

Minutes, APSA Council Meeting 9:30 a.m.-3:30 p.m. September 2, 1992 Chicago, Illinois

Present

Officers: James Q. Wilson, Lucius J. Barker, M. Margaret Conway, Jane Mansbridge, Wilson Carey McWilliams, James A. Caporaso, Catherine Rudder, Thomas E. Mann, G. Bingham Powell

Council: Thomas E. Cronin, Jean Bethke Elshtain, Joanne Gowa, Virginia H. Gray, Nolan E. Jones, Ruth S. Jones, Susan C. Bourque, Richard W. Mansbach, Gwendolyn Mink, Ronald Rogowski, Nancy A. Rosenblum, Martin Shefter, Hanes Walton, Jr.

Nominees: Charles O. Jones, Arlene Saxonhouse, Allan Kornberg, Harriet B. Applewhite, James L. Gibson, Jennifer L. Hochschild, Raymond F. Hopkins, Barbara S. Romzek

APSA Staff: Michael Brintnall, Robert Hauck, Sheila Mann, Rovilla McHenry, Maurice Woodard

Guest: Paula McClain

1. Approval of the Minutes of the April 11, 1992 Council Meeting

The Council approved the minutes.

2. Review of Administrative Committee Minutes Which Set the Agenda for the Meeting

President Wilson reported orally on one item reviewed by the Administrative Committee involving a possible legal action against the Association involving assertions made in a paper to be presented at the Annual Meeting. Through mutual agreement the legal action did not develop. But it did highlight that distribution of panel papers by the Association is equivalent to their publication. As a result, APSA must ask itself both how to minimize its legal liability and how to assure the widest possible academic freedom for our authors. Martin Shefter requested that the executive director and APSA's legal counsel also if it would be reasonable to develop a letter to use to

dissuade prospective litigants seeking to impede distribution of panel papers. Rudder was instructed to seek a letter from APSA's counsel that reviews these issues.

3. Report of the President James Q. Wilson

President Wilson reported that in addition to his travels to the Regional Association meetings described in previous minutes that he also travelled to the Ralph Bunche Summer Institute. He expressed his gratitude to the schools and individuals who make the Summer Institute possible.

He reported that he had established two task forces since the last meeting—one on the future of the Rule of Three and the general relationship of organized sections to the annual meeting, and the other on operating issues facing organized sections. Tom Mann will chair the Rule of Three Committee, and Virginia Gray will head the other.

4. Report from the Executive Director, Catherine E. Rudder

APSA programs are going very well, supported by a lot of volunteer spirit from members. For instance, the Woodrow Wilson book award received 150 books for the award committee to review. She expressed thanks to all of APSA's members who had served the Association this year.

There are a number of new APSA publications, including a terrific looking new brochure "Political Science: An Ideal Liberal Arts Major" for departments to distribute to prospective students and their parents, a fully revised new edition of the *Careers* book, which has sold over a quarter of a million copies in its earlier editions, a new edition of the guide to *Graduate Faculty and Programs in Political Science*, and four new model syllabi collections.

There are also challenges ahead for the Association, including awards which are underfunded, the need to find new tenants for two floors of our building in a soft rental market, now that our tenants have found it necessary to move to larger space, and the need to find future funding for the Ralph Bunche Summer Institute. After a number of years of steady membership growth, we

are seeing signs that membership may be levelling off, at least during these economic times. There are a number of initiatives in mind to seek increased membership, but it is clear that on several fronts maintaining a balanced budget will be a significant challenge for us.

5. Standing Appointments of the President-Elect Lucius Barker

President-Elect Barker presented his proposed appointments to the Council, reporting that they were based on wide consultations and an effort to be broadly inclusive. He asked also to be given permission to make adjustments to the appointments should a need arise. The Council unanimously both approved the list of appointments, and authorized the replacements if needed.

6. Report on the 1992 Annual Meeting

a. President Wilson commended Thomas E. Mann for a "splendid job" in organizing the 1992 Annual Meeting and expressed his thanks. Tom Mann reported that he is enthusiastic about seeing the meeting planning come to fruition and that the meeting sets a new record for participants. He offered advice to his successors: to be aware of an increasing problem of overlapping sections and panels, with some papers submitted to as many as five different section chairs and some selected to appear on more than one panel; to reserve some panels for assignment at the last minute in response to salient or late-breaking events such as, in his case, the elections and the Los Angeles riots; and to be alert to the growing number of "festschrifts" being scheduled at the meeting recognizing important scholars.

Mann also noted what he called remarkable changes over the years in the operations of the meetings—they are better attended, better promoted, and better run than ever before. He expressed that it was a joy to work with Jennifer Hacha, the APSA convention coordinator.

b. Catherine Rudder reported that pre-registration was at record levels, and that we were occupying six hotels.

c. Rob Hauck reported that six short courses were offered this year. Most have been prepared as a service by Organized Sections under a new arrangement in which they develop, administer, and offer

the course, keeping the registration fees as an additional revenue source. The Association assists with space and advertising. We also offered the Leading Scholar Series course for graduate students; this year Ted Lowi was the speaker.

Sheilah Mann described the seminars being offered this year on Japanese politics, funded by the Japan-United States Friendship Commission, and on South African politics, supported by the MacArthur Foundation. These bring together U.S. and foreign scholars and teachers. Roundtable discussions for department chairs are also being held.

d. Thirty-one foreign graduate students have been provided travel grants with funds approved by the Council to aid in attending the meeting. A total of \$3,000 has been awarded. Rob Hauck reported this funding is warmly appreciated by the students. In addition, we have received grants of \$6,000 from the Asia Foundation, and \$1,000 from the Huang Hsing Foundation for travel grants for foreign scholars. These grants have made it possible for two of our award winners to attend the meeting to be recognized. The International Programs Committee selects the grantees: this year every scholar submitting a complete application was funded.

Jean Elshstain asked about efforts to support scholars from the new democracies of central and eastern Europe. Hauck replied that we are actively trying to obtain added funds for travel grants. One difficulty involving eastern Europe scholars is our difficulty in reaching them, even after they apply.

e. Sheilah Mann described the extremely successful workshop for undergraduate faculty held at Ohio State University on research methodology and teaching. We will seek funds for future workshops. APSA also has a new grant from the NEH in conjunction with the University of Tulsa to work with teams of faculty in history and political science on questions of Constitutional history, with a focus on pre-college education. The Bill of Rights Collaborative will formally end this year, but work will continue with a shift to a focus on comparative constitutional studies.

f. Council Members were referred to the Annual Meeting program flier for a notice of President Wilson's Address and the awards to be made at the meeting. Susan Bourque asked how Association awards and their deadlines were publicized. Rudder replied that we write every graduate department chair, write every major publisher, and that we advertise deadlines in *PS*. President-Elect Barker noted that the word must be getting out, because the awards committees are get-

ting inundated with submissions. President Wilson noted that following past Council discussion, significant steps have been taken to increase participation and awareness of our activities, including opportunities for awards, even to the point of listing all Council member phone numbers in *PS*.

g. The Annual Business Meeting agenda was approved unanimously.

7. IPSA-APSA Symposium: The Human Dimensions of Global Environmental Change

Rob Hauck described the IPSA-APSA Symposium which is being held contemporaneously with the Annual Meeting. It involves five special IPSA-APSA sessions plus coordination with several regular annual meeting panels. The program is supported by funds from the NSF and from Argonne National Laboratories. Rudder added that Hauck is almost singularly responsible for creating this special symposium on behalf of IPSA as well as APSA.

8. 1993 Annual Meeting Program

President-Elect Barker introduced Paula McClain and Peter Gourevitch, co-chairs of the 1993 program, and expressed how pleased he was that they would lead next year's program. Paula McClain reported that the program committee has been assembled. They have followed the practice of the last three years with 41 sections to the meeting built from the 28 Organized Sections and 13 other meeting sections. Their objective is to encourage panels which "tie the world together," and they have thus adopted a meeting theme of the Politics of Identity.

Discussion followed regarding the Rule of Three and its performance. President Wilson described its operation—that sections propose names of three program organizers, and the program chairs select one. He said the issue goes to the core of the Association, regarding how we balance decentralization and central direction and common focus. McClain reported that eventually all Organized Sections submitted names, though for various reasons only about 60% complied fully. Some Sections find it awkward to name three people, when two will be disappointed; others have still not changed their by-laws to make it workable. When Sections did not comply, the problem was most often with submitting names of people who had frequently organized the panels in the past. Usually the matter could be settled by talking with the Section chairs, and employing a bit of negotiation.

9. Report of Bingham Powell, Managing Editor of the *APSR*

Powell reported this has been a year of transition with a new editor and staff, new format, new printer, and new book review editor. He said submission rates have increased, as usually happens with a new editor, that International Relations submissions and acceptance rates are especially high, and that, otherwise, publication rates of papers in different fields reflect the rates of submissions in those fields. Submissions in comparative politics are comparatively low—this may be a field in which the book rather than the article is the basic unit of publication.

Virtually every submission is refereed, regardless of the initial reaction in the editorial office. This is done to assure every paper fair access to the journal, and the *Review* values highly the "seminar by mail" idea by which referees critique scholarship. The only exceptions are papers which are too long (these are returned with an invitation to cut and resubmit), or work which is unambiguously not scholarship, such as corporate reports.

This policy creates a heavy demand for reviewers, and for a mechanism to select appropriate reviewers. It involves about 1,500 mailings a year. The system now in place to coordinate this is to have an intern summarize each paper and propose potential referees. This form is faxed to an editorial board member who confirms that the names are appropriate and suggests additional ones. The editor then coordinates to keep from burdening the same reviewers. The system has resulted in using many reviewers—831 this year, a larger group than ever.

One consequence of this system is that the review process is taking about two weeks longer than in the past. The *Review* has added a new intern in the office, added more members to the editorial board, and improved paperwork controls to cut this down. Jane Mansbridge added, however, that small increase in review time seemed a reasonable consequence of having extensive peer-review and careful review assignments.

The new format has produced much controversy, but there were compelling reasons to adopt it and things are going more smoothly now as the *Review* learns how to use the format better.

The backlog in book reviews is being cleared. Through June, all of the reviews printed were from the previous editor, and all of the gains in pages from the new format have been devoted to getting these reviews printed. Reviews commissioned by the new book review editor will begin in September. The timing from book publications to review has not yet

been tracked, and the *Review* will keep a close eye on this.

10. Report of the Treasurer

a. James Caporaso presented the final revenue and expenditure figures for Fiscal Year 1992, noting a surplus in FY92 of \$73,000.

b. Caporaso also presented the Annual Audit for the year ending June 1992, noting that it is a "clean audit."

c. He reported that the Trust and Development Fund is performing well, with a balance of \$2,178,008. Last year it grew overall at a rate of 8.74%, with the equity portion gaining 11.77%. The Congressional Fellowship Fund, recently heavily endowed by MCI, stands at \$5,787,659. This fund earned over \$1 million in its first year, and was earning a rate of 16% at the end of the year.

d. Caporaso said that the revised figures for the 1992-93 budget showed a projected deficit of \$28,510, reflecting a net swing in the budget from the past year of about \$50,000 less revenue relative to expenses. Rudder detailed some of the factors accounting for the revisions to the budget, including a reduction in anticipated membership income, lower dividends and interest, increases in placement services revenue and in advertising sales, and a loss in rental income in the APSA building.

Rental income is the major budget factor. The present tenants must leave to find a larger space. The Washington office space market is very soft, with 18% vacancy rates. Our best guess is that future rents we can command will be lower than the present; to be conservative, the budget assumes we will not rent the space this year. We do have a number of ideas, however, including initiating a Washington Center for Scholars in Politics, providing transient office space in our building.

At the request of the executive director, the Administrative Committee recommended that the Council authorize use of up to \$55,000 from the reserve fund to meet a potential deficit. The reserve fund, which is separate from the Trust and Development Fund, presently has in it \$961,841. These funds are accumulated surpluses from prior years activities. Nancy Rosenblum asked if this was a large fund to hold in reserve. Rudder replied that a standard rule for healthy organizations is to have 1/2 year budget amounts in a reserve fund.

The Council approved the revised budget unanimously. In a separate vote, the authority to transfer up to \$55,000 from the reserve fund to meet a potential deficit was approved.

Rudder described to the Council an issue involving income in the Trust and

Development Fund. The APSA Constitution authorizes transfer of "interest and dividends" from the Trust and Development Fund to general operating funds. Investment practice, however, is generating capital gains income as well as interest and dividends. Further, the Trust and Development Board of Trustees, to provide a more predictable flow of funds to the operating budget, recently adopted a Total Spending Rule to govern funds transfers calling for up to 6% of total earnings (defined as \$120,000 in 1990 dollars) to be transferred annually. Since the Constitution explicitly refers to interest and dividend income, not total income, a Council resolution interpreting the Total Spending Rule as consistent with the Constitution is advised. Our auditors recommend this action. Ron Rogowski asked that the minutes make clear that this does not authorize a reduction in the level of the endowment. The Association will only expend capital gains in an amount in excess of that needed to preserve our capital base.

A resolution interpreting the Total Spending Rule as consistent with the Constitution passed unanimously.

e. Rudder introduced a new program budget format for the Association, explaining that for years such a move has been requested since the old format is difficult to interpret. The new format matches our programmatic operations better, though initially we will lose comparability with prior years budgets. The new format is not entirely a program budget since it does not allocate overhead cost to each program area. The Administrative Committee has requested that we do make such an allocation, as well as prepare a budget summary that compares costs and revenues programmatically.

Given the insight a new budget format provides, the Administrative Committee also proposed creation of an ad hoc program assessment committee to review whether our programs are funded at appropriate levels relative to each other, whether there are new activities which also meet our priorities, and how they should be funded. President-Elect Barker said he wanted the idea for such a committee to be spelled out in writing, and that such a statement is appended to the Administrative Committee minutes. He planned to select committee members carefully, to find people with a certain detachment from any particular APSA program and to select a good cross section of the Association. Such a committee would also require a budget of \$3,000.

The Program Assessment Committee and its budget were approved unanimously by the Council.

f. At this point the Council took up a new agenda item raised by the Admin-

istrative Committee involving a proposal from Sidney Verba, Director of the Harvard University Library, to experiment with electronic information transmittal by working with APSA to make the Annual Meeting proceedings available electronically on the Internet. Don Kettl, chair of the Publications Committee, has reviewed the proposal, noting certain areas in which to proceed with care. Susan Bourque raised the question of APSA legal liability, and asked that our lawyer consider this issue in conjunction with consideration of liability for papers at the meeting.

The Council unanimously authorized the executive director to proceed, at no direct cost to the Association, to develop a joint project with the Harvard Library, keeping the Publications Committee informed and reporting back to the Council.

11. Petitions to Establish Organized Sections

Tom Cronin, chair of the Council Organized Sections Committee, reported that two requests for new Organized Sections, on Internships and Experiential Education, and on Politics and Literature, were received and appeared to be in order; and that the Organized Sections Committee recommended their approval.

President Wilson noted that sections are not costless, since they take fixed space at the annual meeting. Jane Mansbridge recommended that we promise each new section only one panel at the next meeting, and allocate panels to them in the future based on attendance there and subsequent demand. The issues raised by increases in number of sections will be considered by the Section Task Force in the fall.

The Council unanimously approved the two new sections.

12. Minority Programs

Maurice Woodard presented the list of 1992-93 Minority Graduate Fellows and noted the distinguished graduate schools they will be attending. Twenty African American fellows and 12 Latino fellows have been named. Virtually all have been accepted in graduate school with substantial or complete funding.

He also reported on a follow-up study of past fellows, and presented a list of 54 former fellows, most of whom now hold faculty appointments nationwide. Woodard also said that a number of former fellows will be honored at a reception of the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession during the Annual Meeting and invited the Council to attend.

The Ralph Bunche Summer Institute is having a successful year. Rudder said that

about \$100,000 funding is needed, however, to continue the program next year. David Mares and Sam Kernell at the University of California–San Diego also have a proposal under consideration at the NSF for funding for a Latino summer institute for undergraduates considering graduate study in political science. (The proposal was subsequently turned down by the NSF.)

Michael Brintnall reported on the Minority Identification Project which also is continuing actively and is receiving substantial support from graduate programs and undergraduate faculty.

President-Elect Barker asked if we follow-up and help with mentoring Fellowship students after they enter graduate school, since a number of students often feel very isolated. Woodard replied that we do explore graduate schools to provide such support, but that we do not formally follow-up. Ron Rogowski suggested we compile success stories of mentoring from schools where it does appear to work in order to give ideas to others. Paula McClain suggested documenting the efforts of Jewell Prestage in advancing minority graduate students. Jane Mansbridge said that one idea is to coordinate with other academic departments and other schools within a city to create the critical mass of minority students in order to reduce isolation and build peer support.

13. Awards to Recognize Outstanding Teachers

Sheilah Mann conveyed a report from the Education Committee asking that the Council consider establishing awards for outstanding teaching. To allow diversity, the Committee has not proposed strict criteria, but does propose that there be nominations from departments, that the application require a dossier including an essay from the nominee on their teaching philosophy, and that selection be made through committee review analogous to dissertation awards.

In general discussion it was noted that many top teachers couldn't or wouldn't ever write an essay on teaching, that the nominating department could help with the essay, that the dossier could include videotapes or other non-written materials, that as an alternative APSA could publish in *PS* lists of campus teaching award winners rather than selecting our own, that we might consider a competition among teaching oriented papers presented at the Annual Meeting, that absence of a cash award might discourage nominations, and that an APSA award along the lines of the Committee suggestion could help teachers obtain campus advancement and improved compensation.

A sense of the Council was sought, and received a mixed reply, estimated by the President to be about 60-40 supportive versus skeptical.

14. Reports Informing the Council of Other Association Business

The reports were reviewed. These included: providing the *Guide to Ethics* to advanced graduate students; activities of the Committee on International Programs; the Comparative Constitutionalism Project; an overview and status report from the Committee on Professional Ethics, Rights and Freedoms; *State of the Discipline II*; fields and specializations in political science; memo on demand for new Ph.D.s; the new departmental services program brochure; and the new Graduate Guide.

15. Conclusion

The Council concluded its meeting with President-Elect Barker expressing the appreciation of the Council to President Wilson, and to those Council members serving at their last meeting.

APSA Awards Presented at 1992 Annual Meeting

DISSERTATION AWARDS

Gabriel A. Almond Award (\$250)

For the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1990 or 1991 in the field of comparative politics.

Award Committee: Mildred A. Schwartz, University of Illinois at Chicago, Chair; John Keeler, University of Washington; Susan Shirk, University of California, San Diego

Recipient: Felipe Aguero, Duke University

Dissertation: "The Assertion of Civilian Supremacy in Post-Authoritarian Contexts: Spain in Comparative Perspective"

Dissertation Chair: Peter Lange

Citation: Felipe Aguero's dissertation is an exemplary use of theory and original research. It deepens our understanding of successful transitions to democracy by first demonstrating how Spain's transition was an uncertain one, like others that occurred in the past two decades. As old political institutions unravelled and new ones struggled to become established, the military remained a threatening force, poised to bring the state back to pre-

democratic forms. But because Spain weathered its trials, Aguero is also able to reinforce Spain's reputation as a model state.

To isolate the initial conditions that lead to democratic transformation, Aguero is necessarily comparative, contrasting Spain with other transitional states in Latin America and southern Europe. He sustains a convincing argument by examining the process of political change beyond its initial stages to include the 1981 attempted coup. The research results in isolating those factors that enable civil society to subordinate the military.

William Anderson Award (\$250)

For the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted in 1990 or 1991 in the field of intergovernmental relations.

Award Committee: Dale Rogers Marshall, Wellesley College, Chair; John Mollenkopf, City of New York Graduate School; Sarah M. Morehouse, University of Connecticut

Recipient: Nancy Elizabeth Burns, Harvard University

Dissertation: "Making Politics Permanent: The Formation of American Local Governments"

Dissertation Chair: Sidney Verba

Citation: Nancy Elizabeth Burns' dissertation addresses a subject that is theoretically important but understudied. It asks why Americans created and continue to create cities and special districts in ways that have not happened in other countries and develops an explanation that informs our understanding of local politics and its place in the American political system. The broad-gauged, skillfully designed and executed research says something new and worthwhile that will have an impact on the discipline.

Burns' primary research and analysis uses case studies of the politics of government formations, historical examination of the creation of institutions, and quantitative work on where local governments have formed and have not formed in the U.S. since 1950. Burns' work shows that local governments have been created for many reasons including provision of services, increase in land values, exclusion of unwanted others, and insulation from taxes and problems of older cities. The powers of local governments to issue debt and define citizenship and their level of autonomy have been changed over time by state legislatures, the federal government, technology, and inventive individuals. But throughout their history local governments have had enough autonomy so that fights about their boundaries have