The Allied Social Science Meetings: Diversity Versus Inclusivity

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Abstract

Over the past four decades, the leadership of the American Economic Association (AEA) has increase the number of women and minorities on its program at the annual Allied Social Science Association (ASSA) meetings. There are three reasons to diversifying the participants on the program. First, including women and minorities on the program make the demographic characteristics, or identities, of the meetings' participants more representative of the demographics of the profession. Second, having more women, people of color and foreign-born economists on the program encourages doubtful members of other minorities to become economists. Third, there is a belief that incorporating a wider range of economists, with different experiences and educational backgrounds, at the meetings will enrich the conversations and spur new ideas. Inclusivity implies an openness and willingness to incorporate different ways of thinking and perspectives. While the ASSA meetings appear to be more diverse with respect to institutional representation and gender, the evidence suggests that there is a structural barrier of hidden beneath the surface of these two demographics that prohibit inclusivity: class as measured by the strength of economists' top Ph.D. granting institutional connections. To uncover this barrier, this study examines the structure of the ASSA, the diversity of the ASSA Program Committee and the resultant diversity of the AEA program participants over the past 40 years. Findings suggest that increased diversity does not guarantee increased inclusivity.

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"Ideas change through sweet talk
as much as
through material interests."
(Deirdre Nansen McCloskey, p. 10)

Fusfeld[1] (1956) found that the departmental affiliations of participants on the American Economic Association's (AEA's) annual program were dominated by economists from a few top Ph.D.–producing departments in the U.S. He felt that the lack of participants from other Ph.D.-producing departments resulted in the long-held theories espoused by professors and their students at, or from, these few top Ph.D.-producing to not be challenged. He wanted the process of selecting participants for the AEA's Annual Program to be more open, to include more diverse groups of economists; so that more perspectives could be heard, ideas shared, and theories debated.

John D. Black (1956) shared Fusfeld's concern. While Frank R. Cleary and David J. Edwards (1960) agreed with Fusfeld's findings, they dismissed them as unimportant. The sample was too small. Others argued that, if the market works, participants from the top Ph.D.-

[1] At the time he registered his concerns he was an Assistant Professor of Economics at Michigan State University. Daniel Fusfeld graduated from George Washington University in 1942, served in WWII as did many from his generation, and then returned to earn a PhD from Columbia University in 1953.

producing departments are the best and the brightest, so they warrant a disproportionate number of sessions at the ASSA meetings. Since not every economics student has the means or opportunity to apply and be accepted into the few seats in these institutions, economists become bifurcated into those who attended one of the top Ph.D.-producing institutions and those who did not. Economists from the top Ph.D.-producing departments may be only a small fraction of the best and the brightest economics students in the U.S. Other, equally bright and well-educated economists were out there, but how to find and identify them in a pre-Internet world was difficult. To put together AEA sessions, chairs called upon their colleagues, students and former students all of whom tended to be in close proximity or contact.

It is not clear how many economists today still hold the view that those associated with or from the top Ph.D.-producing schools are the best and the brightest; or even if that is the most important quality for being an excellent economist. What is clear, however, is that being on the AEA Annual Program is still important to an economist's career and that the social and economic contexts within which these programs are constructed have changed dramatically.

The AEA Annual Program, however, does not happen within a vacuum. It is historically part of the Allied Social Science Association (ASSA), a conglomerate of other economics associations. The AEA and the allied associations in that conglomeration have changed and grown over time. The number of sessions sponsored by some associations has grown and others have decreased. The number of women, people of color and foreign-born economists in the profession have increased. Yet, the apparent increase in the ASSA's diversity with respect to member associations and the presence of a wider spectrum of participants at the ASSA meetings may not have resulted in increased diversity and inclusivity. The structure of the ASSA and an ever-present class system within academia may be to blame.

The AEA and The Allied Social Science Association (ASSA)

The AEA and more than 50 allied economic associations currently make up the ASSA. The 50 or so allied associations in the ASSA represent a variety of different regional perspectives, political ideologies and identity interests. Table 1 lists the diverse associations that have comprised the ASSA over the years.

Click here for Table One

The list of allied associations is impressive. Few national professional associations have such an alliance. Regional interests are represented by associations like the Chinese Economic Association on North America, Latin America and Caribbean Economic Associations and the Middle East Economic Association. The Union for Radical Political Economists represents a different ideological perspective from those found in the AEA sessions. The International Association for Feminist Economics offers alternative explanations of the economic realities of women than those put forth by most mainstream economists.

John Siegfried's (2008) informative article on the history of the ASSA explains how this arrangement evolved from a few Social Science and History associations to the conglomerate it is today. Siegfried's work is also important because it reveals that the ASSA is just an informal agreement between the AEA and many different allied associations to meet jointly at a time and place for the expressed purpose of conducting membership meetings, providing space for the exchange of ideas, and networking. The AEA is the lead association in this joint venture; and as such, it has completed organizational oversight (who can be recognized as an ASSA member and thus be on the ASSA program), legal responsibilities (signs contractual agreements with hotels, vendors and support personnel) and financial accountability (collecting and distributing registration fees and other revenues). The joint meetings are held at

the beginning of each year.[2] Each allied association is free to organize its own panels and activities but within the confines of the time and space allotted to it by the AEA. The number of sessions allotted to each allied association may start off small with just one or two sessions allotted to it. If interest grows in the new association's programming and attendance records document that fact, more sessions may be allocated. Similarly, if interests wane, an association's sessions may be eliminated.

The AEA lists its own sessions and activities along with those of other allied associations in the ASSA annual program. The program advertises the annual meetings as a market place for ideas: a gathering place for economists to present and discuss new theories and empirical findings. The various associations showcase the work of their members, celebrate their members' accomplishments and honor those who have made significant contributions to the profession. Thousands of economists attend the ASSA meetings. They come from academia, government and for-profit and not-for--profit institutions from around the world.

For a clearer picture of the role the AEA plays in the ASSA, institutional affiliation information about participants was drawn from the ASSA Annual Programs for 1983 and 1984, 1993 and 1994, 2003 and 2004; and finally, 2013 and 2014 to look more closely at the structure of the ASSA and participation by diverse associations and groups of economists.[3] AEA Directories for 1978, 1985, 1998, 2007, 2013 and 2014 (Web version) along with personal and institutional web pages were used to obtain demographic and graduate program affiliation information for each participant. Unfortunately, we could not identify economists of color based upon a participant name. The selected ASSA annual programs were used to identity the Chairs-elect and Program Committee members associated with these eight programs. Demographic and institutional information for these economists was also found from AEA directories or the web. The search yielded a sample of 7,147 participant observations: 837 participant observations from the 1983-84, 1,345 from the 1993-94, 1,698 from the 2003-04, and 3,267 from the 2013-14. There is a noticeable increase in the number of participant observations in the 10s. A casual review of the number of authors per paper presentation in each session suggested a marked increase in co-authorship over this time.

Some associations within the structure of the ASSA have more influence than others. The six associations listed at the top of Table 2 are considered the founding members of the ASSA. They share with the AEA any financial returns to the meetings. Table 2 reveals some interesting observations.

Click Here for Table Two

First, the number of sessions sponsored by the founding six organizations has increased from 186.8 (53.1 percent) sessions in the 1983-84 to 316.3 (65 percent) in 2013-14. The number of sessions sponsored by the AEA has increased from 84 (23.9 percent) in 1983-14 to 174 (35.7 percent) in the 2013-14. In the 90s, the sessions allocated to CSWEP and the CSMEP were folded into the overall AEA count. At most, these sessions accounted for 10 sessions.

After the Great Recession, the number and percentage of sessions sponsored by the American Finance Association increased. In contrast, the numbers and percentages of sessions offered by the

[2] Prior to 1992**,** the meetings were held each year between Christmas and the New Year. After experimenting with different alternative dates, the first of the year was settled upon as the date for the annual meetings.

[3] We started with 1983 and 1984 to overlap and connect with Hinshaw and Siegfried's (1995) study which will be discussed later. Once 1983-84 was chosen, the years 1993 and 94, 2003 and 2004 and finally 2013 and 2014 followed.

Econometric Society decreased. So, there is a waxing and waning of the number and percentage of sessions even within the founding six institutions.

Second, the overall percentage of sessions controlled by the AEA and its founding members has increased from 53.1 percent in 1983-84 to 65 percent in 2013-14. As in Fusfeld's day, the AEA still controls most of the opportunities for the exchange of ideas in the market place. Because of the nature of the facilities where the convention is held, the number of sessions allotted by allied associations is results from a zero-sum game. After the founding organizations are allotted their sessions then the remaining allied organizations are allotted their space. No doubt, this practice has probably given rise to the growing number of pre- and post-convention activities. Nonetheless, new associations can still find a place on the ASSA program. They must have a least 300 members, have existed for at least 3 years, and not overlap existing programs of other ASSA associations (AEA 2017).

Third, the number of sessions allocated to the allied associations has increased slightly from 164.8 sessions in 80s to 170.5 sessions in the 00s. The percentages of sessions allocated to allied associations, however, tell a different story. The percentage of sessions programmed by the allied associations has decreased from 46.9 percent in 80s to 35 percent in 10s, suggesting that there are proportionately fewer opportunities for different voices to speak and be heard. The reality is that despite a greater diversity in the number of organizations and more sessions being offered at the ASSA annual meetings, the representation of allied associations has proportionately decreased.

There are numerous organizations representing various geographical, political and identity interests. Yet, the percentage of session allocated to these associations has dropped significantly as measured by the percentage of sessions allotted since the 80s summarized in Figure 1.

Click here for Figure One

Moreover, allied association sessions are often allotted time and space in hotels away from the main headquarters hotel. The AEA sessions and activities conducted in the main hotel give its members easier access to its sessions and events. This arrangement also locates economists in the other allied associations away from the mainstream presentations. Given the AEA organizes and finances the ASSA's operations, this easier access may seem well founded. However, if the primary goal of these joint meetings is to encourage scholarship and understanding economic realities, then members of the other allied associations must have easier access to the mainstream conversations and vice versa. The AEA's mission is:

> "The American Economic Association was organized in 1885 at a meeting in Saratoga, New York, by a small group interested in economics. It was incorporated in Washington, DC, on February 3, 1923. The purposes of the Association are:
>
> 1. The encouragement of economic research, especially the historical and statistical study of the actual conditions of industrial life.
> 2. The issue of publications on economic subjects.

> 3. The encouragement of perfect freedom of economic discussion. The Association as such will take no partisan attitude, nor will it commit its members to any position on practical economic questions.
>
> *By the American Economic Association—1923* (Retrieved February 25, 2018 from https://www.aeaweb.org/about-aea/bylaws)

Location is one factor that acts as a barrier to discussion. Malice is unlikely to be the reason for this situation. History and piecemeal decision making to accommodate expansions probably was. The time seems to have arrived to reorganize the ASSA for more inclusive conversations. A study of alternative professional organizations and their effectiveness at creating an inclusive gathering would facilitate that endeavor.

Diversity in AEA

Even if the percentage of sessions controlled by the allied associations has diminished, the impact of this phenomenon could be mitigated if diversity has increased with respect to the AEA Program itself. The AEA has made attempts to diversify its program with regard to race and gender. In the late 60s and early 70s, minority and women economists lobbied the AEA's Executive Committee to increase their participation at the ASSA meetings. Executive and Business Committee minutes document the struggles for diversity. In response to the documented lack of people of color and women in the profession then AEA Executive Committee created the Committee on the Status of Minority Groups in the Economics Profession (CSMGEP) in 1968. The National Economic Association represents this group. Similarly, the AEA Executive Committee created the Committee on the Status of Women in the Economics Profession (CSWEP) in 1972. Both CSMGEP and CSWEP are charged with monitoring the number of minorities and women in the profession. These committees provide programming to encourage their participation and they organize their own sessions and activities at the meetings. Visibly, there are more economists of color and women at the ASSA meetings than there were in the late 60s and early 70s. Data in Table 3 from the *CSWEP Newsletter* shows improvements.

Click here for Table Three

During the 1970s graduate programs grew and women filled the diminished ranks of would be graduate students drafted into the Viet Nam War. According to the information in Table 3, women have made tremendous strides in terms of their proportion of new PhDs in economics profession. Women were 15 percent of the new Ph.D. s in the 1983-84. The percentage jumped to 34 percent in 2013-14. In terms of all faculty, the percentage who are women increased from 5.7 percent in 1983-84 to 17.0 percent in the 2013-14. Percentages of all faculty for women in the top 20 Ph.D.-producing departments and that for all new Ph.D.'s in those department is slightly lower. In academic institutions, the percentage of women economists has tripled across the ranks for the same period (Francine Blau 2004; Marjorie B. McElroy 2014). John J. Siegfried and Wendy Stock (2004) have also documented the influx of international students and practitioners into the economics profession. Yet, Shelly Lundsburg (2018), reported at the recent CSWEP Business Meeting at the ASSA meetings the percentage of women coming into the profession at all levels has stagnated in the 2013-14.

The Program Chair, the Program Committee and AEA Program: The Question of Class

Following up on Fusfeld's work, C. Elton Hinshaw and John J. Siegfried (1995) conducted a study of departmental and institutional affiliations of authors on the AEA's Annual Programs from 1960 to 1989. They found that the departmental affiliations of authors of papers presented at the annual meetings represented an increasingly broader spectrum of economics

departments then reported in Fusfeld's study. However, a few research-oriented graduate departments still seemed to dominate the AEA Annual Program. Their data indicates that 34.2 percent of all the presentations given on the AEA program between 1980-1989 were by economists from top schools.

Today the selection process to be on the AEA Annual Program is much more transparent than in Fusfeld's day. The "Front Matter" of the *AER P and P* has an "Editors' Introduction" written by the volume's Editor and Managing Editor and a "Foreword" written by the AEA's President. The Editors' Introduction discusses how the AEA Annual Program selection process works, which papers from the program are published and how quality control is achieved. In the "Foreword," the President discusses the program theme and introduces the papers to follow. To conclude, the President lists the members and institutional affiliations of the Program Committee.

Siegfried in his recent correspondence with the author noted that at the AEA's Executive Committee most recent meeting, its members voted to increase the number of published papers from standing committees to seven and to increase the number of contributed paper sessions to be published from zero to five. The Standing Committees and their Allocations are: the Ely Lecture (1), CSWEP (2), Committee on the Status of Minorities in the Economics Profession (2), Committee on Economic Statistics (1), and the Committee on Economic Education (1). The President-Elect still decides which of the contributed sessions will be published. The process of being selected as a presenter on the AEA annual program has become much more transparent and a little more open with the addition of two standing committees and the recently included Contributed Paper sessions.

A call for papers is published in the AEA journals. Proposals are sorted by *Journal of Economic Literature* codes and sent to the appropriate Program Committee member (or members) to read and compile into coherent and interesting sessions. Program Committee members are given the opportunity to organize one or two sessions of their own. Standing Committees like CSMEP and CSWEP organize their own sessions.

To share the content of the AEA program with a wider audience, the AEA's Program Committee select a subset of papers from their sessions to be published in the upcoming issue of the *AER P and P*. According to Siegfried (2008) the *AER P & P* issue is the most often cited issue of the AER:

> "On JSTOR, all of the ten most downloaded issues of the American Economic Review are Papers and Proceedings (May) issues. Moreover, since 2006 the American Economic Review has been the source of the most downloaded articles across all disciplines in the 800+ journals catalogued in JSTOR." (p. 13)

Hinshaw and Siegfried (1995) also reported that an even smaller set of research-oriented economics departments found their sessions published in the *AER P & P*.[4]

The selection process and quality of papers from the AEA's standing committees and other invited sessions to be on the AEA Annual Program can vary significantly. For example, the CEE decides a year in advance, sometimes two, the foci of papers for its two sessions on the ASSA Program. While the CEE solicits

[4] Cleary and Edwards (1960) also found in their study of who contributes to the *American Economic Review* that over 75 percent of the authors had graduate school affiliations with the top 10 departments.

contributed papers in AEA journals, they are not promised publication. Economic educators are invited to write the papers for the session to be published in the *AER P and P*. The CEE's Chair, with advice from other members of the CEE, agrees upon the invitation list. Other members of the committee organize the other paper session and a poster session.

On the other end of the continuum of openness, CSWEP organizes six paper sessions for the AEA annual program. A year in advance topics of interest are selected for the nongender-related sessions. Calls for paper or session proposals are sent to associates through the Internet, journals or its Newsletter. The only constraint on the authors in the selection process is that at least one author on each paper must be a female. Members of the CSWEP Program Committee then read the paper proposals. The authors who are chosen to present as part of the AEA Annual Program are asked to provide completed papers by early November to be reviewed one more time. Six to eight papers are selected from those resubmitted to be published in the *AER P and P*. CSWEP is the only organization that has a review process in place to ensure quality in its AEA Annual Program presentations and publications.

Adding to Hinshaw and Siegfried (1995) findings, this study finds there is a continued influence of economists from what are considered the top Ph.D.-producing departments in the U.S. on the AEA annual program. Rather than using what was known as the Chairmen's Group of economics departments, this study focuses on economics departments identified by staff at *US News and World Report* as the top 20. This is also the group that is used by CSWEP for its annual survey and newsletter.[5] The rank ordering of these top 20 departments follow:

1. Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)
2. Harvard University (Harvard)
3. Princeton University (Princeton)
4. Stanford University (Stanford)
5. University of Chicago (Chicago)
6. University of California – Berkeley (Berkeley)
7. Yale University (Yale)
8. Northwestern University (Northwestern)
9. University of Pennsylvania (Pennsylvania)
10. University of California - San Diego (San Diego)
11. University of California – Los Angeles (UCLA)
12. University of Michigan (Michigan)
13. University of Wisconsin (Wisconsin)
14. University of Minnesota (Minnesota)
15. California Institute of Technology (Cal Tech)
16. Columbia University (Columbia)
17. University of Rochester (Rochester)
18. Cornell University (Cornell)
19. Carnegie Mellon University (CMU)
20. New York University (NYU)

AEA Program Chair and Committee

Table 4 provides information about the institutional and graduate school affiliation, the year they received their Ph.D. and gender of the Program Chair and members of the Program Committee since the 90s. The "Forewords" of the *AER P and P* for 1983 and 1984 did not list the Program Committee members. Staff at the AEA Headquarters in Memphis, Tennessee said that records were not kept of the Program Committees at that time. Institutional and graduate school rankings of the individual Program Committee members were averaged. The number of sessions organized and the percentage that were published in the *AER P and P* are also provided.

[5] A couple of the departments used by CSWEP have changed.

Click here for Table Four

Column (2) provides information on the Program Chair and members of the Program Committee. Over these selected years there was one woman - Claudia Goldin who chaired the Program Committee. The percentage of the Program Committee made up of men steadily increased until recently. The number of seats on the Program Committee increased from 19 in 1993 to 22 seats in 2004. Then the number of seats on the Program Committee fell to 18 in 2014. The institutional affiliation of those on the Program Committee has become more diverse as the average institutional rank increased from 1.8 in 1993 to 10.6 in 2013. The institutional average, however, dropped markedly in 2014 to 6.2 while the percentage of female economists on the Program Committee increased to 33 percent. The information in Table 4 suggests that the Program Chair may indeed call upon his departmental colleagues and friends from graduate school to help organize sessions as Fusfeld suggested back in the 50's. The average Program Committee member's institutional affiliation (IA) rank was 1.8 in 1993 implying that most members of the committee were from the same departments with the same higher rankings; then it improved to 9.2 in 1994; 9.4 in 2003; 9.0 in 2004; 10.6 in 2013 and 6.2 in 2014. The institutional affiliation on the Program Committee has become more diverse but members still come predominantly from the top ten departments. An investigation of graduate program affiliations (GA) of Program Committee members yields an even tighter circle with an average ranking of 3.1 in 1993; 5.1 in 2003; 7.7 in 2004; 4.1 in 2013 and 3.6 in 2014. The composite Program Committee member rank has an even lower score, or higher ranking, when the higher rank of either institutional or graduate school affiliation is used in the composite calculations. The average composite member ranking was 2.2 in 1993 and 4.7 in 2004. A very small, but increasingly broader, group of economists from a few research-oriented departments have put together the AEA Annual Program for the last three decades.

The gender make-up of the Program Committee, however, has not improved. The Program Committee expanded to include women, thus increasing the size of the committee itself. However, the percentage of the Program Committee that is male increased from 60 percent in 1993 to 80 percent in 2004 but decreased to 71 percent in 2014. Finally, Table 4 also shows that the number of AEA Annual Program sessions has increased while the number of sessions to be published has remained constant. Thus, the percentage of published papers from the AEA Annual Program has decreased. Part of this is because CEE and CSWEP sessions are now counted as AEA sessions.

Program Participants by Institutional Affiliation

Table 5 provides the percentage of the AEA Annual Program presenters with top 20 and other institutional affiliations. For comparison purposes Fusfeld's and Hinshaw and Siegfried's data are also provided in the last two columns. Hinshaw and Siegfried's data indicates that 32.8 percent of the presentations are by economists from one of the top 20 schools. The subsample of years from this decade for the present study found that the top 20 schools accounted for 30.7 percent of the presentations.[6]

Click here for Table Five

The data indicate that over the last 25 years the percentage of papers presented on the AEA Annual Program at the ASSA meetings by economists affiliated with the

[6] The CSWEP top 20 departments included a few departments that did not meet the Hinshaw and Siegfried criteria of one percent of presentations: Northwestern, San Diego, UCLA, Rochester and CIT in 1983 and 1984.

top 20 institutions increased from an average of 30.7 percent in 1983-84 and 33.7 percent in 1993-94 to 40.7 percent in 2003-04, and then decreased to 37.1 percent in 2013-14. Yet still above 1983-84 30.7 percent. The percentage changes decreased in the All Other Academic Institutions category from 43.5 percent in 1983-84 to 24.0 percent in 2013-14. The data in Table 5 shows an 18-percentage point increase in the number of presenters with an International Affiliations.

Table 6 contains data on the graduate program affiliations of AEA Annual Program presenters. The graduate school affiliation has decreased from 65.2 percent in 1983-84; 64.6 percent in 1993-94; 67.2 percent in2003-04 to 57.9 percent in 20013-14 for presenters from the top 20 programs. The comparable percentage for all other US Academic Institutions has fallen from 23.5 percent in 1983-84 to 16.8 percent in 2013-14. The percentage of non-US Academic graduate program affiliation has dramatically increased from 5.9 percent in 1883-84 to 21.5 percent in 2013-14. As a result, an increase of ASSA organizations has improved the participation rate of presenters holding a doctoral degree from other US and non-US departments.

Click here for Table Six

Participants' Institutional Affiliation based on Gender Distributions

Table 7 demonstrates the gender distribution within the top 20 economics departments with regard to AEA presenters' current institutional affiliation. Again, several trends can be identified. First, the percentage of women on the AEA Annual Program from the top 20 departments has increased. The percentage of presenters from the top 20 institutions who were female was 12.1 percent in 1983-84 compared to the overall sample average for women during these years of 13.1 percent. For 1993-94, the comparable percentages were 13.3 percent and 19.6 percent, and for 2003-04 the percentages were 17.5 percent and 18.1 percent. Finally, for 2013-14, 19.4 percent of the presenters from the top 20 institutions were women as compared to 21.7 percent of the sample. The percentage of women from the top 20 economics departments is less than the overall percentage of women in the economics profession.

Click here for Table Seven

Women economists who were affiliated with Other US Academic Institutions had higher increases in the percentage of their representation during the time periods studied. In 1983-84 the percentage of females on the program who were from other US academic institutions was 14.0 percent as compared to the sample average of 13.1 percent. By 2013-14 the percentage increased to 25.4 percent as compared to the sample average of 21.7 percent. Thus, women from lower ranked departments were over represented. When comparing these numbers to the percent of academic positions held by women in PhD granting institutions (Appendix 2, CSWEP reports), 13.5 percent in 1993-94, 15.3 percent in 2003-04, and 17.0 percent in 2013-14, women's relative representation on the program is improving for this subgroup.

Table 7 provides additional information about women from other settings. The representation of female economists from institutions with international affiliations has improved from 2.4 percent in 1983-84 to 20.4 percent in 2013-14. Notably, government employers and think tanks provide examples of higher levels of female representation. However,

the percentages have decreased over the time periods studied for the government organizations. In the Other category that contains mostly private consulting firms, the relative participation of women is improving.

Participants' Graduate School Affiliation based on Gender Distributions

Table 8 provides the gender distribution of the presenters on the AEA Annual Program by graduate school affiliation and gender. Among AEA presenters who graduated from one of the top 20 schools, in 1983-84 13.2 percent were female. That percentage increased to 19.8 percent in 1993-94, then to 20.3 percent in 2003-04, and reached 21.7 percent in 2013-14. Comparing these numbers with those collected from the annual reports of CSWEP for new PhDs from the top 20 schools, in 1993-94, 26.9 percent were women. In 2003-04, the percentage of women awarded PhDs from the top 20 schools was 26.5 percent, and 31.3% in 2013-14 in Table 3. While the percentage of women presenters affiliated with one of the top 20 institutions increased, the increase did not match that of new female PhDs from these schools. As a matter of fact, the group increased from 5.1 to 6.2, and then to 9.6. We would expect more diversity, a greater percentage of women than what is one the AEA Program. These increases are all good but given new Ph.D. ratio, one would expect better.

Click here for Table Eight

A different pattern emerged for women from the other US PhD granting institutions. The percentage of presenters with degrees from other PhD programs who were women increased from 14.2 percent in 1983-84 to 27.3 in 1993-94, 28.7 percent in 2003-04, and dropped to 24.4 percent in 2013-14. These numbers are like those reported by CSWEP for the percentage of women granted PhDs from all institutions in Table 3, 15 percent in 1983-84, 25.5 percent in 1993-94, 28.9 percent in 2003-04, and 34 percent in 2013-14.

Conclusion

Who selects whom for the AEA Program Chair, the Program Committee is important for several reasons. The AEA mission statement says the purpose of bringing the economists together is to exchange ideas and to move its understanding of the economic world forward. So, the AEA should try harder to eliminate the class bias found in the AEA program and eliminate the association silos to create a more diverse and hopefully inclusive conversation in a competitive market place for ideas and research.

While much has changed since Fusfeld's 1956 article, much has stayed the same. This study looked at the organizational structure of the ASSA and the role that the AEA plays in its operation. This study examined the organizational structure of the AEA Program Committee and presenters on the AEA Annual Program. The findings demonstrate that a few economists with institutional and graduate school affiliations still dominate the Program Committee and thus who participate on the AEA Annual Program. Moreover, the percentage of women on the AEA Program Committee and among the participants on the AEA Annual Program has not increased in proportion to their representation in the field of economics as a whole (Blau 2004). While the selection process for being chosen to be on the AEA annual program has become more transparent, it has not necessarily become more diverse and inclusive. Hearing the ideas and arguments from a few economists

who all graduated from the same graduate schools or who are affiliated with the same range of academic institutions stifles the creation of an open marketplace of ideas.

To address this macro problem, the structure of the Allied Social Science Association itself must be addressed. The President-Elect and his/her Program Committee has a critical role to play in constructing the AEA Annual Program. Given today's technology there is no reason why the President-Elect and members of the Program Committee cannot locate and identify economists from across the country and around the world who are doing similar work or economists who are exploring new and controversial lines of inquiry. Fusfeld's clearinghouse notion is very possible in today's technologically advanced world.

Technology may have also decreased the competitive edge held by Ph.D. granting institutions. Researchers across the US, in large research-oriented institutions and small liberal arts colleges, now have access to the same academic journals, working papers and colleagues, 24/7. The process and funding for attending professional meetings have improved. Attending a meeting and talking directly with colleagues from other institutions, however, is the preferred intellectual experience over downloading an article and reading in solitude.

These findings re-enforce previous findings and confirm recent observations made by others. Klein (2008) accused the AEA Chair and his/her AEA Program Committee members and the participants they choose for the AEA portion of the ASSA program of being a closed club. Members of the club are those who are in some way closely affiliated with the top Ph.D.-producing institutions. Session chairs find it easy to organize when selecting participants. They have easy access to a network of previous instructors and students. Fourcade, Ollion and Algan (2015) agree with Klien's notion that AEA Program is a club.
Moreover, they claim that the AEA program participants constitute a mutual admiration society and there is little debate over substantive elements of a paper. The club passes down the same ideas and perspectives from one generation of economists to the next in these top Ph.D.-producing departments.

Conversations change ideas. The more similar the identities of the human beings engaging in conversation, the more likely existing ideas will be re-enforced and solidified as the truth. The more diverse the identities of the human beings engaging in conversation, the more likely old ideas will be challenged, and new ideas emerge: So too with conversations in the economics profession. The more diverse the identities of the economists who are engaging in conversation, the more likely the canon might be challenged, and the more likely new content and methodologies may arise.

Appendix: Tables and Figures

Table 1. Allied Associations of the ASSA Over the Past Four Decades: 2013-14, 2003-2004, 1993-94 and 1983-84.

	Allied Associations			Allied Associations	
1	AAEA	Agriculture & Applied Economics Association	39	IEFS	International Economics and Finance Committee
2	ACE	Association of Christian Economists	40	IHEA	International Heath Economics Association
3	ACAES	American Committee on Asian Economic Studies	41	INEM	International Network for Economics Methodology
4	ACES	Association of Comparative Economic Studies	42	IOS	Industrial Organization Society
5	AEA	American Economic Association	43	IRRA	Industrial Relations Research Association
6	AEDSB	Association of Economic and Development Studies on Bangladesh	44	ISINI	International Society for Intercommunication of New Ideas
7	AERE	Association of Environmental and Resource Economists	45	ISIR	International Society for Inventory Research
8	AES	Atlantic Economic Society			International Society for New Institutional Economics
9	AFA	American Finance Association	46	ISNIE	International Trade and Finance Association
10	AFE	Association of Financial Economists	47	ITFA	Joint Council on Economic Education
11	AFEA	African Finance and Economic Association Association for Evolutionary Economics	48	JCEE	The Korean-American Economic Association
12	AFEE	Association of Indian Economic Studies Association of Indian Economic and	49	KAEA	Latin America Economic Association Latin America and Caribbean Economic
13	AIES	Financial Studies American Institute of Mining, Metallurgical,	50	LAEA	Associations Labor and Employment Relations
14	AIEFS	and Petroleum Engineers Association for Managerial Economics	51	LACEA	Association Middle East Economic Association
15	AIMMPE	American Professors for Peace in the Middle East American Real Estate and Urban Economic	52	LERA	National Association of Business Economics National Association of Economic
16	AME	Association American Risk and Insurance Association	53	MEEA	Educators
17	APPME	Association for the Study of the Cuban Economy	54	NABE	North American Economics and Finance Association
18	AREUEA	Association of Social Economics Association for the Study of the Grants	55	NAEE	National Association of Forensic Economics
19	ARIA	Economy American Society for Hispanic Economists	56	NAEFA	National Council on Economic Education National Economic Association
20	ASCE	Chinese Economic Association of North America	57	NAFE	National Tax Association
21	ASE	Chinese Economists Society	58	NCEE	Omicron Delta Epsilon
22	ASGE	Clinometric Society Economists Allied for Arms Reduction	59	NEA	Public Choice Society Product Survey Society
23	ASHE	Eastern Economic Association Economic History Associations	60	NTA/ TIA	Peace Science Society International Society for the Advancement of Behavior
24	CEANA	Economists for Peace and Security Econometric Society	61	ODE	Economics
25	CES	Economic Science Association	62	PCS	Society for Computational Economics
26	CS	Health Enhancement Research Organization	63	PSS	Society for Economic Dynamics
27	ECAAR	History of Economics Society	64	PSSI	Society for Economic Dynamics
			65	SABE	and Control

		International Association for Energy			Society for Economics and Management in
28	EEA	Economics	66	SCE	China
29	EHA	International Atlantic Economic Society			Society for Economics and Management
30	EPS	International Association for Feminists	67	SED	Bangladesh
31	ES	Economics	68	SEDC	Society for Government Economists
32	ESA	International Banking, Economics and			Society for Policy Modeling
33	HERO	Financial Association	69	SEMC	Society for the Study of Emerging Markets
					Transportation and Public Utilities Group
34	HES		70	SEMPB	Union of Radical Political Economists
35	IAEE				
			71	SGE	
36	IAES		72	SPM	
			73	SSEM	
37	IAFFE				
			74	TPUG	
38	IBEFA				
			75	URPE	

Source: Lists of allied associations from the ASSA Programs selected for this study.

Table 2. The Number (No.) and Percentage (%) of Sessions at the ASSA Meetings Sponsored by The Founding Members and Other Allied Associations: 2013-14, 2003-04, 1993-94 and 1983-84

Founding Members	**2013-14**		**2003-04**		**1993-94**		**1983-84**	
	No.	**%**	**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**
Agricultural & Applied Economics Association (AAEA)	6.0	1.2	5.5	1.3	4.0	0.8	4.0	1.1
American Economic Association (AEA)	**174.0**	**35.7**	**125.0**	**28.8**	**120.0**	**23.8**	**84.0**	**23.9**
American Finance Association (AFA)	53.5	11.0	42.0	9.7	30.8	6.1	21.0	6.0
Association for Social Economics (ASE)	6.3	1.3	7.5	1.7	8.3	1.6	6.0	1.7
Econometric Society (ES)	51.0	10.5	53.3	12.3	64.5	12.8	71.8	20.4
Labor and Employment Relations Association (LERA)	25.5	5.2	0.0	0.0	12.8	2.4	0.0	0.0
Total Sessions/Percent of Overall Total	**316.3**	**65.0**	**233.3**	**53.7**	**240.3**	**47.5**	**186.8**	**53.1**
Total Allied Associations	170.5	35.0	200.8	46.0	264.8	52.4	164.8	46.9
Total ASSA Sessions	486.8	100	434	99.8	505	99.9	351.6	100
Number of Allied Associations	52		49		47		35	
Total Associations = Founding Members + Allied Associations	58		55		53		41	

Figure 1. The Structure of and the AEA's Responsibilities for the ASSA Meetings

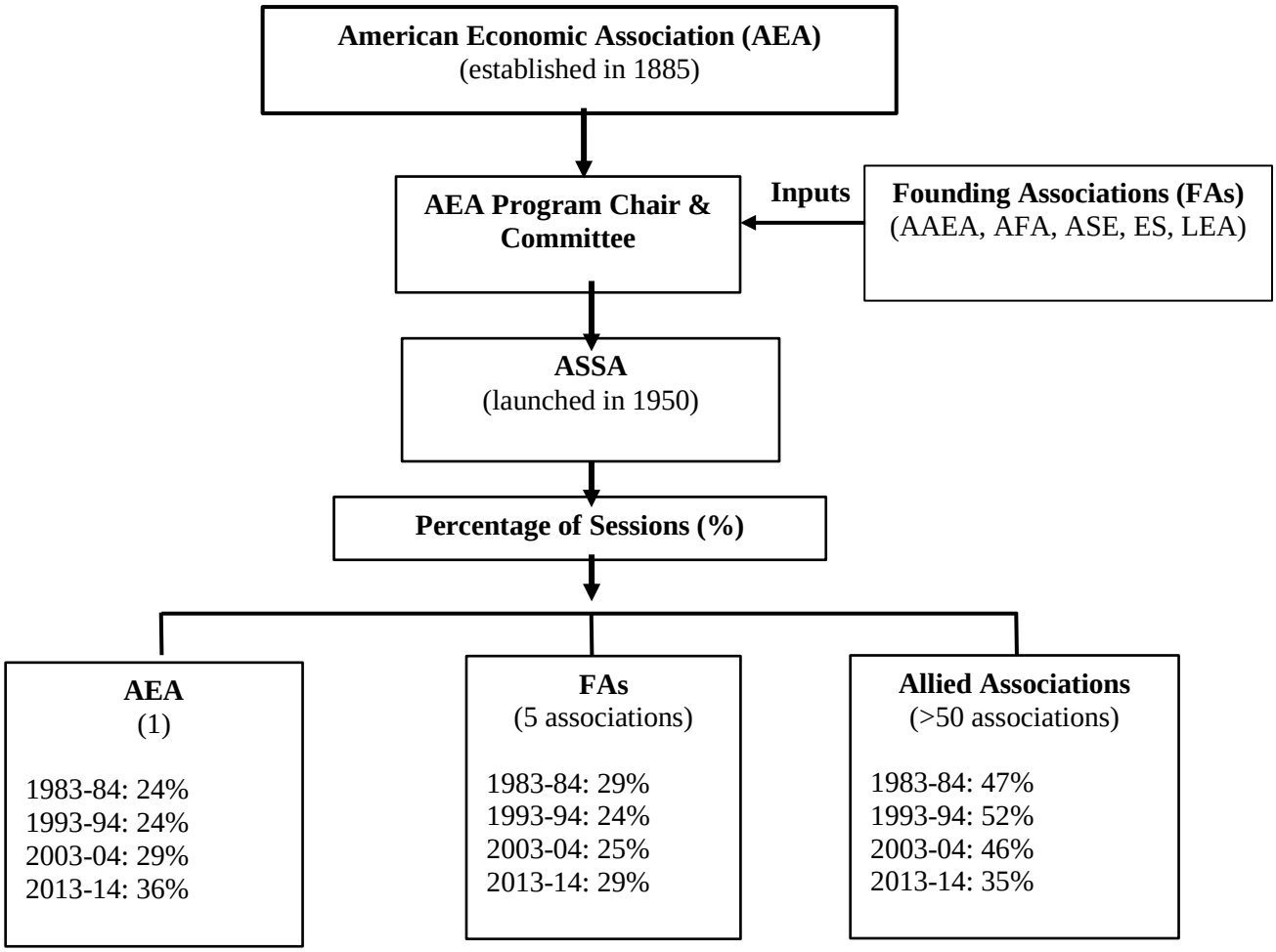

Table 3. The Percentage of All Faculty, Top 20 Faculty, All New Ph.D.'s and Top 20 New Ph.D.'s Who are Women for 2013-14, 2003-04, 1993-94 and 1983-84

Ph.D. Granting Institutions/ Year	**2013-14**	**2003-04**	**1993-94**	**1983-84**
Percentage: All Faculty	17.0	15.3*	13.5	6.2

Percentage: Top 20 Faculty	17.4	9.7	**	5.7
Percentage: All New Ph.D.	34.0	28.9	25.5	15.0
Percentage: Top 20 New Ph.D.	31.3	26.5	26.9	14.8

Note: *All those in tenure tracks and ** No Information

Table 4. Institutional and Graduate School Affiliations and Gender of the Program Chair and Program Committee Members: 1983-84, 1993-94, 2003-04 and 2013-14.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Year	President-Elect	Institutional Affiliation (IA)	IA Rank (IAR)	Graduate Affiliation (GA)	GA Rank (GAR)	Percent Male	Year PhD
1983	W. Arthur Lewis	Princeton	3	LSE	NA	100	1940
							23 sessions published out of 98 sessions (23.4 percent) New York, NY
1984	Charles L. Schultz	Brookings	NA	Maryland	NA	100	1960
							26 sessions published out of 107 sessions (24.3 percent) San Francisco, CA
1993	Zvi Griliches	Harvard	2	Chicago	5	100	1957
	13 Males 6 Females		1.8		3.1	68	1980
							26 sessions published out of 140 sessions (18.6 percent) Anaheim, CA
1994	Amartya Sen	Harvard	2	Trinity College	NA	100	1959
	16 Males 5 Females		9.2		7.6	76	1973
							26 sessions published out of 150 sessions (17.3 percent) Boston, MA
2003	Peter Diamond	MIT	1	MIT	1	100	1963
	17 Males 4 Females		9.4		5.1	81	1983
							25 sessions published out of 145 sessions (17.2 percent) Washington, DC
2004	Martin Feldstein	NBER	NA	Oxford		100	1967
	18 Males 4 Females		9.0		7.7	80	1982
							25 sessions published out of 138 sessions (18.1 percent) San Diego
2013	Claudia Goldin	Harvard	2	Chicago	5	0	1972
	11 Males 7 Females		10.6		4.1	82	1978
							25 sessions published out of 138 sessions (18.1 percent) San Diego
2014	William Nordhaus	Yale	7	MIT	1	100	1967
	12 Males 6 Females		6.2		3.6	67	1978
							25 sessions published out of 138 sessions (18.1 percent) Philadelphia

Table 5. Percentage of Presenters with Top 20 and Others Institutional Affiliations on the AEA Programs: 2013-14, 2003-04, 1993-94, 1983-84, 1980-1989, and 1950-1954.

Institutional Affiliation	**2013-14**	**2003-04**	**1993-94**	**1983-84**	**1980-1989***	**1950-1954****
MIT	3.8	4.8	2.5	2.0	2.5	1.4

Harvard	5.4	5.8	4.8	4.7	4.5	10.0
Princeton	1.5	2.2	1.6	1.8	2.6	
Stanford	3.8	3.4	2.1	2.4	3.0	2.9
Chicago	3.8	3.4	3.1	1.6	2.2	6.2
Berkeley	2.8	2.8	3.3	2.7	2.2	6.7
Yale	2.1	1.0	1.8	2.4	1.9	4.8
Northwestern	1.0	1.2	1.3	0.5	1.7	3.3
Pennsylvania	1.9	3.2	2.5	2.2	3.2	1.9
San Diego	1.0	0.9	1.0	0.0		
UCLA	1.3	1.5	0.8	0.6	1.2	
Michigan	1.5	2.5	2.1	1.2	1.9	3.8
Wisconsin	0.6	0.6	1.2	2.2	1.8	1.4
Minnesota	0.6	2.1	0.5	1.0	1.0	
Cal Tech	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.4		4.8
Columbia	2.0	1.6	1.3	1.8	1.6	
Rochester	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.5		
Cornell	1.4	1.1	1.1	1.0		
Carnegie	0.5	0.6	1.0	0.6		
NYU	1.8	1.4	1.1	1.1	1.5	
Total Top 20	**37.1**	**40.7**	**33.7**	**30.7**	**32.8**	**47.2**
Other US Academic	**24.0**	**26.7**	**37.6**	**43.5**	**56.8**	**39.1**
International	**22.5**	**15.4**	**10.7**	**4.9**		

Table 6. Percentage of Presenters with Top 20 and Others Graduate School Affiliations on the AEA Programs: 2013-14, 02003-04, 1993-94, and 1983-84

Institutional Affiliation	**2013-14**	**2003-04**	**1993-94**	**1983-84**
MIT	9.1	12.0	8.1	8.5
Harvard	10.1	12.9	10.2	16.0
Princeton	2.9	3.8	4.6	3.0
Stanford	5.0	3.4	3.9	2.0
Chicago	4.3	6.8	8.0	5.6
Berkeley	5.1	3.6	4.7	3.3
Yale	2.7	3.9	4.7	4.5
Northwestern	2.2	1.4	2.1	2.0
Pennsylvania	2.1	2.6	2.3	2.7
San Diego	0.9	0.7	0.1	0.2
UCLA	1.7	1.6	1.4	3.1
Michigan	2.4	2.4	2.8	1.6
Wisconsin	1.7	2.8	4.1	3.9
Minnesota	1.7	2.0	1.9	0.8
Cal Tech	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.0
Columbia	1.8	2.6	2.1	4.5
Rochester	0.9	1.3	0.8	1.0
Cornell	1.3	1.0	1.3	0.8
Carnegie Mellon	0.6	0.8	0.5	0.7
New York University	1.5	1.2	0.7	1.0
Total Top 20	**57.9**	**67.2**	**64.6**	**65.2**
Other US Academic	**16.8**	**15.0**	**18.8**	**23.5**
Non-US Academic	**21.5**	**10.2**	**9.4**	**5.9**
Unknown	3.8	7.7	7.3	5.1

Table 7. Percentage of Presenters with Top 20 and Others Institutional Affiliation by Gender on the AEA Programs: 2013-14, 2003-04, 1993-94, and 1983-84

Institutional Affiliation	**2013-14**			**2003-04**			**1993-94**			**1983-84**		
	F	**M**	**DK***	**F**	**M**	**DK***	**F**	**M**	**DK***	**F**	**M**	**DK***
MIT	24.2	67.7	8.1	18.5	71.6	9.9	9.1	81.8	9.1	0.0	100	0.0
Harvard	22.2	70.5	7.4	18.4	77.6	4.1	6.2	90.6	3.1	10.3	87.2	2.6
Princeton	14.0	78.0	8.0	21.6	73.0	5.4	22.7	77.3	0.0	6.7	93.3	0.0
Stanford	20.8	73.6	5.6	8.6	84.5	6.9	10.7	85.7	3.6	5.0	95.0	0.0
Chicago	16.9	80.6	2.4	13.8	82.8	3.4	2.4	97.6	0.0	7.7	84.6	7.7
Berkeley	20.0	70.0	10.0	4.2	93.8	2.1	29.5	68.2	2.3	26.1	73.9	0.0
Yale	10.4	74.6	14.9	17.6	76.5	5.9	16.7	75.0	8.3	5.0	90.0	5.0
Northwestern	12.9	74.2	12.9	14.3	81	4.8	11.1	88.9	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
Pennsylvania	15.9	66.7	17.5	12.7	78.2	9.1	11.8	82.4	5.9	16.7	83.3	0.0
San Diego	15.6	71.9	12.5	20.0	66.7	13.3	14.3	85.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
UCLA	26.8	61.0	12.2	30.8	61.5	7.7	18.2	63.6	18.2	0.0	100.0	0.0
Michigan	24.5	63.3	12.2	19.0	69.0	11.9	17.9	75.0	7.1	10.0	90.0	0.0
Wisconsin	15.8	52.6	31.6	0.0	100.0	0.0	18.8	81.2	0.0	16.7	83.3	0.0
Minnesota	30.0	55.0	15.0	16.7	75.0	8.3	0.0	85.7	14.3	0.0	100.0	0.0
Cal Tech	0.0	100.0	0.0	25.0	75.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	33.3	66.7	0.0
Columbia	21.5	69.2	9.2	10.7	78.6	10.7	11.8	88.2	0.0	20.0	80.0	0.0
Rochester	22.2	66.7	11.1	16.7	66.7	16.7	0.0	100.0	0.0	25.0	75.0	0.0
Cornell	21.7	63.0	15.2	27.8	66.7	5.6	20.0	73.3	6.7	37.5	62.5	0.0
Carnegie	26.7	66.7	6.7	45.5	54.5	0.0	30.8	69.2	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
NYU	10.0	78.3	11.7	8.7	78.3	13.0	13.3	60.0	26.7	22.2	77.8	0.0
Top 20	**19.4**	**70.9**	**9.7**	**17.5**	**75.6**	**6.9**	**13.3**	**81.5**	**5.3**	**12.1**	**82.1**	**0.8**
Other US Academic	**25.4**	**60.1**	**14.5**	**21.6**	**72.0**	**6.4**	**23.9**	**66.0**	**10.1**	**14.0**	**81.3**	**4.7**
International	**20.4**	**66.5**	**13.1**	**12.6**	**68.7**	**18.7**	**16.7**	**69.4**	**13.9**	**2.4**	**85.4**	**12.2**
Think Tanks	30.1	60.2	9.8	25.6	69.2	5.1	27.0	73.0	0.0	16.1	80.6	3.2
Federal Reserve	17.1	70.0	12.9	19.10	64.0	16.9	21.6	75.7	2.7	0.0	94.1	5.9
Other Government	25.2	65.6	9.2	26.9	69.2	3.8	39.1	57.8	3.1	31.9	63.8	4.3
Other	21.1	69.0	9.9	22.6	66.4	10.9	12.6	81.6	5.8	8.4	85.5	6.0
N	3267			1698			1345			837		
Overall	**21.7**	**66.6**	**11.7**	**18.1**	**72.6**	**9.4**	**19.6**	**72.9**	**7.5**	**13.1**	**82.8**	**4.1**

Note: F is Female, M is Male, and DK means do not know.

Table 8. Percentage of Presenters with Top 20 and Graduate School Affiliations by Gender on AEA Program: 2013-14, 2003-04, 1993-94, and 1983-84

Graduate School	2013-14			2003-04			1993-94			1983-84		
	F	M	DK*	F	M	DK*	F	M	DK	F	M	DK
MIT	19.8	74.2	6.0	14.2	79.4	6.4	13.8	84.4	1.8	15.5	84.5	0.0
Harvard	21.6	71.1	7.3	13.7	77.7	9.6	13.1	79.6	7.3	11.2	86.6	2.2
Princeton	23.4	73.4	3.2	21.5	72.3	6.2	19.4	77.4	3.2	8.0	88	4.0
Stanford	24.1	67.3	8.6	13.8	75.9	10.3	26.4	66.0	7.5	0.0	100.0	0.0
Chicago	21.4	70.7	7.9	13.0	81.7	5.2	5.6	85.0	9.3	8.5	89.4	2.1
Berkeley	30.9	58.8	10.3	8.2	83.6	8.2	19.0	73.0	7.9	7.1	89.3	3.6
Yale	10.2	70.5	19.3	6.0	83.6	10.4	20.6	74.6	4.8	15.8	78.9	5.3
Northwestern	8.3	77.8	13.9	20.8	66.7	12.5	32.1	60.7	7.1	5.9	94.1	0.0
Pennsylvania	13.0	71.0	15.9	20.5	70.5	9.1	25.8	64.5	9.7	8.7	87	4.3
San Diego	23.3	73.3	3.3	25.0	66.7	8.3	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
UCLA	35.2	55.6	9.3	35.7	57.1	7.1	5.3	94.7	0.0	15.4	84.6	0.0
Michigan	22.8	64.6	12.7	22.5	77.5	0.0	36.8	60.5	2.6	15.4	84.6	0.0
Wisconsin	14.3	71.4	14.3	27.7	68.1	4.3	10.9	83.6	5.5	18.2	81.8	0.0
Minnesota	14.0	71.9	14.0	11.8	76.5	11.8	20.0	64.0	16.0	28.6	57.1	14.3
Cal Tech	20.0	60.0	20.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Columbia	29.3	46.6	24.1	40.9	56.8	2.3	21.4	75.0	3.6	23.7	73.7	2.62
Rochester	25.0	50.0	25.0	22.7	68.2	9.1	18.2	81.8	0.0	25.0	62.5	12.5
Cornell	41.5	29.3	29.3	29.4	58.8	11.8	33.3	50.0	16.7	28.6	71.4	0.0
Carnegie	38.9	61.1	0.0	28.6	64.3	7.1	14.3	71.4	14.3	16.7	83.3	0.0
NYU	10.4	72.9	16.7	30.0	65.0	5.0	11.1	88.9	0.0	12.5	87.5	0.0
Top 20	**21.7**	**67.8**	**10.5**	**20.3**	**72.5**	**7.2**	**19.8**	**74.3**	**5.9**	**13.2**	**79.2**	**2.5**
Other US Academic	**24.4**	**61.7**	**13.8**	**28.7**	**60.2**	**11.0**	**27.3**	**64.8**	**7.9**	**14.2**	**78.7**	**7.1**
Non-US Academic	**19.7**	**71.2**	**9.1**	**11.6**	**82.7**	**5.8**	**14.3**	**75.4**	**10.3**	**10.2**	**83.7**	**6.1**
Unknown	20.8	44.0	35.2	13.8	58.5	27.7	25.5	60.2	14.3	11.6	76.7	11.6
N	3267			1698			1345			837		
Overall	**21.7**	**66.6**	**11.7**	**18.1**	**72.6**	**9.4**	**19.6**	**72.9**	**7.5**	**13.1**	**82.8**	**4.1**

Note: F is Female, M is Male, and DK means do not know.

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