
CONSORTIUM OF SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATIONS

COSSA WASHINGTON UPDATE

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HOUSE PASSES NSF APPROPRIATION BILL: FURTHER CUTS IN RESEARCH

On September 22, the House of Representatives passed the FY 1988 HUD-Independent Agencies Appropriations bill by a vote of 348-68. Prior to final passage the House adopted an amendment offered by Rep. Edward Boland (D-MA), chairman of the HUD-Independent Agencies Appropriations Subcommittee, that reduced the Research and Related Activities item in the NSF budget by \$50 million. The amendment shifted \$168 million in budget authority to housing programs from various other programs in the bill. This avoids challenges to the bill based on the fact that outlays in the bill for FY 1988 exceeded the budget resolution by \$100 million.

The House action leaves the research budget \$130 million below the Administration request and up just 7% from last year. Since the House Appropriations Committee report directs NSF to protect the ocean sciences program, the women and minorities programs, and the Phase I supercomputer centers, the increase for social and behavioral science research at the Foundation will probably be considerably below 7%, if the House figure is maintained. Science and Engineering Education programs continue

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The Consortium 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.

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David Jenness, *Executive Director*

to receive a 26% increase over the request and 47% over the FY 1987 level. The House action leaves the total NSF budget \$100 million below the request and 10.5% over FY 1987. The goal of doubling the Foundation's budget in 5 years thus becomes more difficult.

The action now moves to the Senate. The HUD-Independent Agencies Subcommittee chaired by Sen. William Proxmire (D-WI), marks up its bill on September 25. It is anticipated that the Subcommittee will recommend NSF receive the same amount in FY 1988 that it received in FY 1987. The Subcommittee is in a position where it simply does not have the money, given the allocation decisions of the full Senate Appropriations Committee (see Update, August 14, 1987). There is some hope that the full Senate Appropriations Committee can be turned around. More details are given in the insert enclosed in this issue. Please call it to the attention of your colleagues.

BUDGET GAMES CONTINUE

As we come to the end of the fiscal year, movement towards solving the deficit problem, funding agencies for the next fiscal year, and keeping the federal government from defaulting on its loans continues. The Bork nomination and a crowded legislative calendar will keep Congress in session way past its hoped-for adjournment in October.

On September 22 the House agreed to a revision of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings (GRH) deficit reduction law. The new deficit target for FY 1988 is \$144 million, which Congress should meet with the addition of about \$12 million in new revenues. Sequestration is back, but seems to be an idle threat for FY 1988, unless the Senate refuses to buy the House GRH revision or the White House refuses to accept 'revenue enhancers.' If sequestration does become necessary, the cuts in defense the administration does not want and the cuts in domestic programs most Democrats in Congress do not want would be made. In addition, the target date for reaching a zero deficit was extended from 1991 to 1993. The GRH revision was part of the agreement in the House to raise the debt limit to \$2.9 trillion, which should be enough to take Congress to May 1989 before facing the need to raise the limit again. In case of both the GRH extension and the debt limit extension, a new administration will be in office to worry about it.

The Continuing Resolution (CR) to fund the government beyond the end of the FY 1987 fiscal year on September 30 is moving through the Congress. Leaders of both the House and Senate have agreed to a 45-day CR funding agencies at last year's levels. This postpones until mid-November the real battles over next year's appropriations.

In the meantime the regular appropriations process is moving forward with the Senate appropriations subcommittees and committee finally getting into the act. The Labor, HHS, Education, and Related Agencies Subcommittee has marked up its bill (full details in the next Update). The HUD-Independent Agencies Subcommittee is scheduled to mark up on September 25 with the expected results for NSF not very good (see special insert). The Senate Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations Subcommittee has allocated funds for the National Endowment for the Humanities at slightly above last year's level and slightly below the House appropriated level. There is still a ways to go before the final appropriations picture emerges. Stay tuned!

NEW CHAMPION FOR BRITISH SOCIAL SCIENCE

To the relief of academics, the British government has appointed a geographer to the politically sensitive position of chairman of the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). Dr. Peter Hall, professor of geography at Reading University and the University of California, Berkeley, served on the ESRC from 1975 to 1980. A member of the Association of American Geographers, he is best known for his work in urban and regional planning, including the influential study London 2000. He will be taking a leave of absence from his positions at Reading and Berkeley for the duration of his four-year appointment, which commences in June, 1988.

According to the Times Higher Education Supplement (THES) of August 28, 1987, the announcement of Professor Hall's appointment was greeted with enthusiasm in the higher education community in Britain. Said one social scientist, "Thank goodness it's a respectable academic rather than some fiendish Thatcherite businessman." The ESRC is responsible for administering government funds for social science research and fellowships, which in Britain's centralized education system constitute most of the financial support available to social scientists. Early indications are that Professor Hall plans to strengthen the ESRC's commitment to postgraduate training and concentrate resources on universities with extensive social science faculties and library holdings.

The appointment comes at a critical time for the social sciences in Britain. In a letter to the Social Science Research Council (forerunner of the ESRC) in 1983, then-Secretary of State for Education and Science Sir Keith Joseph laid out the Thatcher government's attitude towards the social sciences: "within the Science Vote [the annual budget allocation for scientific research] relatively higher priority should be given to work in the natural sciences--particularly to sustain a flow of the best young research talent--and relatively lower priority to work in the social studies" (SSRC Newsletter, December 1982). This attitude was reflected in what Sir Keith characterized as a

"redeployment" of funding for scientific research: the proportion of the Science Vote allocated to the social sciences fell from 5.6% in 1978-79 (the year before Margaret Thatcher became Prime Minister) to 4.4% in 1982-83.

Although the amount allocated to the social sciences has slowly risen in the past three years, the ESRC continues to lose ground in real terms and as a proportion of the Science Vote. One response to this situation has come from the Association of Learned Societies in the Social Sciences (ALSSS)--which recently heard from former COSSA executive director Roberta Balstad Miller on the subject of advocacy. The ALSSS plans to hire a parliamentary lobbyist to press the case for increased funding for the social sciences. Another response has come from the ESRC itself, which has consulted with over a hundred social scientists in the U.K. and the U.S. for their recommendations on the future of British social science (THES, June 26, 1987). The resulting report, Horizons and Opportunities in the Social Sciences, argued for directing resources towards graduate and postgraduate fellowships to compensate for the loss of 'new blood' money in the past decade.

OMB AND THE CENSUS: THE DECISION

The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) has informed the Census Bureau that certain questions on energy use must be eliminated from the questionnaire for the 'dress rehearsal' of the 1990 Census. In addition, several questions on housing must be moved from the short form (which goes to every household) to the long form (which is sent to 1 out of 6 households).

The decision, announced by Wendy Lee Gramm, administrator of the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs (OIRA) within OMB, ended almost two months of debate over the role of OMB in scrutinizing and eliminating questionnaire items. Following stormy congressional hearings (see Update, August 14, 1987) before the Joint Economic Committee chaired by Sen. Paul Sarbanes (D-MD), OIRA publicized its criticisms of several items on the proposed Census and justified OIRA review by citing the Paperwork Reduction Act of 1980. It also asked for and received numerous public comments, most of which opposed any tampering with the Census questionnaire. Gramm claimed the three eliminated questions on energy use produced "responses that were exaggerated" and that better information on this topic was collected by the Energy Information Administration. Gramm also suggested the Census Bureau reduce the size of the sample for the long form, particularly in heavily populated areas. The 'dress rehearsal' census is scheduled to be administered in March 1988.

NEW PRESIDENT, MIXED FORECAST FOR PEACE INSTITUTE

On September 18, the Labor, HHS, Education, and Related Agencies Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee restored funding for the United States Institute of Peace (USIP), although not at the level hoped for by Institute officials. After the House zero-funded the Institute at the last moment (see Update, August 14, 1987), hopes were high that the Senate would not only restore funding but recommend approximately \$7 million in funding for the Institute. At its markup, the Senate subcommittee allocated \$4 million--enough, as one USIP official put it, for the Institute to "survive" but at a "bare bones" level.

As a congressionally mandated agency headed by a presidentially appointed Board, the Institute is in the unusual position of submitting its budget request directly to Congress as well as to the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). USIP requested \$10 million for FY 1988; OMB requested \$3.3 million. Thus outgoing president Robert F. Turner had hoped for a Congressional appropriation closer to \$10 million as an indication of the Institute's independence. The House action ruined this hope, and now it is up to the full Senate to act on the subcommittee's recommendation.

One of the long-term ramifications of the current appropriations action will be its impact on the increasing visibility of the Institute and its programs. Former Ambassador Samuel W. Lewis, a long-time diplomat and ambassador to Israel under Presidents Carter and Reagan, has been named president of the Institute. He will assume his new post on November 1. Ambassador Lewis has indicated his desire to create a significant scholarly and educational role for the Institute, endeavors that he hopes will develop its public presence as a source of information about peaceful conflict resolution.

PEER REVIEW AND A SENATOR'S JUDGMENT

In the last issue of Update (September 11, 1987) we reported the announcement by Senator William Proxmire (D-WI) that he would leave the Senate at the end of his sixth term in 1988. We also commented that the ever-controversial Proxmire had eased off in recent years from awarding his 'Golden Fleece' awards to federally funded research. True to form, on September 24, Proxmire bestowed a Golden Fleece on the National Science Foundation (NSF) for funding, in its anthropology program, dissertation research on "Bullfights and Ideology of the 'Nation' in Spain." The award went to the agency, not the researcher; and the researcher and university involved were not named. (Some years ago a psychologist who received the 'award' sued for damages; there was an out-of-court settlement.) NSF's probable

discomfort is heightened by the fact that Sen. Proxmire is chairman of the Senate HUD-Independent Agencies Appropriations Subcommittee, which as Update went to press was acting on NSF funding for FY 1988 (see related story, this issue).

The Senator's ire was raised by research on "the dialectical relationship between the categories 'nation' and 'region' in Spain as these are manifested through the polemical spectacles known as the 'national fiesta,' the Spanish bullfights in their several formats." The research involved ethnographic fieldwork, comparisons of national and regional bullfighting formats, and inquiry into sociopolitical attitudes on the part of spectators, centering on regional/national identification. The Proxmire statement to the press acknowledged that the dissertation student was "obviously highly qualified." But, the Senator said, "I suspect that a few hours spent with Ernest Hemingway's writings... would probably give just as much understanding of the Spanish culture." Further, "Funding these studies once again raises the question of priorities. The taxpayers cannot afford to fund every study on every subject everywhere in the world. To the question, is this trip necessary? the NSF should more frequently answer with a resounding: NO!"

Proxmire's reference to "these studies" included brief mentions of two other NSF anthropology research projects which he considered of little significance. One was a study of late or non-marriage in Irish society; the other was a study of how native groups in Indonesia navigate by the stars or use astronomical observation to predict seasons and weather, bearing on agricultural decisions. Proxmire acknowledged that he sees "the NSF's argument, of some possible worth to [these] studies" --but remained underwhelmed.

As reported in Update (March 27, 1987), in the subcommittee's appropriations hearings these NSF grants, together with others in fields such as economic history, psychobiology, and legal studies, were held up by the chairman for skeptical comment. At the time, NSF Assistant Director David T. Kingsbury defended the grants on the basis of their substantive significance, and pointed out that all the awards represented the product of professional peer review. Subsequently, NSF anthropology program officers pointed out the well-established theoretical importance in demography and cultural anthropology of research on delayed marriage in Ireland and ethno-astronomy. With regard to the bullfighting research, Kingsbury commented, in the hearings, that "Major universities do not accept theses that are not unique and original contributions." Various jokes were made about "this kind of bull." With that gloss, the matter rests.

SOURCES OF RESEARCH SUPPORT: NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

COSSA provides this information as a service, and encourages readers to contact the agency rather than COSSA for further information and application materials. A comprehensive listing of federal funding sources is contained in COSSA's Guide to Federal Funding for Social Scientists.

Research Experiences for Undergraduates Program

An integral part of the National Science Foundation's (NSF) commitment to the training of American scientists and mathematicians is the Research Experiences for Undergraduates Program, which enables undergraduate students to conduct research in a laboratory or other appropriate setting. It consists of two segments: "Site" grants, supporting projects established specifically for this program; and "Supplement" grants, enabling undergraduates to work on existing NSF grant or contract projects. All institutions (profit and nonprofit) and all fields of science and mathematics that are normally eligible for NSF funds are eligible for this program. Only students who are U.S. citizens or permanent residents are eligible; "Site" projects should seek to include participants who would not normally have access to research facilities. The program is coordinated by the newly established Office of Undergraduate Science, Engineering, and Mathematics Education (USEME), but proposals should be submitted to individual research programs according to the topic or topics.

Restrictions on Awards: "Site" grants for summer-long projects should cost an average of \$4000 per student (including an average stipend of \$2000) with an average of 8 students per project (but not less than 4); "Supplement" grants are normally limited to a maximum of 2 students per NSF grant or contract and should cost on average less than \$4000 per student. Costs for other time periods (i.e., a semester or a portion of the academic year) should be prorated according to the summer cost.

Review Process: External merit review for "Site" grants; NSF program staff review for "Supplement" grants.

Deadlines: December 1, 1987, for "Site" grants; no deadlines for "Supplement" grants, but allow up to 3 months for review.

Further Information: "REU Brochure" (NSF publication number 87-63), available from Forms and Publications, NSF, 1800 G Street, NW, Washington, DC 20550; 202/357-7861.

Contact: Research Experiences for Undergraduates Program
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FIRST CLASS

NSF INCREASE ENDANGERED!

CALL OR WRITE YOUR SENATOR NOW!

THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE WILL BE MEETING SOON (PROBABLY ON OCTOBER 1) TO ACT ON THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE HUD-INDEPENDENT AGENCIES SUBCOMMITTEE TO FUND NSF AT THE FISCAL YEAR 1987 LEVEL, THUS ELIMINATING THE SIGNIFICANT INCREASE PROPOSED FOR THE FOUNDATION FOR FISCAL YEAR 1988. YOUR HELP IS NEEDED TO PERSUADE THE FULL APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE TO REJECT THE SUBCOMMITTEE ACTION AND TO RESTORE THE FULL FUNDING OF THE NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION.

PLEASE WRITE, WIRE OR CALL YOUR SENATOR IF HE OR SHE IS ON THE FOLLOWING LIST (OR OTHERS YOU MAY KNOW). THE MESSAGE SHOULD BE SHORT AND SIMPLE. INCREASED FUNDING FOR BASIC RESEARCH IN ALL SCIENCES AT NSF IS CRITICAL TO OUR NATION'S ECONOMIC FUTURE. THE NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION SHOULD BE FULLY FUNDED AT \$1.9 BILLION FOR FISCAL YEAR 1988.

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THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION IN COMMUNICATING THIS IMPORTANT MESSAGE!

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