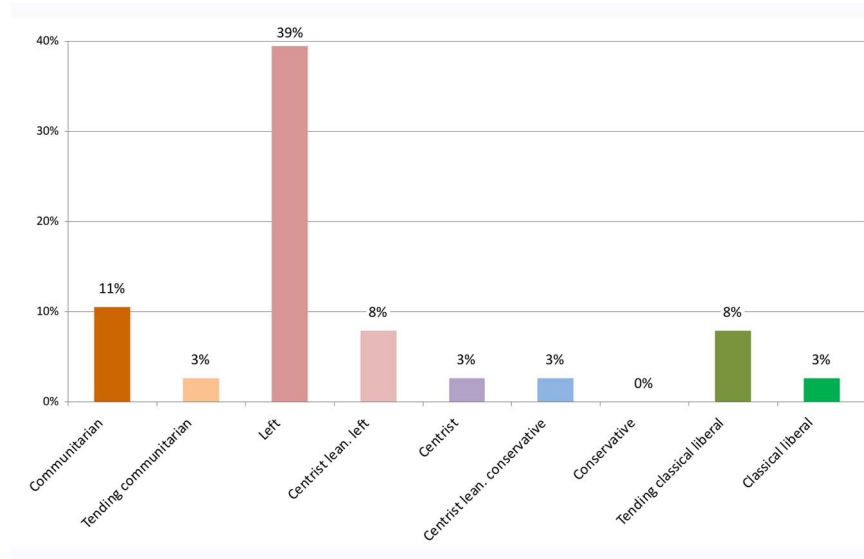
Note: Not shown are 16% Reticent.

Figure 3: HUP History Books 2000-2010 (257 titles), by Ideology



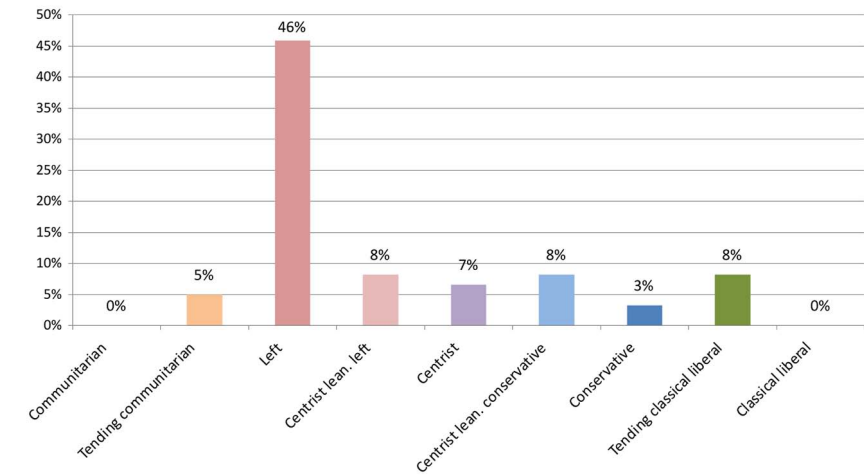
Note: Not shown are 26% Reticent or Not relevant to judgments about public policy.

Figure 4: HUP Philosophy Books 2000-2010 (38 titles), by Ideology



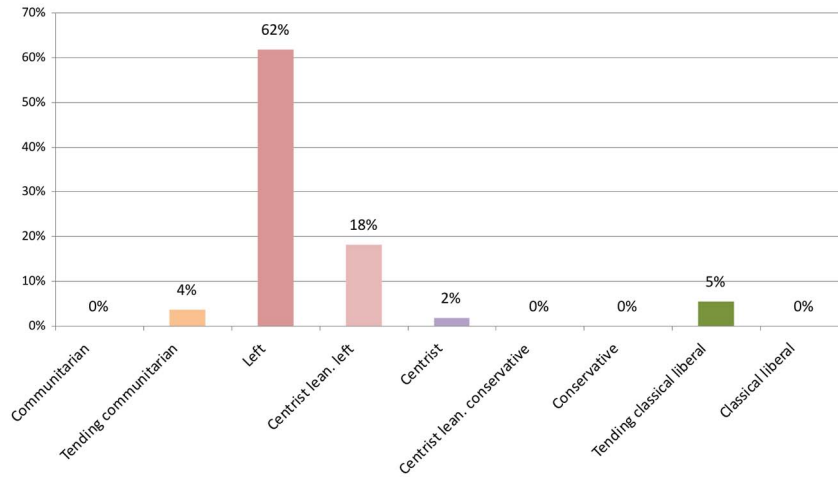
Note: Not shown are 24% Not relevant to judgments about public policy.

Figure 5: HUP Political Science Books 2000-2010 (61 titles), by Ideology



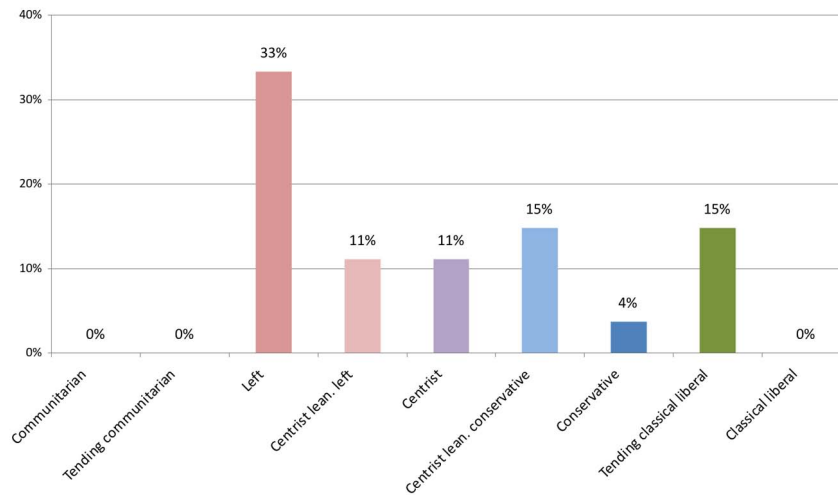
Note: Not shown are 15% Reticent or Not relevant to judgments about public policy.

Figure 6: HUP Sociology Books 2000-2010 (55 titles), by Ideology



Note: Not shown are 9% Reticent or Not relevant to judgments about public policy.

Figure 7: HUP Law Books 2000-2010 (a residual sample of 27 titles), by Ideology



Note: Not shown are 11% Reticent or Not relevant to judgments about public policy.

Qualitative Remarks on Selected Titles

Besides presenting the data visually, it may be helpful to describe a few of the books in each subject area. In Business and Economics, Philip Mirowski's and Dieter Plehwe's edited collection, *The Road from Mont Pèlerin: The Making of the Neoliberal Thought Collective* (2009) is a predominantly hostile treatment of the Mont Pèlerin Society, the classical liberal society founded by Friedrich Hayek, and contains suggestions that it formed the center of a network to promote business control of Europe, the United States, and Latin America. This book fits perfectly with Gérard Duménil, *Capital Resurgent: The Roots of the Neoliberal Revolution* (2004), who maintains that the neoliberal policies of the 1970s and 80s represent a successful attempt by financial interests to take over the economy. Thomas R. Michl, *Capitalists, Workers, and Fiscal Policy: A Classical Model of Growth and Distribution* (2009) presents a Marxist analysis of debt. Fiscal debt promotes inequality, while debt in public institutions such as pension funds can promote equality. One of the foremost American Marxist economists, Duncan K. Foley, in *Adam's Fallacy*, (2006), attacks mainstream economics for separating production and distribution. Marx, not Adam Smith, offers a better guide to the problems of today. A Harvard economist with Marxist sympathies, Stephen Marglin, in *The Dismal Science: How Thinking Like an Economist Undermines Community* (2008), claims that the market destroys community, by encouraging people to see themselves as isolated, self-interested actors. Lance Taylor, *Reconstructing Macroeconomics: Structuralist Proposals and Critiques of the Mainstream* (2009) issues a Left Keynesian call for increasing aggregate demand, coupled with a criticism of mainstream economists for failure to realize how radical were Keynes's insights.

No good leftist can countenance subjecting the sacred precincts of education to the market. Accordingly, David L. Kirp, in *Shakespeare, Einstein, and the Bottom Line: The Marketing of Higher Education* (2003) argues that market values are incompatible with the traditional pursuit of learning. He provides a critical account of recent "for-profit" trends in higher education. In like fashion, leftists oppose privatization. Jody Freeman, *Government by Contract: Outsourcing and American Democracy* (2009), questions whether efforts to outsource government functions to private enterprise provide adequate safeguards for public accountability. In *The Tyranny of the Market: Why You Can't Always Get What You Want* (2007), Joel Waldfogel finds fault with consumer's sovereignty, the view that the market provides consumers with what they desire. Not so, he avers: economic freedom does not serve well those with minority tastes in markets with high fixed costs. In many areas, leftists believe, the government must step in to protect people from

themselves. Frank A. Sloan, *The Smoking Puzzle: Information, Risk Perception, and Choice* (2003) thinks that smokers tend to underestimate the health risks posed by smoking. To remedy this sad state of affairs, the government needs to institute a policy to make information about smoking's hazards more salient to tobacco users.

Publications in Business & Economics are not completely one-sided. Tyler Cowen, *What Price Fame?* (2003), contests critics who contend that the pursuit of fame is superficial. To the contrary, Cowen maintains, efforts to achieve fame are good for creativity and for society generally. Cowen writes from a viewpoint largely sympathetic to classical liberalism; but unlike many of the authors of leftist books, he presents what he has to say in very moderate tones. This is not a peculiarity of Cowen's book: a number of other Harvard authors who are classed as classical liberal or conservative are muted in their advocacy. The noted Chicago School economist Sherwin Rosen was a classical liberal, but his collection of essays, *Markets and Diversity* (2004), is largely non-political. Rosen argues that empirical analysis can often tell us what people's tastes are, thus enabling us to fill in the details of economic theory's assumptions about human nature.

Readers who have sampled Harvard's offerings in Business and Economics will encounter few surprises in Harvard's Law books. Todd D. Rakoff, *A Time for Every Purpose: Law and the Balance of Human Life* (2002), argues that laws structure how people relate to time, e.g., by delimiting time zones and by mandating a 40-hour work week as standard. This process is unduly dominated by big business and should be changed to give people more control over their time. Jennifer Gordon, in *Suburban Sweatshops: The Fight for Immigrant Rights* (2005), narrates her efforts to help workers combat sweatshop conditions, through her founding of the Workplace Project. Marion R. Fremont-Smith, in *Governing Non-Profit Organizations: Federal and State Law and Regulation* (2004), is worried about non-profit organizations. They are often self-interested and engage in fraud and require close government monitoring to thwart these nefarious practices. At a more theoretical level, Deborah Hellman, *When Is Discrimination Wrong?* (2008) is sympathetic to affirmative action. She embeds her support for this policy within a general theory of when discrimination is wrong. Discrimination is inherently immoral: its character as a "speech-act" is more important than the motivation of the person who discriminates. More radically, Lani Guinier, *The Miner's Canary: Enlisting Race, Resisting Power, Transforming Democracy* (2002), calls for cross-racial alliances to advance the interests of minority groups. These interests are not adequately protected in a winner-take-all democracy.

On the other side, Louis Kaplow and Steven M. Shavell, in *Fairness Versus Welfare* (2002), criticize moral theories that stress fairness on the ground that efforts to implement these theories reduce welfare. In its criticism of influential

egalitarian theories, this book merits classification as classical liberal; but it by no means conveys a strong presumption of laissez-faire. Again, the HUP books that support classical liberalism tend to be self-consciously moderate, by contrast with the strident rhetoric that some of the leftist authors permit themselves.

In History, once again the left predominates. Edward Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (2001), is a collection of essays by a leading literary and music critic, who was also a prominent Palestinian activist and political radical. He stressed the influence of exile on literature; feminism and imperialism are frequent themes of this collection. Robert E. Sullivan, *Macaulay: The Tragedy of Power* (2009), is a biography of the great Whig historian that paints an unsympathetic picture of nineteenth-century British classical liberalism. The book stresses Macaulay's psychological limitations and his arrogant attitude toward non-European peoples. Emma Rothschild, in her very influential *Economic Sentiments: Adam Smith, Condorcet, and the Enlightenment* (2001), is anxious to ensure that Adam Smith not be taken as a progenitor of nineteenth-century capitalism. She argues that neither Smith nor Condorcet, a thinker she views as closely related to Smith, favored economic development come-what-may. Both sought to relate the economy to human emancipation. Hui Wang, *China's New Order: Society, Politics, and Economy in Transition* (2003), views with grave misgiving the move toward a market economy in China. Wang claims that China is dominated by market extremism that seeks growth at all costs. He calls for democratic reforms to bring the market in check.

Elsewhere in the spectrum, Andrew Bacevich, a conservative who is sympathetic to a non-interventionist foreign policy, sharply criticizes American foreign policy in *American Empire* (2002). Many conservatives and classical liberals will applaud his critique, but it is worth pointing out that the contemporary left is also critical of American policy. Many leftists would find little to dissent from in Bacevich's argument. He contends that since World War II, America has been dominated by the drive for open markets, in order to promote the prosperity of American consumers. Force, if necessary, was used to secure openness. Perhaps the way for a conservative or classical liberal to increase his chances of an acceptable proposal to HUP is to choose a topic where his position converges with leftist opinion.

Philosophy continues the pattern already described. G.A. Cohen, a leading analytical Marxist philosopher, criticizes John Rawls from the left in *Rescuing Justice and Equality* (2008). Rawls's difference principle, Cohen contends, allows too much scope to inequality. Michael J. Sandel, *Public Philosophy: Essays on Morality in Politics* (2005), can find little good in the free market. Commercialism, as found, e.g., in selling expensive baseball and football seats, has undermined our shared values. Joshua Cohen, *Philosophy, Politics, Democracy: Selected Essays* (2009), argues for the primacy of democratic decision making, especially in small communities. He

strongly favors unions and involvement of employees in firm management and follows Rawls in calling for “public reason.” Property rights must be subordinated to democratic participation. Zygmunt Bauman, a former Polish communist forced into exile, in *Does Ethics Have a Chance in a World of Consumers?* (2008), strongly criticizes consumerism and globalization. He warns that modernity led to the Holocaust and views many aspects of the contemporary world with alarm.

The Philosophy books include the most resolutely classical liberal item of any item on our list, Robert Nozick’s *Invariances: The Structure of the Objective World* (2001). The book is a general survey of metaphysics, but includes one chapter on ethics. Nozick defends a libertarian morality, in which coercion is radically restricted. It needs to be borne in mind that Nozick was a world-renowned philosopher and a professor at Harvard University. It was hardly likely that the press would reject a book that he offered them.

In Political Science, we have no surprises, but an aspect of HUP policy that we have so far not dealt with emerges clearly. HUP is willing to publish books that are not only left, but extremely left. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Commonwealth* (2009), is a radical leftist proposal for a breakdown of the distinction of public and private enterprise. The authors invoke the biopolitics of Foucault to support their views. Negri was an adviser to the Italian Red Brigades and served time in prison on charges of involvement in the kidnapping and death of Italian Prime Minister Aldo Moro. To turn to the more conventional left, E. L. Doctorow, *Reporting the Universe* (2003) is a collection of essays by a popular novelist. Doctorow warns against breaches in church-state separation and the dangers of corporate influence in politics. Bruce J. Schulman, ed., *Rightward Bound: Making America Conservative in the 1970s* (2008), is a collection of essays by leftist historians on the rise of conservatism in the 1970s. The chapter title “The Invention of Family Values” gives a flavor of the book’s standpoint.

Among the non-leftist titles in Political Science is Paul E. Peterson, *Saving Schools: From Horace Mann to Virtual Learning* (2010), which discusses educational reform efforts through an analysis of six reformers, including Horace Mann, John Dewey, and Albert Shanker. Their efforts failed, Peterson contends, because they promoted school centralization. The Internet opens the possibility of personalized learning. James W. Ceasar is a prominent conservative political scientist, much influenced by Leo Strauss. In *Nature and History in American Political Development: A Debate* (2006), he argues that nature is a foundational concept in American political history. Different conceptions of nature, e.g., the one found in the Declaration of Independence and later deployed by Lincoln, have had a major impact.

As the diagram illustrates, Sociology was by far the most leftist subject area, with no less than 62 percent of the books in the “Left” category, and another 18 percent in the “Centrist leaning left” category. Evelyn Glenn, *Forced to Care: Co-*

ercion and Caregiving in America (2010) argues that care givers are devalued by denial of minimum wages, retirement, and other benefits. She draws an analogy with slavery and indentured servitude. T. Walter Herbert also paints an unflattering picture of American life. In *Sexual Violence and American Manhood* (2002), he maintains that American culture is founded in images of violence against women. The book won the endorsement of the radical feminist Andrea Dworkin. Kent W. Colton, *Housing in the Twenty-First Century: Achieving Common Ground* (2003), is a history of federal housing policy since 1949, by a former administrator of the program. The book is highly sympathetic to federal provision of housing in line with the 1949 Housing Act.

One should not imagine that professed Marxists are absent from Sociology. The distinguished analytical Marxist economist John E. Roemer, in *Racism, Xenophobia, and Distribution: Multi-Issue Politics in Advanced Democracies* (2007), argues that rightwing parties use appeals to racism and anti-immigrant sentiment as a means to put into effect economic programs that help the rich and hurt the poor. Theodor W. Adorno's *Guilt and Defense: On the Legacies of National Socialism in Post-war Germany* (2010), translated and published in English posthumously (Adorno died in 1969), is an analysis by a leading member of the Marxist Frankfurt School of public opinion in Germany in the late 1940s.

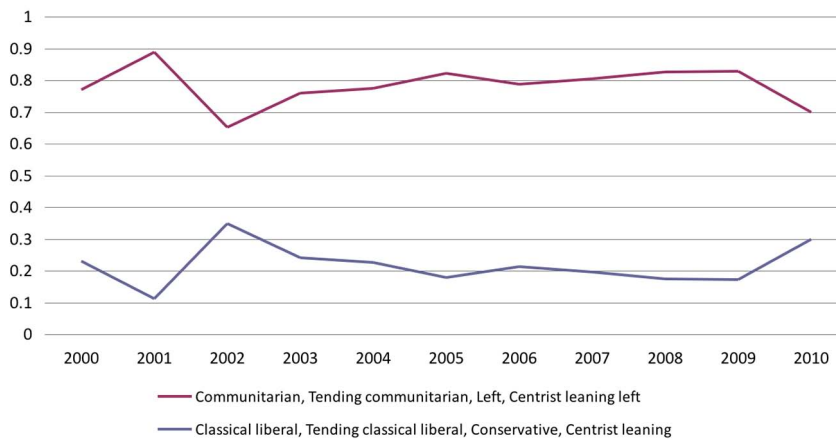
Three Sociology titles tend toward the classical liberal. Peter Schuck, *Diversity in America: Keeping Government at a Safe Distance* (2003), argues that diversity is a desirable goal, but its problems are not best managed by government. Rather, private associations and the market are best suited to resolve diversity issues. John Torpey, *Making Whole What Has Been Smashed: On Reparations Politics* (2006), is a critical examination of reparations politics, covering international trends. Torpey argues that such campaigns reflect political interests and that there is a big difference between reparations to victims and to their descendants. Reparations politics reflect pessimism about changing the future. Jennifer Lee, *Civility in the City: Blacks, Jews, and Koreans in Urban America* (2002), considers retail stores in minority neighborhoods, which are often portrayed as places in which robberies and destruction take place. Actually, they are areas of civility. It is in the interests of both customers and store owners to maintain this atmosphere.

Looking at the Data by Year

Figure 8 plots yearly data of the ideological portions, removing Centrist from the denominator. For the red line, the numerator is the year's sum of Communitarian, Tending communitarian, Left, and Centrist leaning left. For the blue line, the numerator is the year's sum of Classical liberal, Tending classical

liberal, Conservative, and Centrist leaning conservative. For both lines, the denominator is the sum of the two separate numerators, so for each year the red point and blue point add to 100 percent. Figure 8 shows that the red categories have constituted about 80 percent of those titles, while the blue have constituted about 20 percent.

Figure 8: Mirror-image proportions for Two Groups of HUP Titles, by Year, 2000-2010

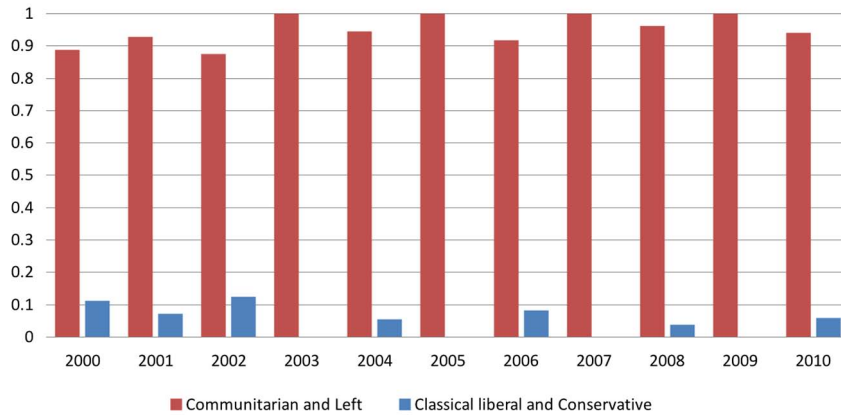


Relative portions of 78 percent to 22 percent is rather extreme, but the situation is more extreme when we also remove the four “tending” and “leaning” categories and focus only on the more definite categories, Communitarian, Left, Conservative, and Classical Liberal. Figure 9 shows portion based on the denominator of just those four categories. The red utterly dominates the blue, with a ratio of red to blue of 25 to 1. Indeed, over the entire 10+ years, there are only five Conservative titles⁷ and three Classical liberal titles.⁸

7. The five Conservative titles are as follows: Andrew J. Bacevich, *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy* (2002); James W. Ceaser, *Nature and History in American Political Development: A Debate* (2006); Matthew Connelly, *Fatal Misconception: The Struggle to Control World Population* (2008); Adrian Vermeule, *Judging Under Uncertainty: An Institutional Theory of Legal Interpretation* (2006); Steven D. Smith, *The Disenchantment of Secular Discourse* (2010).

8. The three Classical liberal titles are as follows: Tyler Cowen, *What Price Fame?* (2000); Robert Nozick, *Invariances: The Structure of the Objective World* (2001); Sherwin Rosen, *Markets and Diversity* (2004).

Figure 9: Left + Communitarian versus Conservative + Classical Liberal, HUP Titles, by Year, 2000-2010



Is HUP Typical of University Presses?

The results of our survey parallel a recent study by John B. Parrott (2010) entitled “Yale University Press: Disseminating *Lux et Veritas*?”—the subtitle being Yale’s motto “light and truth.” Parrott reviews all 14 of Yale University Press’s 2009 Political Science books that YUP itself listed in the sub-categories “American government” and “American political history.” He concludes: “these books pass along the progressive viewpoint almost exclusively, with only a few that could be considered theme-neutral or classically liberal, and none that can be termed conservative-oriented” (331). Our survey of HUP is far more comprehensive and demonstrates a pronounced leftist orientation.

My impression is that many, if not most, of the prestigious university presses tilt heavily to the left. It would be useful if someone made a thorough investigation of the most prestigious university presses. Such an investigation would make a good book project—though probably not one with much chance at HUP.

Combining our investigation of HUP with some casual empiricism about other university presses, I would say there is some reason to believe that, for the 10+ years since 2000, HUP has, relative to other university presses, been more systematically leftist, and unwelcoming of conservative and classical liberal scholarship. Regarding classical liberal scholarship, I have casually made a list of works from other university presses:

Some classical liberal books from other university presses since 2000 (first edition):

Cambridge University Press: Michele Boldrin and David K. Levine, *Against Intellectual Monopoly* (2008); James R. Otteson, *Adam Smith's Marketplace of Life* (2002); James R. Otteson, *Actual Ethics* (2005); David Schmidtz, *Elements of Justice* (2006).

MIT Press: William R. Easterly, *The Elusive Quest for Growth: Economists' Adventures and Misadventures in the Tropics* (2001).

New York University Press: F.E. Foldvary and D.B. Klein, editors, *The Half-Life of Policy Rationales: How New Technology Affects Old Policy Issues* (2003); John E. Moser, *Right Turn: John T. Flynn and the Transformation of American Liberalism* (2005);

Oxford University Press: Jagdish Bhagwati, *In Defense of Globalization* (2004); Robert Higgs, *Depression, War and Cold War: Studies in Political Economy* (2006); Chandran Kukathas, *The Liberal Archipelago: A Theory of Diversity and Freedom* (2003); Alexander Tabarrok, editor, *Entrepreneurial Economics: Bright Ideas from the Dismal Science* (2002).

Pennsylvania State University Press: Douglas B. Rasmussen and Douglas J. DenUyl, *Norms of Liberty: A Perfectionist Basis for Non-Perfectionist Politics* (2005).

Princeton University Press: Randy E. Barnett, *Restoring the Lost Constitution; The Presumption of Liberty* (2004); Jagdish Bhagwati, *Free Trade Today* (2002); Bryan Caplan, *The Myth of the Rational Voter: Why Democracies Choose Bad Policies* (2007); Tyler Cowen, *Creative Destruction: How Globalization Is Changing the World's Cultures* (2002); David D. Friedman, *Law's Order: What Economics Has to Do with Law and Why It Matters* (2000); Douglas A. Irwin, *Free Trade Under Fire* (2002); Russell D. Roberts, *The Price of Everything: A Parable of Possibility and Prosperity* (2008); John Tomasi, *Liberalism Beyond Justice: Citizens, Society and the Boundaries of Political Theory* (2001).

Rutgers University Press: Paul H. Rubin, *Darwinian Politics: The Evolutionary Origins of Freedom* (2002).

Stanford University Press: Christopher J. Coyne, *After War: The Political Economy of Exporting Democracy* (2008); Benjamin Powell, editor, *Making Poor Nations Rich: Entrepreneurship and the Process of Economic Development* (2007).

University of Chicago Press: Gary S. Becker and Richard A. Posner, *Uncommon Sense: Economic Insights, from Marriage to Terrorism* (2010); Bruce Caldwell, *Hayek's Challenge: An Intellectual Biography of F.A. Hayek* (2004); Richard A. Epstein, *Skepticism and Freedom: A Modern Case for Classical Liberalism* (2003); Deirdre N. McCloskey, *The Bourgeois Virtues: Ethics for an Age of Commerce* (2006); Deirdre N. McCloskey, *Bourgeois Dignity: Why Economics Can't Explain the Modern World* (2010).

University of Michigan Press: David T. Beito, Peter Gordon, and Alexander T. Tabarrok, eds., *The Voluntary City: Choice, Community, and Civil Society* (2002); Randall G. Holcombe, *From Liberty to Democracy: The Transformation of American Government* (2002); David M. Levy, *How the Dismal Science Got Its Name: Classical Economics and Ur-Text of Racial Politics* (2001); Sandra J. Peart and David M. Levy, *The "Vanity of the Philosopher": From Equality to Hierarchy in Post-Classical Economics* (2005); George A. Selgin, *Good Money: Birmingham Button Makers, the Royal Mint, and the Beginnings of Modern Coinage, 1775-1821* (2008).

University Press of Kentucky: Jonathan Bean, editor, *Race and Liberty in America: The Essential Reader* (2009).

University of North Carolina Press: David T. Beito, *From Mutual Aid to the Welfare State: Fraternal Societies and Social Services, 1890-1967* (2000).

Yale University Press: Richard A. Epstein, *Overdose: How Excessive Government Regulation Stifles Pharmaceutical Innovation* (2006); Paul A. Rahe, *Soft Despotism, Democracy's Drift: Montesquieu, Rousseau, Tocqueville, and the Modern Prospect* (2009).

This listing does not mean to slight trade presses or other academic presses (Routledge, Transaction, Elsevier, Springer, etc.)—I am simply using ‘university press’ as a handy means of suggesting a comparison. For the books just listed, the classical-liberal aspect is *stronger* than for any of the HUP books that I have categorized as Classical liberal. Also, this list is “off the cuff;” I am sure that more such books could be listed. The point of the list is twofold. First, it suggests that perhaps HUP has been particularly inhospitable to classical liberal books—and surely the same goes for conservative books. Second, my point is not to say that all of the university presses preclude classical liberal and conservative scholarship; there may be pervasive systematic bias—many hundreds of university-press books are published each year—but each year the university presses do publish several books with a classical liberal outlook. HUP is probably representative of a general leftist orientation among university presses, but, also, HUP might be somewhat more extreme than many or even most of the other university presses.

Concluding Remarks

I would like to make clear that my attitude is not that scholarly books in the social sciences should be ideology-free. As I see it, ideological sensibilities and basic formulations and judgments in the moral sciences are inseparable. My complaint about HUP is not that it is ideological, but that its ideology is predominately leftist. My further purpose is to help demonstrate that a leftist bent pervades establishment academic standards of scholarly accomplishment, a situation that interlocks with the fact that classical liberals and conservatives are rather scarce in the humanities and social-science faculties, especially outside of economics. Finally, we should think about the market for the books published: Many of the books are sold to libraries and other parties that subsist in part of tax dollars.

Appendices

Appendix 1: First-pass removal of HUP titles (Excel). This file makes transparent David Gordon’s removal of books based on inspection of the title. (This file does not contain his ideological coding. For that, go to Appendix 2.) [Link](#)

Appendix 2: Final data: The 494 HUP titles with ideological coding (Excel). [Link](#)

References

Parrott, John B. 2010. Yale University Press: Disseminating *Lux et Veritas?* *Academic Questions* 23 (Sept.): 327-338.

About the Authors



David Gordon is a senior fellow at the Ludwig von Mises Institute. He was educated at UCLA, where he earned his PhD in history. He is the author of *Resurrecting Marx: The Analytical Marxists on Exploitation, Freedom, and Justice*; *The Philosophical Origins of Austrian Economics*; *An Introduction to Economic Reasoning*, and *Critics of Marx*. He is also editor of *Secession, State, and Liberty* and co-editor of H.B. Acton's *Morals of Markets and Other Essays*. His email is dgordon@mises.org.



Per Nilsson works as a public opinion analyst at Demoskop in Stockholm, Sweden. He holds an M.A. in political science from Linköping University and has previously worked as a research assistant at the Ratio Institute and as an editorial journalist at *Dagens Industri*. He can be contacted at per.nilsson@demoskop.se

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