

COSSA WASHINGTON UPDATE

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SCIENCE AND THE 104TH CONGRESS: A CONTRACT WITH AMERICA AND NEW LEADERS FOR PANELS

On January 4 the 104th Congress convened with both the House and Senate under Republican control for the first time since 1954. In this issue of *Update*, COSSA will examine what the dramatic changes in Washington may mean for the social and behavioral sciences.

In the House of Representatives, a lineup of 230 Republicans 204 Democrats and 1 independent allowed the GOP to elect Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-GA) as the new Speaker and provided the votes to move swiftly on the provisions of the Contract with America that change House proceedings and management. The parts of the Contract that seek to alter how the country approaches many of its problems will undergo quick hearings, with the leadership promising floor action by April 14. The Republican juggernaut seems ready to roll in the House.

The Republicans, by a margin of 53-47, control the Senate for the first time since 1986. Senate rules, such as the filibuster, give the body a slower, more deliberative and consensus-oriented nature to it than the House, and Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle (D-SD) may be more successful in toning down some of the Republican proposals than his House counterpart, Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-MO). The new Majority Leader in the Senate, Robert Dole (R-KS), said in a recent television interview that the "coffee will get cold" while the Senate considers the flurry of legislation expected to be sent over by the House after the first 100 days. The rules and the narrowness of the Republican margin, (only one vote on some key panels), make bipartisan cooperation more likely in the smaller body.

President Clinton has already responded to the new era by proposing a tax cut as part of his Middle Class Bill of Rights. His State of the Union address is scheduled for January 24 and the release of his proposed budget is due on February 6. By then the House Republicans hope to have passed a Balanced

Budget Amendment, and begun committee hearings on: welfare reform, unfunded mandates, the federal role in education and job training, the future of science, a presidential line item veto, a possible FY 1995 rescissions bill, and a FY 1996 budget resolution.

The debates to come will focus on fundamental questions of the federal government's role on a whole series of policy issues. The Republicans have clearly viewed the 1994 elections as a mandate to shrink government spending, reduce taxes, and get the federal government out of people's lives in as many areas as possible. Speaker Gingrich told the *Washington Post* that he believes in a federal role in research and development. How that translates to specific actions aligned with other proposals will make the 104th Congress worth watching closely.

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

This past year turned out very well for the National Science Foundation budget. In a major surprise, it garnered a double digit increase in its appropriation. In particular, the social and behavioral sciences fared well with additional funds for a center for Violence Research, the Human Capital Initiative, and research on integrated assessment and policy sciences in Global Environmental Change.

A disappointment was the inability to pass a reauthorization bill that would provide the guidance for the Foundation during the next few years. Legislation emerged from the House that reduced authorized dollars and included provisions that focused on NSF's role in undergraduate research. No formal action occurred on proposed Senate legislation that was much more generous (in terms of funding) and included a strengthening of the thrust toward basic research in strategic areas.

INSIDE UPDATE...

- 104th Congress Preview, continued
- Conference Examines 25 Years of Criminal Justice Research

The 104th Congress brings new leaders to panels overseeing NSF's operations and funding. In the House, Rep. Jerry Lewis (R-CA) takes over the reins of the VA, HUD, Independent Agencies Appropriations Subcommittee. Although Lewis has been supportive of NSF in the past, pressures to reduce spending have led the Republicans in the House to propose limiting NSF's growth to 1 percent below inflation. NSF is also expected to lose some of the funds provided it last year to significantly augment its academic facilities modernization program. The appropriations committee made \$140 million of those funds contingent on the administration agreeing to a massive increase in the program in the President's FY 1996 budget. This is unlikely.

Walker Leads Science Committee, Holds Hearing

Rep. Robert Walker (R-PA) is the new Chairman of the House Science Committee (formerly Science, Space and Technology). At a press conference after ascending to his new position, Walker stated that a multiyear NSF reauthorization bill was a top priority for the committee. The new Chairman also asserted that he thought that NSF "was doing too much applied research" and should return to its primary mission of supporting basic research. He did not elaborate. The reauthorization process will likely start in the new Basic Research Subcommittee chaired by Rep. Steve Schiff (R-NM).

Also at the December press conference, Walker announced his strong support for peer review, university based research, NSF's role in science

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education, NASA's Space Station, his opposition to earmarks -- including punitive measures against universities that take them, and his belief that "real science should not confirm a political agenda." He cited the Global Research program as a possible example. Although he did not comment on the 1 percent below inflation proposal, Walker cited his position as Vice-Chair of the Budget Committee as evidence of the major role he expects to play in determining science budgets.

On other matters, the new Chairman would not commit himself to supporting a Senate Republican proposal to abolish the Office of Technology Assessment, a congressional agency that conducts technical studies for the legislature. Walker did say that he would continue to support the idea of a Cabinet level Department of Science, Space, Energy and Technology, a "Secretary of the Future" he called it. A proposal for such a Department was part of legislation introduced by new House Budget Committee Chairman Rep. John Kasich (R-OH) in 1993.

On January 6, Walker became the first of the new House Committee Chairs to hold a hearing with witnesses from the Clinton administration. The Science Committee heard from OSTP Director John Gibbons, Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, EPA Administrator Carol Browner, NASA Administrator Dan Goldin, and NSF Director Neal Lane.

The Chairman called the hearing to focus on science in the next twenty years. Suggesting that science was an important part of the nation's economic and cultural interests, Walker wanted to get "past government programs," and seek "new strategies beyond the regulatory state." He vowed to work on science policy with those outside "the four walls" of the committee room, such as Rep. Bill Archer (R-TX), new Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, which has jurisdiction over tax policy.

Concerning NSF, Walker again reiterated his concern about too much directed research, a view echoed in a strong statement supporting basic research by second term Rep. Vern Ehlers (R-MI), who was trained as a physicist. Ehlers worried about a "faltering commitment" to basic research and criticized the Senate appropriations committee from the previous Congress for sending NSF chasing after strategic research.

Director Lane's response reiterated his commitment to "seeking out and supporting research based on the best ideas from the most qualified people -- as judged by experts in their respective fields -- and by nurturing the nation's future scientific and technical leaders." He did admit that NSF has encouraged researchers to consider their work in a larger context, because, "it is important to recognize that taxpayer supported fundamental research can and should have a conscious relationship to the nation's priorities and societal needs."

Many of the new Members of the Science Committee attended the hearings. Most of their questions, given the witnesses before them, focused on particular matters that related to their districts. An exception was Rep. Steve Largent (R-OK), who had just come from the organizational meeting of the House Budget Committee, and announced that the Republicans were going to "right-size the Federal government," and that he was happy since he was elected "to get government off the backs of the people and business."

The situation in the Senate is more fluid. Sen. Nancy Kassebaum (R-KS) will chair the Labor and Human Resources Committee and Sen. Larry Pressler (R-SD) will chair the Commerce, Science and Transportation committee. The two panels share jurisdiction over NSF reauthorization. The VA, HUD, Independent Agencies appropriations subcommittee most likely will be led by Sen. Phil Gramm (R-TX). Each of these Senators has agendas that extend far beyond NSF. Kassebaum hopes to revise education and training programs, Pressler will be a leader on a major telecommunications bill, and Gramm is expected to announce his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination in late February.

NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH

Even before the Republican takeover of Congress, NIH Director Harold Varmus had been stating that significant increases in funding for NIH were unlikely given the caps on domestic spending mandated by deficit reduction legislation. For FY 1995, Congress voted a 3.6 percent increase for NIH, well below the biomedical inflation rate.

While no federal agency or program is likely to see a substantial increase, the forecast for NIH is not necessarily bleak. NIH research has historically

enjoyed strong bipartisan support, and in previous budget proposals the Republicans have proposed inflationary increases for these programs. The bipartisan support for health research can be seen most clearly in the changing of the guard at funding panels that oversee NIH. In the Senate, Mark Hatfield (R-OR) will chair the Appropriations Committee, and Arlen Specter (R-PA) will chair the subcommittee with jurisdiction over NIH. Both have been supportive in the past, and last year Hatfield joined Sen. Tom Harkin (D-IA), in proposing a special mechanism to provide additional funding for health research over and above what is provided in the annual appropriations process. In the House, another friend of NIH, John Porter (R-IL) will chair the subcommittee that funds the Institutes.

Congressional panels that will begin work on NIH's reauthorization later this year are also under new management. In the Senate, Nancy Kassebaum (R-KS) takes over the gavel at the Labor and Human Resources Committee from Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA). In the House, Rep. Tom Bliley (R-VA) will chair the Commerce Committee and Rep. Michael Bilirakis (R-FL) will chair the Subcommittee on Health and the Environment. What is noteworthy about the House changes is the departure of Rep. Henry Waxman (D-CA), who as subcommittee chair was an advocate for the social and behavioral sciences, and the ascension of Bliley, a longtime supporter of the tobacco industry who has announced that under his reign there will be no hearings on the relationship between smoking and health.

While NIH appears to be on relatively solid ground in the new congress, there is a caveat for the social and behavioral sciences. Just two years ago, Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) successfully led an effort to cancel two peer reviewed projects on sexuality research, saying that this was not an appropriate federal activity. With the congressional Republicans promising to base their budget cuts, in part, on whether or not the program is in the purview of the federal government, it is clear that "sensitive" behavioral and social research may be vulnerable.

Within NIH, meeting the Clinton Administration's mandate to reduce personnel from 17,000 to 15,000 employees over the next four years will remain a hardship, as many of the midlevel management cuts eliminate valuable and necessary researchers. One long-awaited new position that will most likely be

filled is the slot for Director of the Office of Behavioral and Social Science Research. At this writing, four candidates have been selected by the search committee and will be interviewed by Varmus in the near future.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Public outrage over violent crime loomed large in the 1994 elections that produced the Republican takeover of Congress, and the issue of crime is unlikely to fade from the spotlight in 1995.

The Republican's Contract With America calls for sweeping revisions of the \$30 billion Crime Bill adopted by Congress in 1994, legislation which then-Senate minority leader Bob Dole acerbically said "could have been concocted by a university sociology department." Now in the majority, the GOP seeks to dramatically reduce the bill's prevention programs and social spending in favor of stricter punishment and more prison construction. The 1994 bill contained provisions creating a National Commission on Crime Control and Crime Prevention, a National Academy of Science panel to look at violence against women, and mandated several research and data collection efforts by the National Institute of Justice and the Bureau of Justice Statistics. A re-opening of the bill could put these important components in jeopardy, and they could also be blocked if congressional appropriators deny them funding.

The new leadership of relevant crime panels on Capitol Hill is generally more fiscally and socially conservative than their predecessors in the 103rd Congress. On the House side, the Judiciary Committee will be chaired by Rep. Henry Hyde (R-IL), a thoughtful Member from the Northwestern Chicago suburbs, who is best known as a leader of the anti-abortion forces, but who has voted for the Family and Medical Leave Act. The Subcommittee on Crime and Criminal Justice will be led by Rep. Bill McCollum (R-FL), the architect of the Contract's crime provisions. Rep. Harold Rogers (R-KY) will chair a panel that oversees funding for justice research and statistics programs. In the Senate, the Judiciary Committee will be led by Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-UT) and the appropriations panel for justice by Sen. Pete Domenici (R-NM).

BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

The changes on Capitol Hill mean a loss for the Census Bureau of congressional subcommittees and staff that in prior years have devoted considerable energy to the federal statistical system. As part of efforts to streamline congressional operations, House Republicans successfully targeted the Post Office and Civil Service Committee (which included a Census Subcommittee) for elimination, and the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee, chaired by William Roth (R-DE), consolidated by eliminating its Regulation and Government Information Subcommittee. Oversight for the Census Bureau in the House will now be placed in the Subcommittee on National Security, International Affairs and Criminal Justice of the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight. The subcommittee will be chaired by Rep. Bill Zeliff (R-NH), a fiscal conservative. The Census Bureau will likely be handled at the full committee level in the Senate.

In 1995 the Bureau will conduct its Test Census, and issues before the agency and other components of the federal statistical system include planning and design for the 2000 Census, possible revisions to racial and ethnic categories, and intercensal poverty estimates for use in federal aid programs. Given the changes on Capitol Hill, the challenge for advocates of the federal statistical system is to get these issues "on the radar screen" of committee members and their staff.

On the appropriations front, Rep. Harold Rogers (D-KY) will chair the panel that sets funding for the Bureau. In the past, Rogers has been an outspoken critic of the Census Bureau and the federal statistical system. He has repeatedly criticized the length of the decennial form and the cost and accuracy of the 1990 survey. Last year he helped block efforts by the Commerce Department to develop a "Green GDP" measure of environmental degradation. In the Senate, the appropriations subcommittee for these issues will be chaired by Sen. Pete Domenici (R-NM), an advocate of sweeping budget cuts.

(continued on page six)

KEY HOUSE COMMITTEE AND SUBCOMMITTEE CHAIRS

Appropriations Committee: Robert Livingston (LA)

Subcommittees:

Agriculture: Joe Skeen (NM)
 Commerce, Justice, State: Harold Rogers (KY)
 Interior (NEH): Ralph Regula (OH)
 Labor, HHS, Education: John Porter (IL)

Legislative Branch (Library of Congress): Ron Packard (CA)
 National Security (DOD University Research): C.W. Bill Young (FL)
 VA, HUD, Ind. Agencies (NSF, EPA): Jerry Lewis (CA)

Authorizing Committees:

Agriculture: (1995 Farm Bill) Pat Roberts (KS)
 Budget: John Kasich (OH)
 Commerce: (NIH Reauthorization) Thomas Bliley (VA)
 Subcommittee on Health and Environment: Michael Bilirakis (FL)
 Economic and Educational Opportunities: Bill Goodling (PA)
 Subcommittee on Early Childhood, Youth and Families: Randy "Duke" Cunningham (CA)
 Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education, Training and Lifelong Learning: Howard "Buck" McKeon (CA)
 Government Reform and Oversight: (Census, Human Resources): William Clinger (PA)
 Subcommittee on Govt. Management, Information and Technology: Steve Horn (CA)
 Subcommittee on Human Resources and Intergovernmental Relations: Christopher Shays (CT)
 Judiciary: Henry Hyde (IL)
 Subcommittee on Crime: Bill McCollum (FL)
 Rules: Gerald Solomon (NY)
 Science: see chart below
 Ways and Means: (Welfare Reform, Tax Reductions) Bill Archer (TX)
 Subcommittee on Human Resources: Clay Shaw (FL)
 Subcommittee on Health: Bill Thomas (CA)

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 Lloyd Doggett (TX)*
 Mike Doyle (PA)*
 Sheila Jackson Lee (TX)*
 Bill Luther (MI)*

* new members

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 Space - James Sensenbrenner (WI)

Technology - Constance Morella (MD)
 Energy and the Environment - Dana Rohrabacher (CA)

OTHER "CONTRACT" PROVISIONS

As mentioned in the November 21 *Update*, a memo on "possible" spending cuts prepared by the Republican staff on the House Budget Committee to accompany the Contract calls 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.

Rep. John Kasich (R-OH), the new Chairman of the House Budget Committee, has also announced that most of what his committee intends to do with the Federal budget was foretold in the Republican alternative to the FY 1995 House Budget Resolution. Many of the ideas noted above are from that alternative.

CONFERENCE HONORS 25 YEARS OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE RESEARCH

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), the research and development arm of the Justice Department, was celebrated at a recent conference that brought together leaders of the criminal justice community to discuss the past, present, and future of criminal justice research.

In their welcoming remarks, both NIJ Director Jeremy Travis and Assistant Attorney General for Justice Programs Laurie Robinson spoke of the Justice Department's strong commitment to research and development in the areas of crime and criminal justice. In twenty-five years NIJ has not only survived, but thrived, Robinson said, commenting that science and government can work together to improve the quality of life. She said that the union between practitioners and researchers is not always easy, but that NIJ strives

to be an important broker in that marriage. She observed that while NIJ research does not always produce the answers people want to hear, Attorney General Janet Reno understands the value of quality research and free inquiry and remains a strong supporter of the Institute.

Travis set the theme for the day by saying that the conference was a time to commemorate the past, while also charting a course for the future. He highlighted some ongoing research and evaluation projects made possible by last year's Crime Bill, including studies of community-oriented policing, domestic violence, and boot camps. In an effort to enhance the usefulness of research, he announced that all NIJ research reports will now include a section developing a utilization strategy. Travis said that NIJ working closely with other federal agencies, serving an active role on the Interagency Task Force on Violence, which is led by Peter Edelman, Counselor to the Secretary of Health and Human Services. (see *Update*, December 5)

Blumstein's 'NIJ Carol'

Al Blumstein of the H. John Heinz III School of Public Policy and Management at Carnegie Mellon University made a presentation he called "An NIJ Anniversary Carol" in which he discussed NIJ past, present, and future. Blumstein, a former president of the American Society of Criminology, is the co-author, along with Joan Petersillia, of a major chapter in a report, *25 Years of Criminal Justice Research*, that was released at the conference. (For a copy of the report, call 800-851-3420).

Beginning with "NIJ past," Blumstein highlighted the accomplishments of the past quarter century. It should be clear to policymakers, he said, that there is an appropriate federal role in criminal justice research, given economies of scale, fragmented state efforts, and an inherent federal responsibility for a "public good." Blumstein said that the evaluation and improvement of the criminal justice system stands as a major accomplishment, and he cited landmark studies of police patrol practices. He stated that twenty-five years of NIJ-supported research has led to a greater understanding of crime and crime rates, crime control theory and measurement, deterrence, and the development of new technologies.

Blumstein lamented the weak funding of NIJ in relation to other federal research efforts, and cited several possible explanations for paltry support: ideologically-driven criminal justice policies that are not based on facts and logic, a perception that research is driven by investigator bias, a belief that these issues can be best studied by mere common sense, the slow nature of research in an era of policy fads and demands for quick answers, and lack of support by the legal profession, which he said is case-driven rather than based on empirical study.

Blumstein had mixed views on "NIJ present." He lauded Travis' leadership of the agency, which he said has invigorated Institute staff at all levels. This, he said, is tempered by a political environment that is not receptive to research and rationality and an aggressive ideological emphasis favoring incarceration.

Turning to the "Spirit of NIJ future," he called for continuing to build a research agenda that seeks to understand socialization to crime, the efficiency and effectiveness of the criminal justice system, criminal careers and developmental processes, the relationship between the drug war and drug abuse, and maximizing technological resources. Blumstein called for a significant increase in NIJ's budget, noting that in service industries approximately three percent of budgets are devoted to research and development, while less than one percent of the criminal justice system's budget is devoted to research. If NIJ's budget were doubled each year until 2000, it would then total \$1 billion, a figure equivalent to three percent of last year's Crime Bill. In closing his talk, Blumstein urged a move away from our "pre-Galilean" stance on understanding crime and a re-thinking our "prison-centric universe"

GOP Mayor Supports Research

Indianapolis mayor Stephen Goldsmith followed Blumstein's presentation by offering his perspectives as a "consumer" of research. Goldsmith has gained attention through incorporating the work of criminologist Lawrence Sherman in formulating new strategies for Indianapolis police to seize illegal weapons. Goldsmith, a Republican and self-described critic of government, lauded NIJ's research and evaluation programs, saying that they help find ways to maximize the return on the investment of tax dollars in the criminal justice system. Given the public outcry for fiscal responsibility, NIJ research is more important than ever, he said.

EDITOR'S NOTE

This is the first issue of *Update* for 1995. *Update*, published bi-weekly, is written and produced by the COSSA staff and covers federal policies and debates relevant to social and behavioral scientists.

We welcome your questions and comments, as well as ideas for future issues. Our address is 1522 K Street, N.W., Suite 836, Washington, D.C. 20005, phone: (202) 842-3525, fax: (202) 842-2788.

Goldsmith told the gathering that he seeks to refine public policy according to the findings of research. Given the velocity of change in this country, the old pace of research and dissemination must be replaced, he said. Goldsmith urged police, judges, and prosecutors to be more receptive and responsive to research. Discussing the ethics of research, he called upon researchers to "be bolder" in conducting experiments regarding human subjects and behavior.

Attorney General Janet Reno told a luncheon audience that she "thirsts for knowledge" and offered warm praise for NIJ staff and criminal justice researchers. She praised the development of a base of knowledge in the past twenty-five years, specifically citing how research on police patrols and career criminals has been incorporated into the day-to-day workings of the criminal justice system. Echoing remarks she made before the American Society of Criminology annual meeting (see *Update*, November 21), Reno spoke of the importance of making research reports "readable and understandable" and available in a timely manner.

Reno spoke of the perils of youth violence, and expressed her support for research efforts in this area. Reno praised the presentation at NIJ that she recently attended in which Blumstein outlined his research in progress on youths and firearms. In concluding her remarks, the Attorney General called for all involved with the criminal justice system to take the knowledge generated by researchers and generate the "courage and tenacity" to fight crime.

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