

**BUDGET DEAL CONSUMMATED; 105<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS ENDS** *HS*

After eight months of haggling, the White House and the Congress sent a small group of representatives to meet behind closed doors to reach agreement on the remaining issues in eight, plus a supplemental, appropriations bills. These decisions, affecting \$486 billion of federal spending, were ratified by the House and the Senate, with a lot of moaning and groaning about the process, and the 105<sup>th</sup> Congress became history, at least for the moment, impeachment inquiry notwithstanding.

The decisions on the appropriations bills affected large issues and small that impact on social and behavioral scientists. Some of those are discussed in the pages to follow. In general, the President succeeded on many aspects of his domestic agenda; the GOP led Congress got the first real increase in defense spending in quite some time. Many members of Congress littered the bill with election year goodies for their favored constituents, including colleges and universities. Also in the deal, after a two-year delay, the merger of the United States Information Agency, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and some aspects of the Agency for International Development into the State Department will finally occur.

The caps limiting spending, alleged to be sacrosanct, were broken. Some \$20 billion of the new surplus, alleged to be for "saving Social Security first," will be spent in FY 1999. NIH continued its gallop toward doubling its budget in 5 years with a whopping \$2 billion increase. NSF did well, modestly in contrast to NIH, with a 9 percent increase in research. In the end, the massive Omnibus Appropriations bill reflected another episode of the appropriations process failing as the clash of priorities between and within the parties, particularly the majority Republicans in Congress, overrode the necessity of completing business on time and in a dignified fashion.

**CJS FUNDS LIMITED; SAMPLING UNRESOLVED; PREWITT CONFIRMED** *DH*

The Omnibus budget bill provides the Census Bureau with increased funding for the 2000 Census but leaves unresolved the question of the use of statistical sampling. As a result of the continuing disagreements over sampling, the bill cuts off funding for the Census Bureau and the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State on June 15, 1999, if no decision is made by Congress and the Administration on the sampling question.

The Census Bureau received a large increase over its FY 1998 funding levels. The Bureau will receive \$1.32 billion, 48 percent more than its FY 1998 level and 10 percent more than the President's request. Of the total, \$1.03 billion is for the upcoming census, \$189 million more than the President's request.

The additional money is "to ensure that the Census Bureau is fully prepared to implement the 2000 decennial census." The additional funds include: \$23 million for costs associated with staffing all Census offices; \$17 million for promotion, marketing, and outreach activities; \$35 million to modify the questionnaire to allow six family members instead of five to fill out the form without a follow-up visit from a census taker and to modify the electronic data capture systems to read the new questionnaire. The budget bill also includes \$4 million for the Census Monitoring Board, charged with overseeing the Bureau's preparations for the census.

**Inside UPDATE...**

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- NLJ Funding Raised
- Racial Trends Conference Explores Many Issues
- Internship Program with National Park Service

Despite the increased funding for the Census Bureau, if Congress does not sign legislation before June 15, the funds for these three cabinet-level departments and the Census Bureau will expire. Lawmakers hope, however, that the June 15<sup>th</sup> deadline will serve as an impetus for an agreement on whether sampling will be employed in the 2000 Census. By the June 15 deadline, it is assumed that the Supreme Court will have ruled on the constitutionality of the use of statistical sampling in the census. This possibility, however, does not take the heat off the lawmakers, since Representative Dan Miller (R-FL), chairman of the House Government Reform and Oversight Subcommittee on the Census, has said that a Supreme Court ruling in favor of sampling does not guarantee that Congress will allow the Census Bureau to use the method in 2000, especially for purposes of apportionment.

#### Prewitt Confirmed

On the last day of legislative business for the 105<sup>th</sup> Congress, the Senate approved by consent vote the nomination of Kenneth Prewitt to be the next director of the Census Bureau. Prewitt most recently was the President of the Social Science Research Corporation in New York. He will replace Acting Census Bureau Director James Holmes.

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#### NIH RECEIVES \$2 BILLION BOOST AS

Putting its money where its mouth is the Congress, in the Omnibus Appropriations bill, provided a nearly \$2 billion (\$1.96 billion or 14.7 percent) increase in funding for the National Institutes of Health (NIH) in FY 1999. The increase, the largest in the agency's history, brings the agency's budget to \$15.6 billion. Moreover, it emphasizes Congress' commitment to the war against disease and is the first step toward the goal of doubling NIH's funding in the next five years.

The conference agreement, however, modified the Senate Appropriations report language which included \$10 million in funding for the establishment of 10 mind/body centers by the Office of Behavioral and Social Sciences Research (OBSSR). Instead, OBSSR is "urged to use all available mechanisms, including establishing two to five mind/body centers, to make more visible the benefits of mind/body medicine. It is also noted that existing centers have expertise to accelerate work in this field, and the Director is encouraged to establish partnerships between new and existing centers to expand the scientific base in the field of mind/body medicine and teach and train health care professionals in these approaches."

The agreement retains the Senate sponsored \$50 million for the Center for Complementary and Alternative Medicine. The agreement stipulates that "not less than \$20 million" of the funding shall be for peer reviewed research grants and contracts that respond to program announcements and requests for proposals issued by the Center.

The Office of AIDS Research received \$1.79 billion. The report notes that "this total may be modified depending on changing scientific opportunities and the recommendations of the various advisory bodies."

The agreement further supports "preventive measures to reduce cardiovascular disease and further support collaborative efforts to expand a comprehensive national cardiopulmonary disease prevention program with particular emphasis on risk assessment, promotion of healthy behavior, and

independent quality control and evaluation" by the National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute.

The bill encourages the National Cancer Institute (NCI) to develop a "comprehensive initiative designed to assist in minority cancer control, prevention and treatment." NCI is further encouraged to work with the National Institute on Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) to enhance extramural research in priority areas such as cancer research methods, special populations at risk, mixed exposures, risk assessment methods, and exposure assessment methods.

The agreement notes that the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences (NIEHS) and the Office of Research on Minority Health (ORMH) "are cooperating to address environmental health effects in underserved and minority populations. NIEHS is urged to enhance support for previously selected environmental health effects/minority health centers." NIEHS is also encouraged to work with NIOSH to enhance extramural research in relevant priority areas.

The bill urges the NIH director to provide funding to the ORMH "in addition to existing and previously planned activities for the purpose of increasing the number of African American principal investigators funded to conduct HIV behavioral and clinical research targeting the links between substance abuse, sexual behaviors and the extraordinary HIV infection rate in African Americans. Special emphasis should be placed on research into ways of breaking this linkage. Research designed to build a culturally competent community knowledge base in areas hardest hit by HIV/AIDS is also a priority."

The Director is urged to "expand and strengthen population based research to more effectively target at-risk persons, address community norms and support the adoption of HIV risk-reduction behaviors and sustain behavioral change among high risk populations." The director is further encouraged to "cooperate in completing the Institute of Medicine study on cancer among minorities and the medically underserved, and to provide timely access to requested data to enable the IOM to complete the study in an expeditious fashion."

Finally, the conference agreement includes language contained in the House bill to name the Consolidated Laboratory Building (Building 50) at NIH the Louis Stokes Laboratories.

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) received \$2.6 billion — \$18 million more than the House bill, \$243 million more than the Senate bill, \$226 million above the FY 1998 funding level, and \$112 million more than the President's request.

Negotiators provided the National Center for Health Statistics \$94.6 million, \$10 million more than proposed by both the House and the Senate. Of this total, \$67.8 million will come from the Public Health Service one percent evaluation set-aside.

For prevention centers, the budget includes \$13.5 million, instead of the \$12 million and \$9 million proposed by the House and Senate, respectively. Within this amount, \$1 million is "to establish a tobacco prevention research network." Additionally, the budget provides \$15 million for prevention research by the CDC, instead of the \$10 million proposed by the House. The Senate bill did not contain similar provisions. The Sexually Transmitted Diseases program under the CDC received \$123 million, an \$11.3 million increase above the FY 1998 funding level and \$22 million more than requested by the President. Bill language also designates "\$51 million for violence against women programs financed through the Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund."

The bill provides \$294.4 million for Chronic and Environmental Diseases, a \$12.6 million increase over the FY 1998 funding level. The bill notes that "[t]here is support for the agencies' commitment to improving the health status of minority and disadvantaged individuals." The bill includes a \$30.8 million increase above the President's request for chronic and environmental disease prevention program priorities. The total amount for chronic and environmental disease prevention also includes \$25 million for CDC to carry out the American Stop Smoking Intervention Study [ASSIST] as proposed by the House.

The agreement provides \$10 million for "health disparities demonstration programs as proposed by the Senate." Because "additional funding for health disparities activities in existing programs throughout the Department" is provided in the conference agreement, both the House and Senate Appropriations Committees expect a detailed proposal of how these funds will be coordinated and expended.

The spending bill allocates an additional \$18 million "targeted to addressing urgent HIV prevention needs in the African American community."

The Agency for Health Care Policy and Research (AHCPR) received \$100.4 million. Another \$70.6 million from the Public Health Service one percent evaluation set-aside will help fund AHCPR.

#### ED PROGRAMS RECEIVE INCREASES *DH, HS*

The Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI) saw several of its programs receive increases in the newly passed Omnibus budget bill. Negotiators provided OERI's National Education Research Institutes, charged with conducting long-term education research and development, with a \$10 million increase over FY 1998, to \$63.8 million.

OERI's Regional Education Laboratories received a \$5 million increase over its FY 1998 funding level, to \$61 million. The 10 Labs assist States, districts, and schools implement education reforms through applied research and development, development of materials and strategies, and training and technical assistance.

The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), the primary federal agency for collecting and analyzing education data and statistics, received a \$9 million increase, to \$68 million. Assessment programs, including the National Assessment Governing Board, received \$40 million, a \$4.5 million increase over last year.

International education and foreign language studies received a total of \$67.5 million, a 12 percent increase over FY 1998. This is the first significant increase for these programs since FY 1994. It could allow for inaugural funding of a newly authorized program, Technological Innovation and Cooperation for Foreign Information Access. Title VI Domestic programs were allocated \$60 million, a \$6.4 million increase, while the Fulbright-Hays program received \$6.5 million, close to a \$0.8 million boost. Funding will remain level at \$1 million for the Institute for International Public Policy.

The deal provided \$31 million for the Graduate Assistance in Areas of National Need program. Included in this allocation, is funding for the Javits Fellowship Program that provides aid to graduate students in the arts, humanities, and social sciences. The newly authorized Thurgood Marshall Fellowship program to assist students from underrepresented groups interesting in pursuing legal careers does not appear to have received an appropriation.

#### NIJ FUNDING RAISED *DI*

Budget negotiators provided the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) with \$46.1 million for FY 1999 — an 8 percent increase. The amount, however, is much less than the President's request (\$57.1 million) and the House proposal (\$52.6 million). Negotiators adopted language contained in the House appropriations bill that authorizes the Assistant Attorney General "to have final authority over all grants, cooperative agreements, and contracts for OJP and its component organizations."

NIJ also will receive \$5.2 million from the Violence Against Women Act allocation, as well as \$20 million from the Local Law Enforcement Block Grant.

Like NIJ, the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), the U.S. Department of Justice's statistical agency, received an increase, to \$25 million from \$21.5 million.

Juvenile justice programs received a sizeable increase, to \$284.6 million from \$238.7 million.

## RACIAL TRENDS CONFERENCE EXPLORES MANY ISSUES *AS*

"Building one America is our most important mission," President Clinton declared in February 1997 and his initiative on race has become a vehicle for determining the construction process. Early next year the President will present to the nation his vision of a stronger, more just and more united American community. On October 15 and 16 the National Academy of Sciences Commission on Social and Behavioral Sciences and Education gathered a diverse group of social scientists to examine "Racial Trends in the United States." The stimulating two day event provided an opportunity to explore major issues confronting the "world's most diverse democracy" now and into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

The conference addressed what co-chair Neil Smelser, Director of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, declared was a seeming paradox of "polarization laid over enormous progress." William Julius Wilson, the meeting's other co-chair and Professor of Public Policy at Harvard and a former COSSA President, commented on the appearance of a growing racial tolerance in the country expressed in public opinion polls with a "heightened racial awareness" and antagonisms growing out of social, economic, and political "situational contexts."

In examining these contrasts the sessions focused on issues such as: What is the meaning of race and ethnicity today and into the future? What are current attitudes on race and how have they changed over time? What do current indicators on income, wealth, labor markets, educational attainment, crime, health, and housing indicate about the changing landscape of America? How do the social sciences provide information to policy makers on these questions?

Before exploring these issues, the conference heard from Christopher Edley of Harvard Law School and Special Consultant to the President on the Race Initiative. Edley, who is helping to draft the President's report, suggested a vision of racial and ethnic justice that would create a society with "no evidence of the legacy of slavery," and a nation that would celebrate diversity rather than merely "tolerate it." He proposed two tracks that would get us there.

First, an "opportunity agenda" that would stress educational achievement, community security and criminal justice, economic security and development, and civil rights enforcement. Second, a "community track" that would build a moral and political consensus to "understand community." Edley challenged social scientists to conduct research into understanding racial and ethnic questions that would equal the effort of the biomedical research community's focus on comprehending the AIDS epidemic.

### The Meaning of Race and Ethnicity

Acknowledging that, as the American Anthropological Association pointed out (see *UPDATE*, 9/29/97), race may be a biologically meaningless category, the participants agreed that it certainly remains "an extremely important and highly contested social one," as Michael Omi, Comparative Ethnic Studies at UC, Berkeley, noted.

The demographic impact of liberalizing the immigration laws in 1965 has, Omi suggested, "destabilized" the race picture in this country. It has forced the country to move beyond the black-white paradigm. Hispanic-Americans, by 2005, will become the nation's largest minority group. Asian-Americans are affecting legal and educational issues and seek to obtain political power. And yet, the problem for 21<sup>st</sup> Century America is the growing heterogeneity of the current racial classification categories. Smelser noted that 60 years ago, he was taught that there were five racial categories -- "white, black, brown, yellow and red." Today the Office of Management and Budget and most survey researchers still classify into five categories: White, African American, Hispanic, Asian-American, and Native American.

As many speakers noted, differences within the classifications are significant. Omi argued that we should examine racial questions using the concepts of heterogeneity, hybridity, and multiplicity. The impact of immigrant assimilation, inter-marriage, and other activities, has affected self-identity (the 2000 Census will allow people to check off more than one racial category) and will have political and social implications. Rudy de la Garza, Political Science at the University of Texas, Austin, indicated that the

courting of the Hispanic vote by the Republicans in Texas, if successful, could eliminate ethnicity as a mobilizing factor. On the other hand, Don Nakanishi, Director of the Asian American Studies Center at UCLA, pointed out that Filipino Americans are trying to organize politically as a distinct force in American politics. Matt Snipp, Sociology at Stanford, noted that Native Americans have such high rates of intermarriage that future ethnic self-identity may become a problem, while at the same time tribal sovereignty and separation issues are intensifying.

In addition, geographic factors are important. Since most new immigrants have clustered in only a few states, many parts of the country are not as massively affected by changing racial and ethnic demographics. The inner-city suburban distinctions remain significant, but there are situations, according to Manuel Pastor, Latin American and Latino Studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz, where changes in older inner-ring suburbs have blurred those differences. Another impact of current demographic trends, discussed by Gary Sandefur, Sociology at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, is that the majority of whites are aging, while soon the youth in this country will be largely non-white. This could have policy implications across a whole range of issues.

### Attitudes

Lawrence Bobo, Sociology and African American Studies at Harvard, assessed surveys of racial attitudes in the post-1965 period. He concluded that the nation now enjoys a deeply rooted national consensus on the ideals of racial equality and integration. Yet, differences remain between blacks and whites on preferred levels of integration and in beliefs about racial discrimination. Furthermore, negative racial stereotypes persist. He contended that the repudiation of Jim Crow racism may have been replaced by "a new (yet more malleable) *laissez faire* racism."

Evidence of this *laissez faire* racism is the continued opposition to and attacks on affirmative action programs for providing special preferences to minorities. Although, as Carol Swain, Politics and Public Affairs at Princeton, noted, some consensus exists for "soft" affirmative action programs, such as

outreach and job training. One other disturbing indicator in these surveys, Jennifer Hochschild, Politics at Princeton, suggested, is the increasing alienation of the growing African American middle class from American society. This fits with a deepening pessimism among blacks about the state of U.S. race relations.

### Social and Economic Indicators

The President's Council of Economic Advisers has prepared a document *Changing America: Indicators of Social and Economic Well-Being by Race and Hispanic Origin* that provides data on population, education, labor markets, economic status, health, crime and criminal justice, and housing and neighborhoods. Rebecca Blank, a member of the Council, reviewed some of these numbers at the conference. Other speakers elaborated on the numbers in each of these areas. As noted earlier, in general the historical trends suggest progress in eliminating disparities, but parity and equity in many areas have not been achieved.

Doug Massey, Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania, argued that many of America's social problems are related to "persistence of white prejudice and discrimination" that leads to continued massive housing segregation. This causes social isolation and produces unusually high concentrations of poverty among African Americans. The way to end what Massey dubs "hypersegregation," is to truly enforce the Open Housing Act of 1968 — using audit studies to reveal the discrimination that continues to exist and to punish where necessary.

Al Blumstein, Public Affairs at Carnegie-Mellon, and Darnell Hawkins, African American Studies and Sociology, University of Illinois-Chicago, discussed the problem of the disproportionately of blacks in the criminal justice system. Blumstein illustrated the large recent increases in black incarceration rates, explained by massive arrests for drug selling and use. Randall Kennedy, Harvard Law School, argued that the disproportionality problem occurs because of police profiling by race, the bias in jury selection through the use of peremptory challenges, and disparities in sentencing, the most egregious being the longer sentences for crack cocaine use (a mostly black phenomenon) vs. powder cocaine use

(a mostly white phenomenon).

In the health area, Raynard Kington, National Center for Health Statistics, demonstrated that over a long period disparities in health have diminished, but differences remain. David Williams, Institute of Social Research, University of Michigan, demonstrated these differences with respect to treatment under Medicare. Congress has pushed the National Institutes of Health to examine these disparities more closely. Vonnie McLoyd, Psychology at Michigan, discussed the closing of the gap in teen suicides between white and black males. Formerly, whites teenage males were more likely to take their own lives than blacks, but this gap has closed in recent years.

The discussion on education focused on achievement gaps between blacks and whites on the National Assessment on Education Progress (NAEP) tests. Ron Ferguson, Economics at Harvard, hypothesized that negative aspects of teen youth culture in the black community in the 1970s and 1990s could account for the wide gaps in the earlier era and the widening of gaps in the latter era after some closing in the 1980s. Daryl Smith, Education and Psychology at the Claremont Graduate School, focused on higher education and suggested researchers examine institutional factors affecting race and ethnicity at colleges and universities, including a future consisting of diverse student bodies with almost all-white faculties.

Michigan State Economist Harry Holzer discussed income and employment disparities, especially between white and black men. He focused on the growing skills gap, the diminution of low-skilled employment opportunities, the transportation difficulties low income men have getting to jobs in suburbs, the lack of informal networks in minority communities, and the lure of the illegal marketplace for some minorities. James Smith, of Rand, noted the structural changes in the economy and stagnation in wage rates since the early 1970s. Matt Snipp pointed out that for Native Americans, the gaming business is not an economic panacea despite press suggestions to the contrary. Hispanic Americans, particularly second and third generation, according to de la Garza, are moving up the economic ladder, as previous immigrant groups before them did. Asian-Americans' median income is actually above whites, but there are major differences within subgroups of

this category. Women, on the other hand, are doing better, but some of the gains in the 1980s have slowed down, according to Cecelia Conrad, Economics at Pomona College.

Even greater differences among blacks and whites occur on wealth accumulation, as noted by Melvin Oliver, Ford Foundation, and Thomas Shapiro, Sociology at Northeastern University. The number of minority businesses is growing, with affirmative action contracting policies playing a major role according to Thomas Boston, Economics at Georgia Tech.

### The Role of the Social Sciences

What became clear from the conference is that more attention must be paid to distinctions within racial and ethnic groups. The need for more intra-group data is evident. Complications and complexities abound. Yet, the other message is that further attention should focus, as Wilson argued, on the institutional effects on race and ethnicity. What are the impacts of social structures on inequality? Another question to investigate is what are the differential impacts of race-neutral economic policies on different racial and ethnic groups, e.g. the globalization of the economy?

The discussion and the research will continue. The National Academy hopes to publish the papers from the conference in June. Another exploration of the research results from the social sciences on this issue will be forthcoming soon from the American Sociological Association. The President will speak early next year, but will Americans listen and act?

### INTERNSHIP PROGRAM WITH NATIONAL PARK SERVICE *DH*

The National Park Service (NPS) Social Science Program recently announced an internship program for graduate students. For more information on the program, contact: Jean McKendry, National Park Service Social Science Program, 1849 C St., NW (MIB 3127), Washington, DC 20240; Telephone: 202/219-8894; Email: [jeanm@uidaho.edu](mailto:jeanm@uidaho.edu); NPS Webpage: <http://www.nps.gov/socialscience/intro.htm>.

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