COSSA WASHINGTON UPDATE

Volume XIII, Number 21 GOP CAPTURES CONGRESS; NEW LEADERS TARGET FEDERAL SPENDING

Repudiation of Clinton, disgust with the welfare state, revenge of the white male, Democratic ineptitude, the failure of health care reform, realignment, or whatever other reason you want to use, the Republican strategy for taking control of Congress worked. In the tidal wave of Republican victories, the most telling statistic of the 1994 elections is that not one GOP candidate for the Senate, House of Representatives, or Governor lost in the general election.

The strategy of providing a "Contract with America" that outlined Republican plans allowed the GOP to nationalize the election for the House of Representatives, and goaded Democrats into responding in kind. The unpopularity of the President reenforced this strategy. Exit polls revealed a significant gender gap (Males voted 54-46 Republican, Females 54-46 Democrat). White males, particularly in the South, voted massively Republican, 73 percent in one exit poll. The survey numbers also suggested that realignment has occurred in the South, as party identification in that region has shifted to 46 percent Republican, 27 percent Democrat, and the rest Independent or no Party.

David Price Defeated

The social and behavioral sciences are unlikely to be spared the changes left in the wake of the historic elections, though what they will be will take time to be fully known. COSSA will devote much of this issue of *Update* to examining relevant provisions of the House Republicans' Contract with America and the leadership changes in Congress for key committees that affect federal support for research.

The immediate impact of the election for our community is the loss of friends, with many of those who remain doing so in reduced capacities. Representative David Price (D-NC), a former Duke University political science professor, was unexpectedly defeated (he lost by only 1,200 votes) on a day that saw three other House Democrats from his state fall. Price was a strong supporter of the social sciences, and maintained close ties to the research community. He frequently spoke up for these disciplines, and he will be sorely missed. He was defeated by Fred Heineman, the former police chief of Raleigh, who has a Master's in Criminal Justice from John Jay College in New York. With all congressional panels switching over to GOP control, there will also be dramatic changes at the staff level (the Republicans will see an increase in staff, Democrats a decrease), significantly altering the relationships that are at the core of how Washington works.

GOP Contract Targets Federal Spending

The Contract for America produced by Representative Dick Armey (R-TX) and the likely House Speaker, Representative Newt Gingrich (R-GA), was endorsed by most of the incoming and returning GOP House members, and calls for deep cuts in taxes and spending, increased defense spending, and a balanced budget, with the latter to be guaranteed by a constitutional amendment. The Contract aims to balance the budget by offsetting the tax cut and the increases in defense spending by significantly cutting spending in some areas and limiting rates of growth in others. If politically popular entitlement programs are spared the brunt of the burden, the cuts will fall largely on domestic discretionary spending, the category from which research is funded

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According to a memo on "possible" spending cuts prepared by the Republican staff on the House Budget Committee to accompany the Contract, the National Science Foundation fares relatively well, with the GOP wanting to limit the growth of NSF to 1 percent below inflation. That would be below recent increases Congress has voted for NSF, but a fate far better than other targeted areas in the Contract calling for significant reductions in funding for: U.S. Information Agency educational and cultural exchanges, the Cooperative State Research Service, the Agricultural Research Service, the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities, and the High Performance Computing Program. Some agencies and programs the GOP would eliminate include: the U.S. Geological Survey, the National Biological Survey, the Bureau of Mines, and the Advanced Technology Program in the Department of Commerce.

Higher education would be dramatically affected by the Contract's proposal to significantly reduce overhead rates on federally sponsored research, and also to eliminate federal subsidies on interest on student loans while students are in college.

The consensus developing between the White House and leaders of the next Congress in favor of a line-item veto on appropriations bill could impact programs, such as the Law School Clinical Experience, that President Clinton had tried to abolish and which were restored by Congress. The Republicans are also threatening to revise this year's sweeping crime bill to eliminate some of the prevention programs which they deemed as excessive

CONSORTIUM OF SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATIONS

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The Consortium of Social Science Associations represents more than 185,000 American scientists across the full range of the social and behavioral sciences, functioning as a bridge between the research world and the Washington community. Update is published fortnightly. Individual subscriptions are available from COSSA for \$60; institutional subscriptions, \$120, overseas mail, \$120. ISSN 0749-4394. Address all inquiries to COSSA, 1522 K Street, NW, Suite 836, Washington, D.C. 20005. Phone: (202) 842-3525, Fax: (202) 842-2788 social spending. While many of these were not scheduled to receive funding until FY 1996, Congress, through the appropriations process, could eliminate them by simply not providing any funds.

Given the House Republicans promise to move swiftly to implement the Contract, the presentation of the President's FY 1996 budget scheduled for February 6, 1995 may come after the Republican controlled House Budget Committee has already produced its budget resolution, which outlines Congress' spending priorities.

The New Congress

The new lineup in the Senate is 53 Republicans to 47 Democrats. The Republicans picked up 8 seats in the election by winning the six seats where sitting Democrats retired, and defeating two incumbents, Harris Wofford in Pennsylvania, and Jim Sasser in Tennessee. The GOP also held onto the three seats of retiring Republican Senators. As long-rumored, Sen. Richard Shelby of Alabama switched to the Republican side of the aisle after the election.

The new lineup in the House of Representatives, with some races still undecided, is 231 Republicans to 203 Democrats, with one Independent, a gain of 53 seats for the Republicans. Thirty-five Democratic incumbents were defeated. The GOP also won 22 of the 31 Democrat-held open seats. Of the 49 women in the House (up one), 13 are new, eight of those Republicans. The number of Blacks in the House remained the same, but there are now two Republicans African-American members. No new Hispanic or Asian-American members were elected. Among the new members, one has a social science background. David Funderburk (R-NC) earned a Ph.D. in political science from the University of South Carolina. His background is in East European and Russian Studies and he has been a Fulbright scholar. He ran a strong anti-government campaign.

GOP Leaders Have Social Science Backgrounds

Gingrich and Armey, the two new leaders of the Republican majority in the House, both have social science backgrounds. Speaker-to-be-Gingrich received his Ph.D. in history from Tulane University. Majority Leader-to-be Armey received his Ph.D. in economics from the University of Oklahoma.

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The race for the third position in the leadership could impact the future of the House Science, Space and Technology committee. Rep. Robert Walker (R-PA) is in line to replace Rep. George Brown (D-CA) as chair of the panel. However, if Walker wins the three-way race for Majority Whip, there is speculation that the committee may be folded into an expanded House Energy and Commerce Committee.

As is expected when a party loses power, there are contests for all three leadership positions. Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-MO) is expected to lead the first-time-in-40 years Democratic minority in the House. Rep. Charles Rose, one of the Democrats who survived in North Carolina, has announced a challenge to Gephardt, but it is not expected to succeed. The race for the number two position, Minority Whip, pits incumbent Rep. David Bonior (D-MI) representing the liberal wing of the party against Rep. Charles Stenholm (D-TX), one of the leaders of the "boll weevils," the conservative Democrats who have voted with the Republicans. Rep. Vic Fazio (D-CA), who chaired the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, faces Rep. Kweisi Mfume (D-MD), the current chair of the Congressional Black Caucus for the number three leadership position, chairman of the Caucus.

In the Senate, Sen. Robert Dole (R-KS) will become Majority Leader, a post he held in 1985-86, the last time the Republicans controlled the Senate. Sen. Alan Simpson (R-WY) is expected to move from Minority to Majority Whip, although not without a contest from Sen. Trent Lott (R-MS). On the Democratic side, the expected contest for Majority Leader between Sen. Jim Sasser (D-TN) and Sen. Tom Daschle (D-SD) has evaporated in light of Sasser's defeat and the Democrats' loss of the Senate. Sen. Chris Dodd (D-CT) has announced he will run against Daschle for Minority Leader. The whip position is held by Sen. Wendell Ford (D-KY). He will probably retain that position in the minority.

New Committee Chairs: Experience in the Senate, Uncertainty in the House

The analysis that follows is based on conditions as they exist as this is being written. The House Republicans have announced the elimination of three committees: Post Office and Civil Service, District of Columbia, and Merchant Marines and Fisheries. Further changes may occur in the names and jurisdictions of the committees. In picking committee leaders, the Republican leadership has ignored seniority and instead nominated, subject to approval by a caucus of all GOP members in the body, chairpersons who will be compatible with their agenda. Leadership contests may also affect committee heads. The Senate will probably follow seniority more closely, but some Senior Republicans will have choices to make. These situations will be played out in the next few weeks and into next year as the Republicans organize a Congress they hope will demonstrate the capacity to lead and change the country.

In the Senate, many of the Republicans slated to chair committees and subcommittees served similar roles during the last GOP rule. Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-OR) will once again chair the Appropriations Committee. Sen. Pete Domenici (R-NM) resumes as chairman of the Senate Budget Committee after an eight year hiatus. Sen. Robert Packwood (R-OR) returns as leader of the Senate Finance Committee. These three are all experienced hands at policy leadership in the budgetary, taxation, and spending arenas.

The committees responsible for the National Science Foundation's reauthorization, Labor and Human Resources and Commerce, Science and Transportation, will be led by Sen. Nancy Kassebaum (R-KS) and Sen. Larry Pressler (R-SD) respectively. Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-UT) will take over Judiciary and lead the constitutional amendment agenda. Sen. Richard Lugar (R-IN) will head Agriculture, and have a primary role in the reauthorization of the farm bill in 1995. Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) will chair Foreign Relations, and have jurisdiction over foreign aid which he has vowed to cut, the Agency for International Development which he has vehemently opposed, and ambassadorial and foreign policy appointments, where he has bedeviled presidents in the past.

At the subcommittee level, the appropriations committee is in a state of flux. Although Sen. Phil Gramm (R-TX) has been ranking minority member on VA, HUD, Independent Agencies, some have suggested, to further his presidential ambitions, he will give up appropriations and move to the Senate Finance Committee. That would most likely leave decisions on NSF funding in the hands of Sen. Kit Bond (R-MO), described by many as hard-working, non-ideological, and interested in housing issues. At the Labor, HHS,

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Education subcommittee, Sen. Arlen Specter (R-PA) has been the ranking member, however there is some speculation that Hatfield, given his prerogative as full committee chairman, may select this subcommittee to chair.

The Commerce, Justice, State and the Judiciary subcommittee, which funds the Census Bureau, Justice Department research and statistics, and USIA, will probably have Domenici as chairman. The Agriculture and Rural Development subcommittee will be led by Sen. Thad Cochran (R-MS). The Interior Subcommittee will most likely be led by Sen. Don Nickles (R-OK) who has advocated abolishing the National Endowment for the Arts.

On the House side, the ranking Republican on the appropriations committee has been Rep. Joseph McDade (R-PA). McDade, under indictment, has agreed not to seek the chairmanship. Gingrich has tapped Rep. Robert Livingston (R-LA) to head the spending committee. The VA, HUD, Independent Agencies Subcommittee may go to Rep. Jerry Lewis (R-CA), considered a friend of NSF. Labor, HHS, Education will most likely wind up with Rep. John Porter (R-IL) as its leader. Porter has been quite supportive of NIH, and consistently called for larger increases than either the White House or Congress has been willing to support. The Commerce, Justice, State subcommittee's head will be Rep. Harold Rogers (R-KY), an outspoken critic of the Census Bureau and other components of the federal statistical system. Rep. Joe Skeen (R-NM) will lead the Agriculture Appropriations subcommittee. Rep. Ralph Regula (R-OH), who has been somewhat sympathetic to the NEA and NEH, will head the Interior and Related Agencies subcommittee.

Rep. John Kasich (R-OH), who has proposed budgets including large cuts in many programs while he was ranking minority member of the Budget Committee, will now get to lead that committee and will have a major role in implementing the Republicans Contract with America.

Despite the tidal wave of the election, the result is divided government. The Republicans do not have a veto proof Congress. The Senate remains a deliberative body, very individualistic, and retaining that quirky rule called the Filibuster. The American public may come to perceive some of the changes proposed by the GOP as radical. Is America ready for radical change in the absence of an economic or military crisis?

The old 103rd Congress returns on November 30 to consider the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Further organizational decisions for the 104th Congress should be made during that week so that the Congress can hit the ground running on January 4. Stay tuned!

RENO PLEDGES CLOSE TIES WITH RESEARCHERS; URGES MORE RELEVANT STUDIES

Attorney General Janet Reno, addressing the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology (ASC), pledged to initiate regular quarterly meetings with criminologists to discuss research results and how they can be applied to reducing crime in America. In her November 11th speech, given in her hometown of Miami, Reno spoke of her "profound regard for research" and urged criminologists to "speak out and help us make sense in this public debate over crime." Reno was introduced by ASC President Jerome Skolnick, a featured speaker at a February 1994 briefing on research findings conducted for congressional and federal agency staff by COSSA and ASC.

Arguing for a holistic, multi-disciplinary approach to crime, Reno chided researchers for too much specialization. In her opinion, they should create alliances with practitioners and those on the streets to "lead the way in identifying problems and seeking solutions." A holistic approach, she said, would see the problem of crime on a continuum that is affected by pre-natal and early childhood developments, as well as the difficulties caused by poverty, drugs and guns. She supported the efforts of criminal justice and public health officials joining together to seek answers to the problems of crime. (see *Update*, October 24)

Reno called upon researchers to produce more relevant, timely studies. She criticized National Institute of Justice supported studies that are sometimes "three years too late" and irrelevant in trying to "save a generation" of juveniles from criminal careers. Research results must be presented "in terms the nation can understand," she maintained.

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Reno urged criminologists to "put research in human terms," and get away from "rhetoric and numbers."

Commenting on the recently passed crime bill, the Attorney General praised provisions calling for evaluations of new programs "right from the start." "Implementation and evaluation will go hand-inhand," Reno declared. She particularly asked researchers to help make "community policing work right." She cited on-going evaluations in cities that have already adopted community-oriented policing strategies.

Noting that the prevention components of the bill were roundly criticized by Republicans, Reno argued that these critics are "just plain wrong" in saying that the American people are not interested in prevention programs "that work." She urged criminologists to play a key role in evaluating prevention programs to let policymakers know which ones work.

In discussing both the prevention and punishment aspects of the crime bill, Reno argued that incarceration, particularly for juveniles, without postprison after-care will not succeed in reducing crime.

Reno lauded her leadership team at the Office of Justice Programs, led by Assistant Attorney General Laurie Robinson and with Jeremy Travis, Jan Chaiken, and Shay Bilchik as the respective directors of the National Institute of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, and Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. Reno said that they would "be at the table" with other Department of Justice officials when anti-crime policy was made. She described the role of BJS in building data bases to implement the Brady bill, although suggesting that one must be "very careful that these records are used the right way."

In citing the efforts of the Interagency Task Force on Violence, led by Counselor to the Secretary of HHS Peter Edelman, Reno spoke of the importance of the Justice Department working cooperatively with other agencies. The task force has a full agenda, she said, and one its major hurdles to overcome is the "overwhelming pessimism" in our nation.

Speaking just three days after the Republicans took over the Congress, Reno took her own advice to remain optimistic and sought solace in the analogy of the 1946 elections when Republicans captured Congress only to lose it two years later when Harry Truman surprisingly won reelection.

FLEMING NAMED DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL AIDS POLICY OFFICE

President Clinton on November 10 named Patricia Fleming as the Director of the Office of National AIDS Policy. She had been serving in this postion in an interim capacity since August, when she replaced Christine Gebbie, who resigned from the position after serving as Director for one year. The office was created by the Clinton administration.

Fleming's experience spans both the legislative and executive branches of the government. She began her public service in 1971 as a legislative assistant to Rep. Augustus Hawkins (D-CA), and held similar positions on the staffs of Reps. Shirley Chisholm (D-NY) and Andrew Young (D-GA). From 1977 to 1978, she was Special Assistant to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) and later served as Director of Intergovernmental Affairs in the Office for Civil Rights at HEW. In 1979-80, she was Assistant to the Secretary of Education and in 1980-81 was Deputy Assistant Secretary for Legislation at the Department of Education, where COSSA Executive Director Howard J. Silver was on the staff.

Fleming worked for Rep. Ted Weiss (D-NY) from 1983 until his death in 1992. She first worked as his Chief of Staff and later as Professional Staff Member of the Human Resources and Intergovernmental Operations Subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee. In that position, Fleming conducted aggressive oversight of the federal response to HIV/AIDS, spurred the government to increase its commitment to the development of drugs to treat AIDS-related opportunistic infections, required the inclusion of women and minorities in clinical drug trials, and pressed for a frank and unambiguous AIDS prevention campaign.

In 1993 Fleming was named Special Assistant to Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna Shalala. In that capacity, she was responsible for coordinating and directing HIV/AIDS policy throughout HHS. She played a key role in developing the Clinton Administration's response to HIV/AIDS,

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COSSA DIRECTOR TO LEAD SCIENCE COALITION

COSSA Executive Director Howard J. Silver was recently elected chair of the Coalition for National Science Funding (CNSF), a broad-based coalition of 75 organizations from the natural and physical sciences, social and behavioral sciences, engineering, higher education and the private sector, whose mission is to help secure increased funding for the National Science Foundation. Silver's leadership in this area is an extension of COSSA's lobbying efforts on behalf of the NSF, the nation's premier agency in support of basic research. For information on CNSF, call (202) 842-3525.

including creation of the National Task Force on AIDS Drug Development, development of the AIDS Prevention Marketing Initiative, implementation of the reorganization of the Office of AIDS Research at the National Institutes of Health, and development of a coordinated response to evidence that AZT can reduce the incidence of perinatal transmission of HIV.

At a recent meeting of the National Organizations Responding to AIDS (NORA), Fleming expressed the need for all advocacy groups, especially during the next two years, to work together to "hold the line, and hopefully, make some progress as well" towards stopping the AIDS epidemic. Optimistic about what she will be able to accomplish, Fleming said that she was confident about her access to the President, and that she will "make certain that the White House is informed and participates fully in the battle against AIDS." (The Office of National AIDS Policy is a part of the President's Domestic Policy Council.) She also stated that she will be working hard to educate new members of Congress about HIV/AIDS.

One of her first objectives is "to form an interdepartmental task force on AIDS to make certain that agencies are talking to each other." This goal addresses one of the recommendations of the recent Institute of Medicine report, *AIDS and Behavior: An Integrated Approach*, which states that "the Assistant Secretary for Health of HHS and the Director of the Office of National AIDS Policy continue to develop a specific strategic plan for interagency cooperation and coordination among Public Health Service AIDS activities, including an implementation plan."

Fleming will also be responding to President Clinton's request for a report on the status of HIV/AIDS among adolescents, which seems to be the new wave of the epidemic, according to Fleming. When asked if she is aware of the importance of behavioral and social factors in combatting AIDS, she replied that "I am quite aware of the importance of those factors. Of what good, for example, is a microbicide for women, if they do not use it?" She also cited the reorganization of the Office of AIDS Research at NIH, which will have a behavioral branch.

Regarding AIDS funding for FY 1996, Fleming said that she has been participating in the budget process, has met with Alice Rivlin, Director of the Office of Management and the Budget, and will meet soon with President Clinton. Although she was not able to quote specific budget figures, she stated in her appointment acceptance speech that "My task is to make sure that our brilliant scientists and public health experts have a clear path, and I will fight for the resources they need to stem the spread of HIV and ultimately to find a cure for AIDS."

COALITION CONCERNED ABOUT DUE PROCESS AT NIH 54

Recent efforts by the National Institutes of Health (NIH) to comply with the goals of the Clinton administration's National Performance Review (popularly known as "reinventing government") to downsize staff and programs have raised concerns among behavioral and social science research advocates about the process being used to downsize the Intramural Research Program (IRP).

Eight members of the Coalition for the Advancement of Health through Behavioral and Social Science Research recently wrote to NIH Director Harold Varmus, asking him to reexamine the review and decision-making processes used to close intramural labs. The letter was signed by the American Psychologogical Association, the American Sociological Association, the Consortium of Social Science Associations, the Federation of Behavioral, Psychological and Cognitive Sciences, the Gerontological Society of America, the Institute for the Advancement of Social Work Research, the National Council on Family Relations, and the Society of Behavioral Medicine.

The Coalition cited the closing of the National Institute of Mental Health Laboratory of Socioenvironmental Studies as a case in point. Issues of concern listed by the Coalition included: 1) the decision to close the lab was made well before the review by the Board of Scientific Counselors was completed; 2) there were no social or behavioral scientists on the Board; and 3) the review of the lab by the ad hoc committee (which did have a constituency of social and behavioral scientists) was completely disregarded. The Coalition believes that "although recommendations of ad hoc advisory committees need not always be implemented, the deliberations of those committees should be carefully considered and accurately reported, and that there should be evidence of that consideration in the final report," according to Coalition Chair Susan Persons.

Signatories of the letter also stated a broader context of concern: "The closing of this lab signals a devaluation of social, behavioral, and environmental perspectives on health in the IRP. This decision, along with the all but certain closing of the Laboratory of Developmental Psychology, suggests a clear disregard for the social and behavioral sciences as a significant component of intramural science at NIH."

The Coalition is hopeful that NIH Director Varmus will address the above concerns; he has stated publicly that he would like to increase the participation of top scientists in the many processes of review at NIH, and that he agrees with the recommendations of the House Appropriations Committee to "improve the selection and appointment process for the boards of scientific counselors to assure expert membership; ensure that the review of the programs of intramural scientists be more explicit, and that the criteria to evaluate scientific directors be more rigorous."

SOURCES OF RESEARCH SUPPORT: U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY MB

COSSA provides this information as a service and encourages readers to contact the agency for further information or application materials. Additional application guidelines and restrictions may apply.

National Spatial Data Infrastructure Competitive Cooperative Agreements Program

The Federal Geographic Data Committee's National Spatial Data Infrastructure (NSDI) Competitive Cooperative Agreements Programs is intended to encourage resource-sharing projects between and among the public and private sector through the use of technology, networking, and enhanced interagency coordination efforts. Proposals must involve two or more organizations and participants are expected to cost share in the project. Activities initiated under this program will promote access to data sets that are needed for national, regional, state, and local analyses.

Under this Fiscal Year 1995 program announcement, proposals are to be directed towards two components of the NSDI. The first component deals with the creation of a distributed clearinghouse for finding and accessing geospatial data. The second component involves development and promulgation of the use of standards in data collection, documentation, transfer, and search and query.

Application Procedure: Copies of Program Announcement 8110 may be obtained by writing to Nedra Stallone, U.S. Geological Survey, Office of Procurement and Contracts, Mail Stop 205A, 12201 Sunrise Valley Drive, Reston, VA 22092; telephone number (703) 648-7364.

Deadlines: February 15, 1995

For more information: Jennifer Snyder, FDGC, U.S. Geological Survey, 590 National Center, 12201 Sunrise Valley Drive, Reston, VA 22092; telephone number (703) 648-5514.

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