

## Mixed Federal Funding Outlook for Social and Behavioral Science Research

Howard J. Silver, *Consortium of Social Science Associations*

### The Times They Are A Changin'

In 1963 Bob Dylan wrote a song that became one of the many anthems of the 1960s civil rights and anti-war movements. He spoke about previous losers now winning and old orders changing. The words now resonate very differently than they did over 30 years ago. The new Speaker of the House of Representatives has declared "that we are at the beginning of a revolution" that must "reassert and renew American civilization" if the United States intends to maintain its position as a world leader. Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA), with his Ph.D. in history, seeks to transform the United States from the liberal welfare state spawned by the New Deal and its successors to a conservative opportunity state that sends the United States surging forward into the "third wave" information age. The question of the federal government's role in this new era currently dominates the political debate. So far, the Speaker and his allies have repeatedly acknowledged a federal responsibility for supporting research.

### Overall R&D Budget

Using the National Science and Technology Council (NSTC), an interagency group, the administration claims it has "reinvented" the way that the federal government sets priorities among science and technology investments. The process has made new funding available to high priority projects by

reducing duplication, streamlining management, and eliminating lower priority projects. The administration's S&T strategy has been outlined in a number of reports released in the past two years: *Technology for America's Economic Growth: A New Direction to Build Economic Strength and Science In the National Interest*.

Under the president's budget, total research and development spending for FY 1996 would remain about the same as in FY 1995, \$72.9 billion to \$72.7 billion. The new budget proposes about \$1 billion more for civilian research, a 3.2 percent increase. Defense R&D declines by 2.4 percent, bringing the civilian-defense ratio to 48-52, edging closer to the president's goal of a 50-50 split. Basic research climbs to \$14.5 billion, a 3.5 percent hike, which is larger than that planned for applied research. Proposed support for development and facilities actually decreases.

Some of the big winners in the president's budget for FY 1996, such as the National Institute of Standards and Technology at the Department of Commerce and the Environmental Protection Agency's Technology Initiative, are targets of Republican budget cutters. The president has also proposed elimination and consolidation of many programs, particularly in job training, education, and housing.

The chairs of the Budget Committees, Rep. John Kasich (R-OH) and Sen. Pete Domenici (R-NM) have vowed to present their own blueprints for budgetary change, plans likely to be debated in April and May. The Republicans have also declared that no agency will obtain appropriations without having been previously authorized to exist. This puts agencies such as the National Endowment for the Humanities at great risk. The National Science Foundation, whose authorization ran out in 1993, also

needs renewal, but that should occur without much controversy.

The appropriation panels have already begun their annual rituals of investigating agency proposals. A change this year has been the presence as key witnesses at hearings of such groups as Citizens Against Government Waste and the CATO Institute, who have argued for the abolition of government programs. Visits to congressional staffers for the new majority elicit exhortations to help them cut the budget. If you want your favorite program to remain healthy, they want to know what other programs you intend to sacrifice upon the budgetary altar of deficit reduction.

### NSF and NIH

The proposed FY 1996 budget for the National Science Foundation possesses a mathematical quandary. The administration's budget claims NSF will receive a 3 percent increase. This assumes that \$132 million Congress appropriated in FY 1995 for facilities modernization never actually became part of NSF's budget since it was contingent on the administration proposing \$250 million in FY 1996 for facilities, which did not happen. (The administration proposed only \$100 million.) Others have concluded that since the \$132 million was appropriated and is also part of the FY 1995 rescissions bill that has emerged from the House Appropriations Committee, it should be counted in the NSF FY 1995 budget, and therefore the FY 1996 budget proposal actually decreases NSF funding by 1 percent.

No matter how you count it, the days of promises to double the NSF budget are over, and even the rosy scenarios of the early Clinton administration are gone as well, both replaced by an inflation level budget for FY 1996 and projections of declines in the coming years. For

research NSF proposes an almost 8 percent increase for FY 1996; offset by a 1 percent decline for the Education and Human Resources Directorate.

Helped by recommendations in appropriations report language, the Social, Behavioral and Economic Science Directorate fared quite well in the FY 1995 budget, receiving the largest percentage increase (albeit on the smallest base) of any of the NSF directorates. The increase helped support initiatives in human capital, violence, democratization, human dimensions of global change, human genetic diversity, and environmental research. For FY 1996 the SBE directorate would receive about the same increase percentage-wise as the other directorates.

The administration argues that advances in preventing and treating disease depend on biomedical, sociocultural and behavioral research. The National Institutes of Health receive a \$468 million or 4 percent increase for FY 1996. As it did in FY 1995, the administration has targeted areas of high priority such as breast cancer, women's health, minority health, brain disorders, environmental cancer, gene therapy, and prevention.

The Office of Behavioral and Social Science Research may finally get its first director in 1995. However, the Office may come under attack as an unnecessary bureaucratic structure in the upcoming NIH reauthorization. Initiatives in the sociocultural and behavioral area continue, including a large study of adolescent health called for by Congress.

AIDS research would increase by 5.4 percent. William Paul, head of the Office of AIDS research at NIH, recently advocated refocusing AIDS research back on basic science to seek a better understanding of the origins and actions of the disease, rather than seeking fixes through clinical trials.

## Policy Research

In the policy research agencies of the Departments, the administration continues to favor some programs over others.

At the Department of Education, which again is threatened with extinction, the Office of Educational Research and Improvement has a new structure and the administration has proposed double digit increases for research and improvement, statistics, and assessment. It has also proposed eliminating programs that helped advanced students in the social sciences and the law—Javits and Harris Fellowships, and the Law School Clinical program. All three of these programs have also had their FY 1995 funding rescinded in the House bill. The GOP majority also threatens to destroy the centerpiece of the administration's reform efforts, Goals 2000. The department's international education programs survive, but at level funding. The National Security Educational Program, located in the Department of Defense, attempts to boost funding for international education through an \$150 million trust fund. Having its major patron, former Sen. David Boren (D-OK) leave the Senate, has allowed both the full House and the Senate appropriations committee to vote to rescind the Trust Fund and abolish the program.

The National Research Initiative Competitive Grants program, receives a 26 percent increase in the proposed budget. The Markets, Trade and Policy component, which funds social science research, would rise from \$3.7 million to \$6.5 million. A reorganization has brought the research programs and the Extension Service in closer bureaucratic contact with the Experiment Stations and the Economic Research Service.

The Republicans have also taken clear aim on the crime bill passed last year, and the fate of the law's research and evaluation provisions is unclear. In the House, where a block grant approach replaced specified programs, such as community policing and prevention activities, COSSA succeeded in creating a set-aside for evaluation of the effectiveness of programs supported by the block grants.

Research at the Office of Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation in Health and Human Services received a proposed small

decrease for FY 1996 as health care reform moves to the back burner. Although the Office of Policy Development and Research at HUD received a slight increase, the future of the department is threatened.

The National Longitudinal Survey of Labor Market Experiences gained funding in FY 1995 to begin a new youth cohort, its first since 1979. The Bureau of Labor Statistics will continue its revision of the Consumer Price Index, which has become a political football since Federal Reserve Board Chairman Alan Greenspan's suggestion that the current CPI overestimates inflation. The administration's plan to consolidate job training programs through a GI Bill of Worker's Rights places research and evaluation of these programs in an uncertain posture, as its budget faces a \$3 million hit in the rescissions bill.

The National Endowment for the Humanities, linked in the congressional mind to its cousin, the National Endowment for the Arts, faces an uncertain future. With the latter agency suffering righteous enmity from some parts of Congress, NEH may face a difficult task in seeking renewed authorization and appropriations. The United States Information Agency and the Agency for International Development face an uncertain future; they may become part of a super State Department. The administration and Congress have found educational and cultural exchanges a place to cut budgets.

With changing times, come new opportunities for participation. Whether the revolution continues or fizzles, COSSA will remain vigilant in protecting and defending the importance of research, particularly in the social, behavioral and economic sciences. In these efforts, we will need the help of social, behavioral and economic scientists in reminding policymakers of the contributions of the research conducted by scholars in their disciplines.

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*ington Update*, Vol. XIV, No. 4, March 6, 1995. Howard J. Silver is a political scientist and Executive Director of COSSA.

## Elinor Ostrom Nominated President-Elect

The 1995 Nominating Committee composed of Sheila Ards, University of Minnesota; Edward Carmines, Indiana University, chair; James Ceaser, University of Virginia; I.M. Destler, University of Maryland; Cynthia Kaplan, University of California, Santa Barbara; and Virginia Sapiro, University of Wisconsin, Madison, propose the following slate for Association officers and council members.

### President-Elect (1995–1996): Elinor Ostrom, Indiana University

Elinor Ostrom is Arthur F. Bentley Professor of Political Science and Co-Director of the Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis at Indiana University where she has held positions since 1965. During her tenure she has served as chair of the department of political science from 1980–84 and acting chair from 1989–90, graduate advisor from 1966–69 and professor, part time, at Indiana's School of Public and Environmental Affairs



Elinor Ostrom

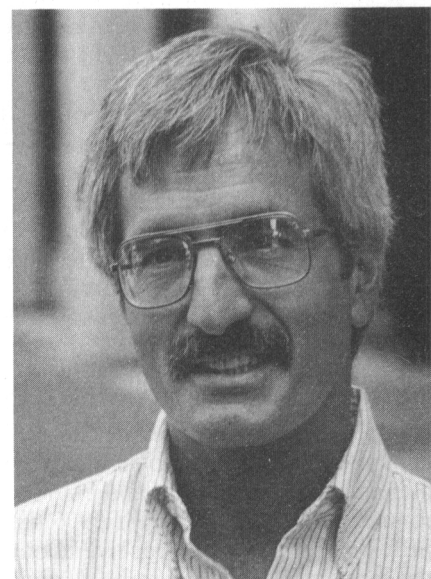
since 1984. She has served as a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences since the Spring of 1991. With undergraduate and graduate degrees from the University of California, Los Angeles, she earned her Ph.D. from UCLA in 1965.

Her fields of specialization include Public and Urban Policy, as well as Economic Policy. She is the author or editor of more than a dozen books, including *Patterns of Metropolitan American* (1977); *Strategies of Political Inquiry* (1982); *Governing the Commons: the Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action* (1990); *Crafting Institutions for Self-Governing Irrigation Systems* (1992); *Rules, Games, and Common-Pool Resources* (1994); and *Local Commons and Global Interdependence: Heterogeneity and Cooperation in Two Domains* (1995). She has also written more than a hundred book chapters and articles in professional journals. She has served on the editorial boards of such professional journals as the *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Publius*, *Social Science Quarterly*, and *Urban Affairs Quarterly*.

Ostrom has a long record of service with the American Political Science Association including terms as Vice President and Program Chair, as well as terms as chairs of the Departmental Services, Nominations, and Research committees. She has also served as President of the Midwest Political Science Association, President of the Public Choice Society, and President of the International Association for the Study of Common Property.

### Vice President (1995–96): John Ferejohn, Stanford University

John Ferejohn is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and Carolyn S. G. Munro Professor of Political Science at Stanford University. Formerly a professor of political science at the California Institute of Technology, Ferejohn joined Hoover and Stanford University in 1983. He has been Olin Visiting Senior Research Scholar in Law



John Ferejohn

and Economics at Columbia University (1990), Visiting Professor of Law at Columbia University (1991, 1992), Meyer Visiting Professor of Law, New York University (1993), and Sherman Fairchild Scholar at CalTech (1994). Ferejohn received his bachelor's degree from San Fernando Valley State College in 1966, and his Ph.D. from Stanford University in 1972.

Honors include fellowships with the Brookings Institution, the Guggenheim Foundation, the Center for Advanced Study at the University of Illinois, and the Center for Advanced Study of the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford. Ferejohn is a member of the National Academy of Arts and Sciences since 1985 and of the National Academy of Sciences since 1988. He also served as president of the Public Choice Society (1990–92), as a member of the APSA Council (1980–81), on APSA's Gladys Kammerer Award Committee (1982), and on the program committee of the 1983 APSA annual meeting.

His primary areas of scholarly interest are positive political theory and the study of political institutions and behavior. Ferejohn is or has been on the boards of a number of scholarly journals in politics, economics, and philosophy, including *The American Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, *Journal of Politics*, *Ethics*, *Social Choice*