

Letters to the Editor

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To the Editor:

The APSA Constitution (Article II, Section 2) states that "The Association shall not be debarred from adopting resolutions or taking such other action as it deems appropriate in support of academic freedom and of freedom of expression by and within the Association, the political science profession, and the university. . . ." Perhaps some members of the Association, including authors of letters published in the Fall edition of *PS*, require an explanation of the relevance of that section to female political scientists and to ERA.

There may be many definitions of academic freedom. As a member of the Academic Freedom Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, I should like to suggest that common to all such definitions must be the minimalist notion that academic freedom is the right to teach one's subject in what one believes to be an objective manner, without fear of reprisals, and, in turn, that notion is predicated on the existence of a position within academia.

According to the National Institute of Education, the percentage of women in the positions of professor and associate professor declined between 1974 and 1975; i.e., women in academic are clustered not only in the lower-salaried positions but in those without tenure. They are subject to the pressures of orthodoxy, as are all untenured faculty, and their freedom of expression is consequently affected (presumably, it is precisely those pressures that necessitate the tenure system). The AAUP reports that women made up only 21.7 percent of all faculty in 1975-1976. While women receive 45 percent of bachelors degrees and 44 percent of masters degrees, they receive only 13.7 percent of doctorates granted, with the highest number in fields typified as "female," e.g., English; relatively few in the social sciences; and the lowest in the physical sciences and engineering (figures supplied by AAAS).

How is one to account for this? There is no scientific evidence, even of the Jensen type, to suggest that women are inherently stupider than men, or that they are less capable of teaching on the college level, or that they are less competent scholars. Could it be that fewer women are interested in becoming academics? Indeed it could, given socialization (how many of us have heard women students say, "I know

I'm only a girl, but I'm thinking of going to graduate school"?); but that does not account for the persistent clustering at the lowest hierarchical levels of those women who *have* earned doctorates and who *are* academics. Neither does it explain the \$3,000 per year disparity between the incomes of women and men academics at the same rank (figures supplied by NIE).

The simple fact of the matter is that women academics are less likely to be considered for jobs, tenure, and promotion than are men. Without the prod of governmental affirmative action requirements, departments do not advertise available positions or seek to recruit outside the "old boy" network (confirmation of this can be found by determining when various institutions came under HEW scrutiny and comparing the number of advertisements by those institutions in such organs as the *New York Times* before and after HEW involvement). One doesn't have to be a conscious male chauvinist to make it easier for men to get jobs than it is for women; one has only to be in a position of power in academia and rely upon one's friends for suggestions. The odds are that one is male and so are one's professional friends. When it comes to tenure and promotion, how many men have been told, "You can't have tenure because you're married" (but when I announced my engagement, my then-department head told me that "No married woman will ever get tenure in my department; she belongs home taking care of her children") or "You can't have a promotion because there's a man with a family to support who needs the money more than you do" (but the department head who told me that didn't consider the higher-income bachelors in the department, nor would he have said the same thing to a male professor whose wife provided the family with a second income)?

The only way this problem can be solved is by requiring the application of sex-neutral standards in academia. Unfortunately, history teaches that such standards are unlikely to be applied voluntarily. The conclusion follows that such legal innovations as ERA are a necessity if women political scientists are to enjoy the same academic freedom and the same freedom of expression currently possessed by male political scientists.

That is why the 1972 APSA resolution in favor of ERA is constitutional; that is why the 1976 APSA resolution in support of the boycott of nonratifying states is constitutional; that is why the decision to move the 1979 convention out of Illinois is constitutional.

As for the gentlemen perturbed by the fact that only a few hundred people (more, I believe, that have normally attended APSA Business Meetings) voted on the matter: *PS* reported (Fall, 1978, p. 524) that 2,741 people registered at the convention, and there were many other members present who chose not to pay the registration fee. Political scientists profess scorn for those Americans who complain about their government but can't be bothered to vote. Video meliora, proboque; Deteriora sequor.

Why did the same gentlemen not protest the fact that even fewer members were responsible for directing APSA to participate in the IPSA meeting in Moscow? Was not that vote predicated on the expressed *political* judgment that academic freedom, and the rights of Soviet scholars, will be well served by an act designed as an assault on the anti-scholarly, anti-free speech policies of the USSR? Or is democracy among political scientists threatened only by votes affirming the rights of those APSA members who are female?

My apologies for the length of this letter. Presumably, however, the publication that reprinted an entire article on the matter by George Will (to paraphrase President John Wahlke at the Business Meeting in question, is he a member of APSA?) will not find the length excessive.

Philippa Strum
Barnard College (Visiting Professor)

To the Editor:

I am writing this communication in the full expectation that it will never be printed as it undoubtedly reflects a "breakdown in political socialization" on my part. In the event this communication is published it may represent even worse: complete breakdown of my employability. But perchance it is better to be a "common clerk or secretary" (no offense meant to honorable and vital functions which indeed I have performed for the majority of my life) than a titled professor (visiting, assistant, associate or full), secure or insecure, paid or underpaid, and administratively socialized or unsocialized.

As a relative newcomer to the "nitty-gritty" of professionalism in our discipline my problem may be personal; my "youth-naivete" interpreted either in generational or life-style theoretical terms, or simply a digestive reaction to the slavish deference (and often worse) to authority figures in political science departments and the extended administrative powers that be, whether these be right or wrong. It has just occurred to me in my brief teaching career that not until I become a full-tenured professor will I have earned the "privilege" to exercise First Amendment rights. (As you see I am not totally pessimistic; I do foresee some utopia in the future.)

We speak of justice and equality routinely in the theory of the discipline but what do these words mean in the everyday job situation? Dare

I suggest that in some/most (please choose the term which best applies) departments these principles mean "keep your nose clean," "don't confuse or circumvent the social and political pecking order," and at all times "curry support." Are we engaged in continual coalition building, balance of power strategies and zero-sum games? Are we indeed what one historian, upon the occasion of observing an example of departmental infighting, observed: "just politicians" and not political science professionals. Or is the term "professionalism" like justice and equality not currently "operationalizable" in political science? What is necessary—further conceptualization, more extensive classification (both nominal and ordinal), or more "grand theory" before "professionalism" becomes a reality?

Waltraud Q. Morales
East Carolina University

To the Editor:

Jack Walker's "Challenges of Professional Development for Political Science in the Next Decade and Beyond" is overly pessimistic. The numbers of academic jobs may not decline. Two critical assumptions are questionable.

First, Walker states that "the total number of undergraduates in the country should shrink during the next two decades by 25 percent." It is true that the numbers of persons in the "normal" college years will not be expanding, but, if a higher percentage of secondary school graduates attend college, a large reduction in the number of undergraduates may not occur. With a continuing embourgeoisment of the populace and perhaps better public relations by colleges, it seems likely that more high school graduates will matriculate. But, even if enrollments do drop by 25 percent, we still should limit our pessimism.

A second assumption is that, "As colleges begin to lose undergraduates, many people now holding tenure-track academic jobs will lose them because shrinking departmental budgets will lead to the release of untenured staff, regardless of their accomplishments. . . ." Why should reduced enrollments necessarily bring about "shrinking department budgets"? The implicit argument may be that reduced demand (fewer students) leads to reduced supply (less money in academiid budgets and fewer professors). However, we know that often simple supply-demand relationships fail to function. Two examples of this are Pennsylvania's state mental hospitals and, perhaps more directly relevant, university colleges of agriculture.

The number of residents in Pennsylvania's state mental hospitals has diminished by over 50 percent in the past eight years. But, one finds neither reduced budgets nor fewer professional employees.

Similarly, colleges of agriculture at many institutions have sharply reduced numbers of undergraduate students, but often are flourishing

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with expanded budgets and more academic positions.

My quibble is only with the conclusion that the future holds fewer academic jobs for political scientists. Professor Walker wisely notes that the nature of our work may be changing fundamentally as students, especially at the graduate level, seek more "how to" skills rather than more traditional liberal arts backgrounds. There is indeed difficulty in combining the role of provider of highly-trained practitioners with our traditional (if sometimes poorly performed) role of critical evaluator, conscience of society. Perhaps, if we come to resemble many colleges of agriculture, Professor Walker may not be too pessimistic after all.

Robert E. O'Connor
Pennsylvania State University

To the Editor:

If something cannot be a reason, then it is not a reason: this seems to be one lesson to be drawn from "Reasons for Journal Rejection," a study by C. M. Bonjean and Jan Hullum (*PS*, Fall 1978, pp. 480-484). Take an ideological reason. It would be a bad reason and, indeed, no article was ever rejected by *SSQ* and, by implication of the classification of all possible reasons, by other journals on ideological grounds.

How is it then possible that I could cite a number of flagrantly and unabashedly ideological reasons that have been evoked by more than one reviewer for more than one journal to reject more than one article, my own and of others?

I do believe that good work ultimately triumphs, and I am persuaded that bad work usually fails for good reasons. Hence censorship ends up to be just a minor annoyance. Besides, self as often as officially appointed censors are not normally distinguished by their brilliance. Here is some advice: do not use the word 'exploitation' writing for *AJS* ('a nineteenth century term'), do not use the words 'capitalists' and 'profit' close to each other writing for *AJPS* (means you are a Marxist set 'to destroy a capitalist system'), use 'Western industrialized' instead of 'capitalist' (why capitalist? all industrial societies are alike), do not *ever* put the words 'class' and 'struggle' next to each other unless you are quoting. This is all there is to it. Oh! If you ever think that your article was rejected for ideological reasons, tell the editors. It makes them feel uncomfortable: it is a reason not to be found among reasons.

Adam Przeworski
University of Chicago

To the Editor:

It is true that Robert A. Dahl of Yale University is one among the better known American political scientists; it is also customary to lavish praise upon recipients of awards.

But I am sure that I am not alone in thinking that Ernest Griffith, in presenting the James Madison award, may have exaggerated Dahl's accomplishments, and that his choice to be the first recipient was not the most felicitous one.

Dahl may or may not have formulated a defensible theory of democracy in his work, but he would have to be the first to deny that his theory is Madisonian either in conception or spirit. Indeed, critics have suggested that Dahl does not fully understand what Madison was about. Dahl himself has written that the men of the Convention "did not know what they were doing" (*Preface to Democratic Theory*, p. 141).

I think some of your readers may appreciate these remarks.

Vukan Kuic
University of South Carolina

To the Editor:

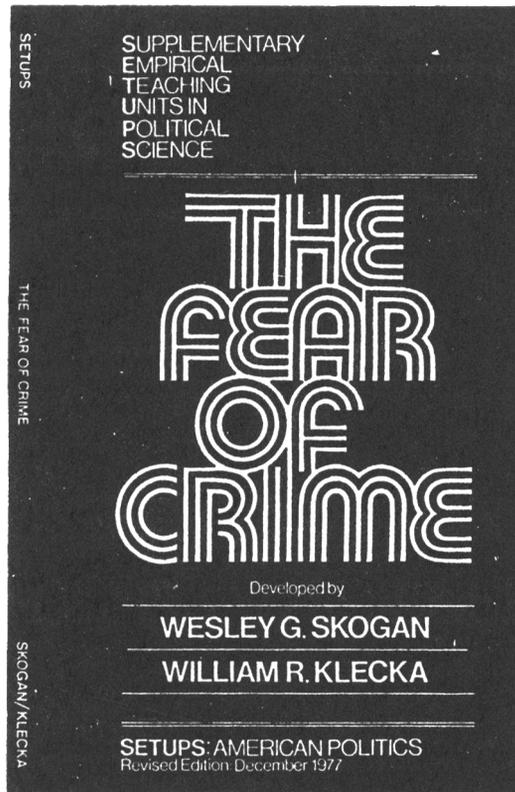
During recent years I have served on several committees which award scholarships or fellowships to members of our profession. Usually, though of course not always, these grants are designed to give support to research activity of some sort. Again, in most cases the initiative to apply for a research grant must be taken by the individual who seeks to secure one. In addition to submitting a vita, and letters of recommendation, the applicant must also prepare a statement explaining the nature of the project he intends to pursue. It has been my experience that quite often applications for such grants are denied because of the inadequacy of the project write-up. This is especially the case with young members of the profession who simply lack the experience and skill to prepare a proper description of a project. Furthermore, many of them are in small institutions where help is not readily available.

I have toyed with the idea that it might be helpful if the American Political Science Association prepared and published a list of senior, experienced scholars who would be willing to give assistance where applicants for grants request it. The Council may want to take up this suggestion at its next meeting. But there are alternatives to which I would like to draw attention. It seems to me that in the case of young college teachers, the most obvious person to turn to for the sort of help I am talking about would be the applicant's doctoral dissertation adviser. If that is not feasible, then I would suggest that the applicant simply write to some well-known scholar whom he happens to know, or merely knows about, and ask for a review of his project write-up. My guess is that no one is likely to be overworked, considering the size of our profession. But one way or another, many applicants for research grants need assistance in the preparation of their project write-ups, for in a national competition the inadequacy of the write-up is often the determining factor. My point is really a very simple one: if an applicant for a grant needs

help, he should recognize that fact, and seek it out.

David Fellman
University of Wisconsin, Madison

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