

# COSSA WASHINGTON UPDATE

Volume XIII, Number 9

May 16, 1994

## CONGRESS MOVES ON FY 1995 BUDGET ON THREE FRONTS *H/S*

Congressional consideration of spending for Federal government agencies is a three pronged process. A budget resolution produced by the House and Senate budget committees sets parameters for spending by eighteen government functions, e.g. science, space and technology, health, community development. It also provides the 601(A) total of discretionary spending available to the appropriations committee.

Thirteen subcommittees produce appropriation bills that provide actual spending figures for agencies and programs within agencies. The subcommittees do not mirror the functions of the government, resulting in intense competition for funds among agencies. For example, the VA, HUD, Independent Agencies panel funds the Departments of Veterans Affairs, Housing and Urban Development, NASA, EPA, NSF, and the Federal Emergency Management Agency. However, before this interagency competition occurs, the subcommittees compete for funding in a process known as the 602(B) allocation, by dividing the amount provided by the budget resolution under section 601(A).

Authorization bills provide enabling legislation for agencies' existence. They also provide spending numbers for agencies and their programs. These figures are ceilings which appropriators should not exceed. However, since appropriation and authorization categories do not exactly parallel each other appropriators have some leeway. Sometimes appropriators ignore authorization levels, and although these actions are open to challenge, they have rarely been successful.

In the last fortnight, all three of these operations have been in play as Congress tackles the FY 1995 Federal budget. The overriding factor influencing lawmakers' decisions on spending remains the constraints from the budget agreement freezing discretionary spending.

## HOUSE PASSES NSF REAUTHORIZATION BILL: FUNDING CEILING REDUCED *H/S*

Rep. Sherwood Boehlert (R-NY) considers himself one of the National Science Foundation's best friends on Capitol Hill. As the ranking Republican on the House Science Subcommittee he has consistently supported increased funding for NSF. This year, however, he felt compelled to sponsor an amendment to reduce the authorization for the NSF. After failing in committee, Boehlert succeeded on the House floor by a vote of 227-197.

Although authorizations are not the final determinants of an agency's spending, appropriations are, they can provide indicators of congressional thinking. The Boehlert amendment, which cut \$50 million from the FY 1995 authorization, and \$158 million from the FY 1996 authorization, from the sponsors point of view simply brought the final figures in line with the House Budget Resolution. Rep. Rick Boucher (D-VA), chairman of the Science Committee, argued that budget resolutions are not binding and authorization committees should not have to follow them. He lost the argument.

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Why was a strong supporter of NSF sponsoring an amendment to reduce its authorization? Boehlert argued that the deficit persists as a major problem and reducing it should remain a national priority. He also asserted that his amendment still left NSF with a healthy 4 percent increase in FY 1995 and 3 percent growth in FY 1996. President Clinton's budget requested a 6 percent increase in FY 1995. The Science Committee bill provided a 6 percent increase for FY 1996.

Boehlert's action could also be interpreted from a political angle. As one of the few moderate-liberal Republicans left in the House, Boehlert may be under some pressure to respond to the Republican leadership in order to keep his ranking seat on the Subcommittee. Incoming House Republican leader Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-GA) has made it clear that seniority would take a back seat to loyalty in appointments to key committee positions next year.

In addition, the power of the authorization committees has been declining in recent years in contrast to the appropriations committees. Rep. George Brown (D-CA), chairman of the full House Science, Space and Technology Committee, has been in the forefront of reasserting the influence of authorization committees, particularly in his fight to eliminate earmarking of research facilities grants. In the NSF reauthorization debate, a number of members made points about the need for the authorization committee to come in with "realistic" numbers. At one point, Boehlert suggested that the appropriations committee would eventually come closer to his proposed 4 percent increase, than the

President's proposed 6 percent increase. Rep. Robert Walker (R-PA) argued: "I think the fundamental thing that the authorizing committees need to do is set priorities in these bills. When we use wish list numbers we take away from our ability to set priorities and hand it over to the appropriators who will deal with real numbers."

Rep. Louis Stokes (D-OH), chairman of the VA, HUD, Independent Agencies appropriations subcommittee, inserted remarks into the Congressional Record opposing the Boehlert amendment. He also expressed concern with the anti-earmarking provision in the bill which prohibits NSF from awarding facilities' grants to universities that receive funding for facilities from any non-competitive non-merit reviewed process.

The bill, with the Boehlert amendment, the anti-earmarking provision, and the "pause" provision on indirect costs (see *Update*, March 7) passed the House 396-22. The action now moves to the Senate where two committees have jurisdiction over the bill. The Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee will act first, and then the Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee will have 30 days to provide its input. When this will happen is unclear at the moment.

#### THE FY 1995 BUDGET RESOLUTION: DEFICIT HAWKS STILL ON WARPATH *AS*

On May 12, Congress cleared the conference report on the FY 1995 budget resolution providing over \$1.2 trillion dollars of spending authority for the next fiscal year beginning on October 1, 1993. (Budget resolutions do not need the President's signature.) Estimated revenues were \$977.7 billion, leaving a deficit of \$239.5 billion. This does not include the surplus in activities Congress considers off-budget, such as Social Security. Including these would reduce the deficit to the \$175 billion found in President Clinton's FY 1995 budget proposal.

During consideration of the resolution, the Senate voted to reduce spending by \$26 billion. The House version had no such provision. Despite Budget Committee Ranking Republican Sen. Pete Domenici's (R-NM) willingness to remove the Senate reductions, deficit hawks in both houses insisted that further reductions occur. The conferees split the difference and agreed on \$13 billion spread over five years. The impact on FY 1995 funding will be further reductions of \$500 million.

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In the House version of the resolution, report language called for a reduction of \$50 million in spending on the National Science Foundation in FY 1995. Members of the authorizing committee utilized this provision to justify reducing NSF's authorization (see page one). As defenders of NSF noted during debate, the budget resolution divides the pie according to government function. NSF fits into the Science, Space and Technology category whose final figure of \$17.3 billion in budget authority, actually restored \$100 million to this category from the House bill. However, the deficit hawks prevailed in that argument as well.

#### A SPACE STATION AND AN NSF INCREASE? *HS*

The division of the pie among the 13 appropriations subcommittee chairmen -- known as the "college of cardinals" -- occurred on May 11 under the leadership of the new full appropriations committee head, Rep. David Obey (D-WI). The pie amounted to \$508.6 billion in budget authority, money approved for spending in FY 1995 and beyond, and \$540.6 billion in outlays, funds actually to be spent in FY 1995.

The allocation provided the VA, HUD, Independent Agencies Subcommittee affects NSF's appropriation. The Subcommittee received an increase over last year's allocation, but will it be enough to save NASA's space station? Facing tough choices, can Chairman Rep. Louis Stokes (D-OH) and his colleagues find the dollars for NSF's 6 percent increase? Another question is whether the space station will survive another political assault planned by certain House members? If it does not, would NSF be the beneficiary? These are questions that will be played out in the next 4 to 6 weeks as the Subcommittees begin their markups and move their bills to the floor of the House. This is only half the process, as later, probably in July and into September, the Senate joins the action.

Other subcommittees that did well were: Commerce, Justice, State and the Judiciary up over \$3 billion over FY 1994 enacted levels; Labor, HHS, and Education up \$2.7 billion over FY 1994; and Defense up over \$4 billion. All the other Subcommittees suffered reductions in budget authority from their FY 1994 enacted levels. Appropriation watchers are eyeing new Labor, HHS, Education chairman Rep. Neal Smith (D-IA) to see how he balances the health and education and training needs of the country, all encompassed in his subcommittee. Also the Commerce Subcommittee's

acting chairman Rep. Alan Mollohan (D-WV) might provide a fresh perspective for the programs under his jurisdiction, including the National Institute of Justice, the Bureau of Justice Statistics, and the Census Bureau.

#### COSSA URGES CONGRESS TO SUPPORT JUSTICE RESEARCH AND STATISTICS PROGRAMS *MB*

Freda Adler, Distinguished Professor of Criminal Justice at Rutgers University and President-Elect of the American Society of Criminology, testified on behalf of COSSA on May 3 before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, State, and the Judiciary. Adler told the Subcommittee, led by acting Chairman Alan Mollohan (D-WV), that a strong research and development effort is needed to evaluate the strategies used in waging war on crime. She urged the Subcommittee to adequately fund the research and statistics programs of the Department of Justice's Office of Justice Programs (OJP), which include the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), and the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP).

Noting the public outcry over violent crime and the sweeping and costly package of anti-crime legislation moving through Congress, Adler lamented the lack of a well-funded research and development effort to study and evaluate these crime control measures. She told the panel that crime and criminal justice research receives only seven cents of every \$100 of federal research and development funding.

Adler outlined the contributions of research in areas such as career criminals, sentencing alternatives such as boot camps, juvenile delinquency, drugs, gangs, family violence, and community policing, among others. She commented that while research has made progress in these areas, much work remains before policymakers can be certain what avenues to pursue. She praised the formulation of a long-range research agenda at NIJ, but expressed doubt about the agency having the money to fully implement it. For Fiscal Year 1993 NIJ was only able to fund 12 percent of grant applications, a success rate about half that of the National Science Foundation and the National Institutes of Health.

### AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CRIMINOLOGY BECOMES MEMBER OF COSSA

The American Society of Criminology (ASC) has announced that it has accepted the invitation of the COSSA Board of Directors to elevate its status within the Consortium from Affiliate to Member. Leaders of ASC will now serve on the Board of Directors and Executive Committee of COSSA.

We look forward to our expanded relations with ASC as we work on issues of common concern.

Adler told the Subcommittee that a cornerstone of NIJ's efforts to expand the base of knowledge about crime and criminal justice issues is the Program on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods, which seeks to "advance knowledge of the individual, familial, and societal influences that contribute to the development of criminal behavior." This ongoing project, jointly funded by NIJ and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, focuses on such issues as the level and impact of fathers' involvement with preschool children, relationships between gender and crime, development of attitudes towards deviance between ages 11 and 18, the influences of health on aggression, and use of social services among adolescents and their parents. As the study enters a key data collection phase, NIJ must be able to maintain its strong commitment to this project, she said.

At the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the statistical arm of the U.S. Department of Justice, Adler urged the appropriators to adequately support BJS's efforts to collect, analyze, publish, and disseminate statistics on crime, victims of crime, criminal offenders, and operations of justice system agencies and components at all levels of government. She specifically cited the National Crime Survey, BJS' largest single data collection, saying it offers insight into the nature of crime, its consequences, the relationship between victim and offender, and the willingness to report crimes to the police.

Adler noted that while the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention primarily focuses on training and technical assistance programs, it does contain a research component that

addresses important issues worthy of the Subcommittee's strong support. She said that OJJDP-sponsored research examines such issues as the detention of juvenile offenders, the juvenile justice system's response to juvenile sex offenders, and the effects of delays in juvenile treatment and sanctions.

The COSSA testimony was well-received by Mollohan. The West Virginia Democrat asked Adler several questions about the findings of research and expressed interest in learning more about crime and criminal justice studies.

For a copy of Adler's testimony, contact COSSA at (202) 842-3525.

### COLLOQUIUM FOCUSES ON RURAL POVERTY AND WELFARE REFORM

The Rural Sociological Society Task Force on Persistent Rural Poverty, chaired by Prof. Gene Summers of the University of Wisconsin, presented a congressional colloquium on May 9, reminding staff in attendance that there are differences in rural and urban welfare participation that have implications for any reform of the welfare system in the United States. Noting that the poverty rates are slightly higher in non-metropolitan areas than for metropolitan areas, the speakers asserted that rural poverty is widespread, tenacious, and inadequately addressed by urban based poverty policy.

According to Mark Rank, School of Social Work, Washington University at St. Louis, poor people in rural counties are on welfare for shorter periods of time (about half the length of stay of the urban poor), their participation rates in welfare programs are lower, and their demographic characteristics are different from their urban counterparts. The rural poor receiving food stamps, for example, are more likely to be married, white, older, living in the South, and employed than food stamp recipients in metropolitan areas.

Rank noted two major factors accounting for these differences: more adverse attitudes and less accurate eligibility information. Rural residents face greater stigmatization than urban folks who receive government welfare programs. Those in rural and small town areas do not have many contacts with other welfare recipients often leaving them socially isolated and without access to word-of-mouth advertisements for the programs. They also confront more difficult physical access to social

services -- great distances to offices, lack of public transportation -- that may cause them to drop out of the system.

Janet Fitchen, Department of Anthropology, Ithaca College, focused on poor rural families. In her field research in upstate New York she found that marriage among rural low-income women is still the norm and that programs to promote family stability, such as providing low interest loans for home ownership, would assist these women significantly. She also argued for providing opportunities for underemployed fathers in rural areas, with education and employment training programs offering different tracks and longer periods of cushioned transition to self sufficiency. She praised the Earned Income Tax Credit as an enormous help to the rural working poor. She also discovered a reluctance to utilize child care among single parents who had been abused as children, making it more difficult to get them into job training programs.

## **HIV PREVENTIVE VACCINE: THE MAGIC BULLET?** *ESP*

Researchers, advocates, government officials, industry and community representatives convened in Washington recently for a meeting entitled "HIV Preventive Vaccines: Social, Ethical, and Political Considerations for Domestic Efficacy Trials." Sponsored by the AIDS Action Foundation, Kaiser Family Foundation, and in cooperation with the Office of AIDS Research of the National Institutes of Health, the conference sought to explore the social, ethical, and political questions large-scale efficacy trials generate.

Progress in the development of an HIV vaccine is currently at various clinical and preclinical stages. The focus of the conference was predominantly on Phase III trials, the period when "large, well-controlled clinical trials demonstrate the efficacy of a drug or vaccine in a statistically meaningful manner," according to Derek Hodel, director of the conference. There appeared to be consensus among the medical researchers that it is now necessary to begin to test vaccine candidates among larger populations--that progress in the laboratory is at a standstill.

Panels addressed many issues including the status of HIV vaccine research, HIV risk reduction, the challenge of working with communities, social harms, informed consent, and trial design. Dynamic

discussions followed the presentations of each of the panels, exemplifying the complex and multidisciplinary effort that will be required to conduct ethical HIV trials.

### **Lack of HIV Prevention Plan**

One issue of contention that created considerable frustration among participants was the lack of a comprehensive, national HIV prevention plan in the United States. Anthony Fauci, Director of the National Institute for Allergies and Infectious Diseases at the NIH, was adamant that, in order to succeed, "vaccine trials must be part of a comprehensive preventive program." Other participants questioned why the discussion was not focused on the "whole" -- a prevention plan, rather than the "part" -- vaccine trials.

A second issue of concern was that a preventive vaccine, one which would be given to uninfected individuals at high risk, might increase risky behavior. Many expressed the need to couple behavioral interventions with vaccine trials. However, "very few models for promoting HIV risk behavior reduction have been tested," stated AIDS researcher Jeffrey Kelly. Others also expressed the need for models to promote long-term behavior change. Don Francis, formerly of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, emphasized focusing on the efficacy of the vaccine, and said "we are not testing the efficacy of behavioral interventions; there are other studies doing that."

June Osborn, University of Michigan Schools of Public Health and Medicine and former chair of the National Commission on AIDS, urged participants to remember that there is no "magic bullet" when it comes to HIV/AIDS--"the virus is not going to go away." Although she advocated that work must continue towards the development of a preventive vaccine, she believes the role it will play will vary. She also expressed the importance of educating the public about vaccine research--"The public must appreciate the incremental nature of vaccine research....we need a sound rationale in the beginning or we could lose the whole ball game."

### **NIMH LOOKS AT WOMEN AND AIDS** *EH*

A seminar entitled, "Prevention of HIV in Women: Psychosocial and Cultural Issues in Survival," sponsored by the Office on AIDS at the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), occurred Wednesday, May 11 at the NIH campus in

Bethesda, Maryland. Four social scientists presented their most recent studies of women and HIV-related issues with emphasis on the practical application of their research findings to HIV-prevention work. Audience participants were composed primarily of health care providers, educators, and policy makers.

Predicated on data from the National AIDS Behavioral Study (NABS) that demonstrate women of all ages and ethnicities are potentially at risk for HIV as a result of having unprotected sex with multiple partners or with one risky main sexual partner, "**Behavioral and Identity Issues In Women: Implications for Prevention of HIV**" was conducted to determine "how women understand their risk for HIV and predictors of risk behavior that may be specific to women." Data from the AIDS in Multi-Ethnic Neighborhoods (AMEN) study in addition to national survey data was presented by Olga Grinstead of the University of California, San Francisco "to demonstrate the limitations of self-reported sexual orientation in predicting risky sexual behavior." For more information, contact (415) 597-9168.

Gail Wyatt of the University of California, Los Angeles presented her paper, "**Cross-cultural Commonalities and Contrasts: Women's AIDS-related Concerns.**" This work, as Wyatt describes it, "examines sociocultural and psychosocial factors influencing sexual decision making that increase the risk of unintended pregnancies, and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), including the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), in African American and Jamaican populations." For more information, contact (310) 825-0193.

Cynthia Gomez of the University of California, San Francisco shared the findings of her work, "**Roles of Sexual Coercion and Cultural Gender Norms in the Context of Safer Sex Negotiations for Latino Women.**" This study, inspired by "the need for information on how interpersonal power, gender, and culture shape sexual relationships," presents data from a U.S. population-based study of 800 unmarried Latino women. The implication of sexual coercion and cultural gender norms for Latino women is explored in the context of negotiating safer sexual practices. For more information, contact (415) 597-9267.

Findings of "**AIDS Research Among Haitian Women: Holistic Approach to Risk,**" a community-based ethnographic research project among Haitian women in Miami, demonstrate "a need for culturally, socially, and cognitively sensitive health education,

literacy and skills training, and job placement, all of which encourage a sense of self-sufficiency, independence, self-worth and responsibility for self." Judith Wingerd of the Center for Haitian Studies listed some of the obstacles to HIV prevention within the U.S. Haitian community as: uncertain legal status, illiteracy, language barriers, and the subsuming of Haitian peoples under the umbrella of other groups such as African-Americans, leading to their invisibility as a distinct group in need of culturally specific prevention strategies. For more information, contact (305) 757-9555.

## ALCOHOL AND HEALTH REPORT PUBLISHED *EH*

The National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA) recently published its most recent volume in the Alcohol and Health series entitled, Eighth Special Report to the U.S. Congress on Alcohol and Health. The comprehensive report focuses primarily on research findings on alcoholism, alcohol abuse, and related consequences that have been reported since the publication of its last report in 1990. NIAAA Director Enoch Gordis hopes to disseminate the report widely, believing it is of particular value to "health professionals, scientists, policymakers, educators, and people with a personal interest in alcoholism."

The report is free upon request and may be ordered by calling 1-800-729-6686, or by writing the National Clearinghouse for Alcohol and Drug Information, P.O. Box 2345, Rockville, MD 20847.

## SOCIAL AND BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE COMMUNITY HONORS NIDA'S ALAN LESHNER *MB*

At a May 10 reception, Alan Leshner, newly appointed Director of the National Institute of Drug Abuse (NIDA) was honored by the social and behavioral science community. Leshner is the former Deputy Director of the National Institute of Mental Health, and is the first social and behavioral scientist named to lead NIDA.

COSSA, the American Psychological Association (APA), and the Federation of Behavioral, Psychological, and Cognitive Sciences co-sponsored the reception. Leshner's extensive record of government service at the National Science Foundation and at the National Institutes of

Health was lauded in brief remarks by the Executive Directors of the three sponsoring groups: Howard J. Silver (COSSA), Raymond D. Fowler (APA), and David Johnson (Federation).

Leshner thanked the three organizations for hosting the reception, and told the audience of over 50 that he was looking forward to continuing close and constructive relationships with those in the social and behavioral sciences.

### ACLS CELEBRATES 75TH ANNIVERSARY: HACKNEY AND MERTON SPEAK *MS*

The American Council of Learned Societies, founded in 1919 to support humanistic learning in the United States and to represent American scholarship abroad, celebrated its 75th anniversary at its recent annual meeting in Philadelphia. The ACLS, originally composed of twelve member societies, now includes fifty-three member societies as well as many universities as affiliates. ACLS is a Contributor member of COSSA.

Among the highlights of the anniversary meeting were speeches by National Endowment for the Humanities Director Sheldon Hackney and sociologist Robert K. Merton. Hackney, the former president of the University of Pennsylvania, spoke about his proposal to organize a "national conversation" to bring American people together in their local communities to discuss important questions about American pluralism. This NEH-sponsored special initiative seeks answers, according to Hackney, to such questions as: what holds our diverse society together, what values we need to share if we are to succeed as a democratic society, what it means to be American as we approach the 21st Century? Also, what does equality of opportunity mean in different areas of American life, how important is it in a pluralistic society to have a common culture, what should our schools teach our children about being good citizens, how should history be understood in a society such as ours, what can we learn from other societies about cultural pluralism? Hackney suggests no answers, but he and NEH are willing to sponsor dialogues to pursue these questions.

Merton, Professor Emeritus, Columbia University, delivered the Charles Homer Haskins Lecture, "A Life of Learning." In these lectures a distinguished scholar provides a personal and self-reflective intellectual glimpse of lives dedicated to

### COSSA GOES ON-LINE *MS*

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learning. Merton focused on his early years as a child in Philadelphia, his early education at its public schools, including Temple University, and the fortuitous circumstances that led him to Harvard and studies in the sociology of science.

The conference also included presentations focusing on "Knowledge for What (and for whom)?" Featured speakers were Susanne Rudolph, Political Science at the University of Chicago, who examined the internationalization of knowledge, Dennis O'Brien, President of the University of Rochester, who discussed the resource constraints on knowledge development and dissemination, and George Keller, Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania, who examined the social and demographic changes facing the nation.

The ACLS has collected the ten earlier versions of the Haskins lectures into one volume, "The Life of Learning," edited by ACLS President Stanley Katz and former ACLS Vice President Douglas Greenberg. Among the earlier speakers in the series were historian John Hope Franklin and the late political scientist Judith Shklar. For more information about the volume contact ACLS at 228 East 45th St., New York, NY 10017-3398. Telephone: 212/697-1505.

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