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Defending 'Dangerous' Minds

Reflections on the work of the Scholars at Risk Network

By Robert Quinn

Attacks on scholars and academic communities are not new. They date back at least as far as the 15th century when Greek scholars fled to Italy at the dawn of the Renaissance. Widespread persecution of scholars throughout Europe in the 1930s and 1940s is well-known. Fewer people realize that such attacks have continued right up to the present. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Cold War fueled purges of scholars throughout Eastern Europe, mirrored by anti-communist purges in America and elsewhere. The 1970s and 1980s saw anti-intellectual movements in China and Southeast Asia, and the rending of Latin America's universities by civil wars and dictatorships. In the 1990s, African scholars and universities have suffered immensely from international and national conflicts and resource deprivation.

The Scholars at Risk Network exists to respond to such attacks. Its basic mission is to promote academic freedom by defending the human rights of scholars worldwide. Since it was founded in 2000, the Network has examined more than 450 cases and arranged more than 50 temporary visits to Network member universities and colleges for scholars experiencing persecution because of their work, prominence or exercise of their fundamental human rights.

Why are scholars attacked?

Evidence suggests that academic communities remain favorite targets for repression. In the information age, the scholar's role in shaping the quality and flow of information in society is an unquestionable source of power. Repressive authorities intent on controlling societies naturally seek to control that power. Scholars are obstacles to these goals because the nature of their work requires the development of ideas, exchange of information, and expression of new opinions. Where the ideas, information and opinions are perceived by authorities as threatening, individual scholars are particularly vulnerable. Such scholars are labeled—explicitly or implicitly—as "dangerous," "suspect," "disloyal," "dissident," or "enemy" of the state, society, faith, family, culture, etc.

Examples of these types of targeted attacks are instructive. One professor of public health in North Africa published findings showing infant mortality at rates much higher than government figures. He was imprisoned. A political scientist from Southeast Asia and another from Europe published articles condemning violence by separatist movements in their respective countries and *(continued on page 2)*

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Some Survive . . .

Saad Eddin Ibrahim came to worldwide attention in 2000 when he was imprisoned and tried in Egypt on charges widely denounced as politically motivated by international audiences, including Amnesty International. A professor of sociology at the American University of Cairo and head of the Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies, Ibrahim was involved at the time of his arrest in making a documentary film, partially funded by the European Union, on Egyptian election irregularities. Charges against him included receiving funding without authorization, dissemination of false information abroad, and appropriating money by fraudulent means. Ibrahim was acquitted with 27 colleagues in March 2003 by Egypt's highest appeals court after spending more than 500 days in prison. His cause drew attention and support from a number of international actors, including Scholars at Risk Network.

calling for public rejection of violence and promotion of nonviolent conflict resolution. The former was assassinated outside his university, the latter survived an attempt on his life when a bomb planted in his car detonated too early. A sociologist from the Middle East conducted election monitoring with results strongly suggesting election fraud by the ruling party. He and more than a dozen colleagues were arrested, tried and imprisoned. In each case, the message of the scholar's work was effectively repressed, at least within the scholar's home country.

But what if the expressive activity that triggers the attack is not directly related to the scholar's work? Physicists, for example, frequently find themselves harassed and even imprisoned but almost never as a result of their physics. Rather, in naturally pursuing their academic research they need contact with laboratories and colleagues in other countries. When authorities excessively restrict travel and other means of collaboration, dedicated scholars may begin publicly calling for greater openness, transparency and liberalization.

Sometimes it is not the scholar's conduct at all but his or her status that triggers an attack. Because of their education, frequent travel and professional status, scholars are often prominent members of their community. This is especially true where a scholar is a member of a political, ethnic or religious minority, for female scholars and for scholars in developing countries where opportunities for advanced education are dearly limited. In these circumstances, an attack on an individual scholar may be a highly visible, highly efficient means for a repressive agent to intimidate and silence an entire community of people.

Most difficult are those situations where a scholar suffers very real threats to his or her security but where these same threats are experienced by the community in general: situations of internal armed, civil or international wars for example, where masses of persons are threatened with random violence.

Who is behind these attacks?

There is a tendency to assume that attacks on scholars are committed by a repressive state power—a dictator or junta. And sometimes that perception is correct. But the defense of academic freedom requires a more studied model. In some places the repressive agent is only one branch or wing of a government, like the military, the secret police, a ruling political party or sub-national authority. At other times it may be a non-government agent, including militants and paramilitaries. (Indeed, in some places scholars have come under attack from both the left, in the form of left-wing armed guerilla movements, and the right, in the form of armed paramilitary death squads.) These also include religious authorities, criminal organizations or even otherwise-legal commercial enterprises.

What types of attacks are we talking about?

While any given scholar may suffer one or more types of incidents, frequently scholars experience a "dynamic of iso-

lation," a pattern of incidents which escalate in intensity leaving a scholar alone and vulnerable to more serious, more violent attacks. For example a scholar typically will initially suffer some form of harassment, including perhaps warnings and surveillance. This may escalate to denial of accesses or permissions, confiscation of notes and computers files, professional or personal slander or defamation, or even physical or sexual intimidation. Somewhere along the way the scholar's colleagues may themselves be warned to avoid the scholar, or may do so themselves, so as to avoid a similar fate. This leaves the scholar increasingly vulnerable to more serious pressures, including arbitrary dismissal, exile, arrest on false charges, detention with or without trial, imprisonment, even torture, disappearance and death.

Also worth noting are the types of wider attacks suffered by university communities as a whole. These include ideological pressure and censorship (including imposition of approved national ideology, book burning and ideological revisionism), closing of schools and universities, suppression of strikes/protests, restrictions on travel and exchange of information, discriminatory restrictions on academic resources including discrimination against women, indigenous peoples, and cultural or ethnic minorities.

Why do we care about attacks on scholars?

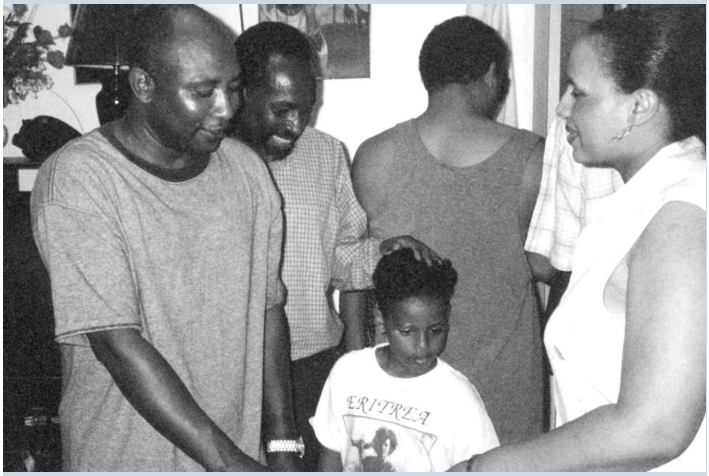
This is a question really in two parts. First, why should we care about scholars and academic freedom at all? In sum, we should care about increasing the quality and flow of information and understanding in the world, and academic freedom and scholarship promote these goals. Moreover, by defending scholars and promoting academic freedom in other countries, we invariably open discussions of the importance of academic freedom in our own communities—the results of which can only be constructive.

Second, and more difficult, is the question of why we should care about any particular scholars from countries other than our own. One simple answer is because their lives are at risk and we have the ability to save their lives.

Deeper answers are found in the reasons scholars are attacked. Scholars at Risk works not only to save lives but to save important voices. In those cases where scholars are attacked for the content of their work, we should ask ourselves what it is about that work that a state or other agent finds so threatening? More often than not, we will find truth and merit in the ideas or opinions expressed. By responding to these attacks, we gain insight and understanding for ourselves and help preserve the local intellectual capital of societies under threat.

When scholars are attacked as examples or to chill wider society, our efforts not only preserve voices but may help to forestall wider violations. Evidence from a number of countries strongly suggests that attacks on intellectuals precede wider violations of rights generally. By paying attention to these attacks on scholars early on, we may help to sound an alarm which can help to delay or forestall attacks on the

Some Do Not . . .



Dr. Alexander Naty, second from left.

In July of 2003, Dr. Alexander Naty, Department of Anthropology and Archeology at the University of Asmara, Eritrea, attended an international conference on Ethiopian Studies in Germany. He presented a paper on "Protestant Christianity among the Aari of Southwest Ethiopia." Upon his return to Eritrea, he was briefly detained by the government, had his passport confiscated, and was fired from his position at the university. The charges against him were attending an "unauthorized" conference which "gave aid and comfort to the enemy." Ethiopia and Eritrea have been at war off-and-on for the last 40 years. In the months following Dr. Naty's dismissal, a long-standing illness grew rapidly worse. In December 2003, he died. Individual and institutional protest against his treatment went unheeded by both the Government of Eritrea and the closely associated administration of the University of Asmara.

wider community. At a minimum, by vigorously responding to attacks we raise the costs to the oppressors, which taxes their resources and over time may reduce the severity and frequency of attacks.

Finally, by responding to attacks Scholars at Risk and its member-institutions build solidarity within the global academic community. Through the Network, academic communities are directly involved in the defense of academic communities. Recognizing that a threat to freedom of thought and opinion anywhere is a threat to these freedoms everywhere, Scholars at Risk and its members give concrete example to a better, brighter future.

What have we learned?

Scholars at Risk's experience indicates that a great deal can be done to reduce the severity and frequency of attacks. This is because of the simple fact that the primary tool of repressive agents is isolation, not violence.

Yes, violence is attendant to many attacks on scholars. Too many have been beaten, tortured, and even killed. But violence is often secondary. The primary tool of repressive agents is to isolate scholars, removing from society their voices, their thoughts, their ideas. Only the most clumsy of agents resort to open, physical elimination of individuals. Sophisticated oppressors use more subtle means of isolating, marginalizing, discrediting or stigmatizing scholars. As noted earlier, scholars may be barred from facilities or events, their travel restricted, their interactions with colleagues chilled by surveillance and other harassments; they may be discharged arbitrarily, or expelled from their community or forced into exile; they may be brought up on false charges, often alleging shameful or immoral conduct, or castigated in official media or local rumor networks. Often, these means of isolating scholars escalate in severity and danger. Beginning perhaps with friendly warnings about what would be good for one's career, moving on to express directions to discontinue the disfavored activity, followed by physical threats against one's self, family or friends—over time, as threats escalate, the scholar's isolation deepens, leaving him alone and vulnerable. It is at this point that the scholar is at most risk of violence. Moreover, if it is not simply one scholar but many scholars in the same community who become isolated and cut off from each other in this way, entire campuses or academic systems can be threatened. We are nearing that point in some places today.

The good news is that with well planned, timely intervention this dynamic of isolation may be interrupted. And it is with that goal in mind that Scholars at Risk was founded.

After four years and more than 450 cases, we have learned a lot. Most of the 50 or so candidates who found positions through the Network had no other options. Sadly there are far more out there that we did not help. So we must continue and expand our efforts.

This work is essential, but it is not easy. Our mandate could not be more broad: to serve scholars from any country and any discipline. Language barriers make it hard to identify some deserving candidates, and harder still to assist those we do identify. We are working on solutions. Several scholars have taken intensive English-language training at the beginning of their visits. In one case we arranged for a scholar to teach courses in her native language (Chinese). In others we arranged for an advanced graduate teaching assistant or arranged co-teaching assignments. Non-U.S. host universities are essential to addressing this challenge over the long term. Already, Scholars at Risk has helped arrange visits to universities in France, Norway, Mexico, Australia, Nigeria and other countries. Over the next several years Scholars at Risk will actively seek new Network members outside the U.S., especially in countries where the language of instruction is not English.

Cultural barriers are also a challenge. Frequently new arrivals in the U.S. feel cut-off from the community or overwhelmed by the frenetic pace of the American university. Easy access to email and voicemail are new experiences. The related obsession with scheduling visits and even times to talk is confusing and off-putting. Academic cultures also differ greatly, where visiting scholars must adapt to students who expect more interactive teaching styles, greater in-class discussion and, frequently, fewer and shorter assignments. (One visiting scientist from Africa, for example, reported that his department chairman had to ask him to revise his grading scale upward because "American students expect to do better.") None of these challenges are overwhelming nor are they necessarily unique to Scholars at Risk candidates, but they are important. Scholars at Risk is currently drafting a "best practices" manual that addresses these and other challenges.

Other challenges are unique to the population of visiting scholars assisted by the Network, and more specifically to those who are selected in part because of the risk or danger they face at home. The recent increase in processing times for visa requests not only in the U.S. but in most countries, for example, might further jeopardize scholars fleeing urgent dangers if they cannot obtain a visa in a timely fashion. Other scholars who do manage to leave their home country may need assistance in changing visa status to permit them to accept offered invitations or to remain lawfully within a third-country while their case is reviewed and a host institution identified.

Financial challenges have also been common, although not insurmountable. Scholars who have endured years of harassment (often including legal fees, other expenses or loss of income) or made hasty departures from danger frequently do not have much, if any, savings. If they do, the money is frequently not available once they leave their home country or would be so devalued by conversion as to be almost meaningless. Stipends and salaries normally would not begin until after the scholar's arrival. An advance against these is often required to cover travel expenses, or to assist the scholar on

arrival, for example with the deposit on an apartment or to secure furnishings.

Sensitivity to the trauma of forced relocation and past experiences is also essential. While most scholars are able to resume their work relatively easily, some invariably will benefit from supportive encounters with other refugees, or even counseling professionals. Scholars may have personal security concerns, either for themselves upon their hoped-for return to their home country at the end of a visit, or for family members or colleagues left behind. For this reason many scholars prefer not to be identified in Network media reports for fear of reprisals. (Others of course prefer to be identified in the hope that further international notoriety will add a measure of security upon their return.)

Many scholars will face a painful, personal decision concerning their long-term plans. Should they accept refugee status or live with the uncertainty of exile, holding on to the faintest of hopes that change is coming at home, that one's safe return will be possible soon, if not this year then next? Family issues obviously play a part in these questions. Even scholars who are single adults generally leave extended family behind. Married scholars frequently are forced to leave spouses and children, at least for an initial period while they reestablish themselves. Scholars at Risk has worked to arrange invitations for some scholars with families. But limited resources require us to focus on the scholars themselves.

While neither the Scholars at Risk office nor any given host university should be expected to resolve all or even most these challenges, Scholars at Risk works with each scholar and each host institution on a case-by-case basis to do whatever time and resources permit. Rather than shy away from these challenges, they provide the strongest evidence of the need for an organized effort like Scholars at Risk that centralizes experience and can offer assistance and best practices to institutions and scholars alike.

What can you do to help?

The most important thing to do is to pay attention to attacks on scholars. Nearly every day major U.S. and international news media include reports on scholars somewhere facing harassment or threat. Read these stories, discuss them with colleagues, and when possible report them to Scholars at Risk. Anyone may nominate suitable candidates for assistance through the Network, or for a fellowship through the IIE Scholar Rescue Fund.

You may also urge your institution to become a member of the Network. Membership requires the institution to endorse a statement that academics should be free to do their work without fear of persecution, to designate an official liaison (or more than one) to be the point of contact with the Network office, and to receive through that liaison periodic reports on scholars seeking assistance. Network members are asked to review this information, to circulate it within the institution and, where possible, to consider inviting one of the scholars listed to campus for a temporary visit. Even if your institution does not anticipate hosting a scholar in the near term, just by receiving and reviewing occasional case information you help Scholars at Risk find hosts for candidates. This is because most placements result from personal contacts, word of mouth. The more institutions that receive and circulate the information, the more likely we are to find a match for a colleague in need.

Some campuses have even gone a step further, forming local Scholars at Risk committees to receive the candidate information and evaluate the cases. These committees have also scheduled lectures, panels or other public events through the Scholars at Risk Speaker Series as a means of educating their community to the importance of academic freedom. These events have great power. Not only do they help to raise awareness of problems in other countries, but when people—especially students—learn of the variety and breadth of obstacles placed in the way of learning communities elsewhere, they tend to appreciate more the opportunities they have on our campuses. They tend also to appreciate more the importance of academic freedom and open discourse, and become more engaged in its defense.

The future of Scholars at Risk

Scholars at Risk is working to build on our experience and to improve our services for scholars and member institutions. With our recent relocation to New York University (from the University of Chicago) we have hired a full-time program officer, established a Network-wide advisory committee and launched a speaker series featuring formerly threatened scholars.

Over the next few years we hope to add training programs for scholars hosted by Network member institutions, including arrival and adjustment training and job-searching skills training. We also look to increase research and advocacy capacity in the area of standards-building, monitoring and reporting of violations, and public education. At the same time, we are also actively seeking to grow the Network, inviting especially new members from outside the U.S., with a focus on French, Spanish and Russian language institutions.

The final and most serious challenge facing Scholars at Risk is lack of resources. We are currently seeking new sources of funding to support our efforts to assist scholars and universities. Without substantial new funding, our plans to expand and even to continue our efforts could be threatened.

Joseph Stalin said, "Ideas are more powerful than guns. We would not let our enemies have guns. Why should we let them have ideas?" As long as there remain those who share this thinking and seek to repress new ideas, there remains a need for Scholars at Risk and its Network member-institutions to oppose them. ■

Robert Quinn is director of the Scholars at Risk Network and the IIE Scholar Rescue Fund.

Interdisciplinary Research: Trend or Transition

By Diana Rhoten

> "It took an ex-physicist—Francis Crick—and a former ornithology student—James Watson—to crack the secret of life. They shared a certain wanderlust, an indifference to boundaries."
>
> —Robert Wright

E.O. Wilson has argued that *consilience*—the "jumping together of knowledge" across disciplines "to create a common groundwork of explanation"—is the most promising path to scientific advancement, intellectual adventure, and human awareness (Wilson 1998: 8). Wilson and other interdisciplinary advocates contend that the breaching of scientific boundaries will lead to other breakthroughs as critical as the cracking of the DNA code.

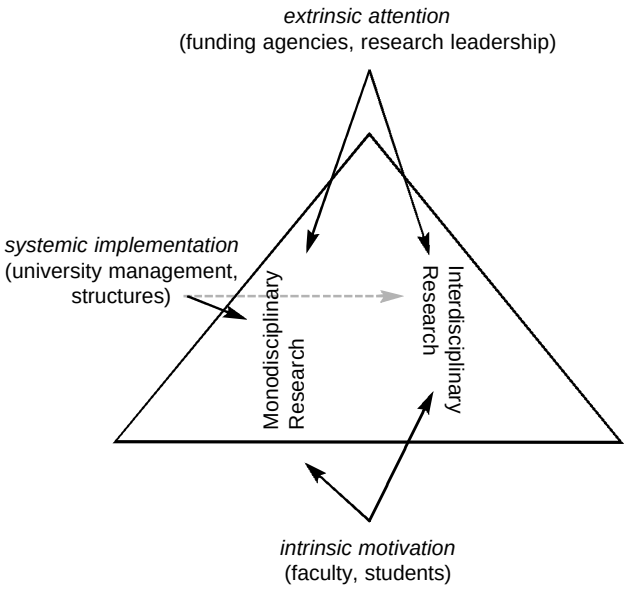
Today, some analysts claim that academic science has already embraced the idea of consilience and that a transformation is well underway from the traditional manner of doing research—homogeneous, disciplinary, hierarchical—to a new approach that is heterogeneous, interdisciplinary, horizontal, and fluid (for example, Cooke 1998; Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff 1998; Gibbons et al 1994). Others, however, suggest that the university's metamorphosis toward interdisciplinarity[i] is nowhere as far along as those in the first camp maintain (for example, Hakala and Ylijoki 2001; Hicks and Katz 1996; Slaughter and Leslie 1997). In fact, some would even argue that there is no empirical evidence of any fundamental change encompassing the university science system (Shinn 1999; Weingart 1997).

Our recent NSF-funded study of interdisciplinary research centers and programs suggests that the latter camp is right to be skeptical. Across the spectrum of higher education, many initiatives deemed interdisciplinary are, in fact, merely reconfigurations of old studies—traditional modes of work patched together under a new label—rather than actual reconceptualizations and reorganizations of new research. It was common to hear, for example, the mechanical engineer, atmospheric physicist, and public policy analyst describing themselves as "co-investigators on an interdisciplinary project" yet to observe them conducting their respective pieces of the research in near isolation from one another. Conversely, it was rare to encounter the hydrologist, economist, ecologist, and decision manager "collaborating directly with one another in the field" to formulate a new multi-objective integrative model.

Conventional explanations of the failures of interdisciplinary research to gain traction in the academy typically cite the following factors: the lack of funding for such initiatives; the indifference or hostility of scientists to working across established boundaries; and the incompatibility of university incentive and reward structures with interdisciplinary practices (for example, Bohen and Stiles 1998; Klein 1999; Metzger and Zare 1999; National Academies 1987, 2000; Weingart 1997). While these explanations are not wrong per se, our research suggests that the first two claims may be overstated while the third actually underestimates the broader set and deeper source of organizational misalignments.

By adapting Huy and Mintzberg's (2003) "triangle of change" and applying it to the academic research environment, this article demonstrates that the transition to interdisciplinarity and consilience does not suffer from a lack of *extrinsic* attention at the "top" or *intrinsic* motivation at the "bottom," but, rather, from a lack of *systemic* implementation in the "middle" (see figure 1).

Figure 1



The fact is, universities have tended to approach interdisicplinarity as a trend rather than a real transition and to thus undertake their interdisciplinary efforts in a piecemeal, incoherent, catch-as-catch-can fashion rather than approaching them as comprehensive, root-and-branch reforms. As a result, the ample monies devoted to the cause of interdisciplinarity, and the ample energies of scientists directed toward its goals, have accomplished far less than they could, or should, have.

Extrinsic attention

In our ongoing study, we have found substantial evidence of *extrinsic* attention to interdisciplinary research in the dis-

Data Note

The argument presented here is based largely on the results of an NSF-funded study entitled "A Multi-Method Analysis of the Social and Technical Conditions for Interdisciplinary Collaboration." While the literature is replete with theoretical and anecdotal accounts of interdisciplinary research benefits and barriers, this study is one of the first and few empirical analyses of interdisciplinary research practices and processes. The study was conducted in six interdisciplinary research centers between January 2002 and June 2003, and the analysis of data collected from these sites remains ongoing. The six centers were selected using both purposive and convenience sampling methods from the population of interdisciplinary centers funded under the NSF Environmental Research and Education portfolio. Thus, while all of the centers in our sample had been assembled for the express purpose of conducting interdisciplinary research and research training, they differed on the basis of organizational size, age, type, structure, and format; disciplinary diversity and distance; and, researcher composition (see Table 1).

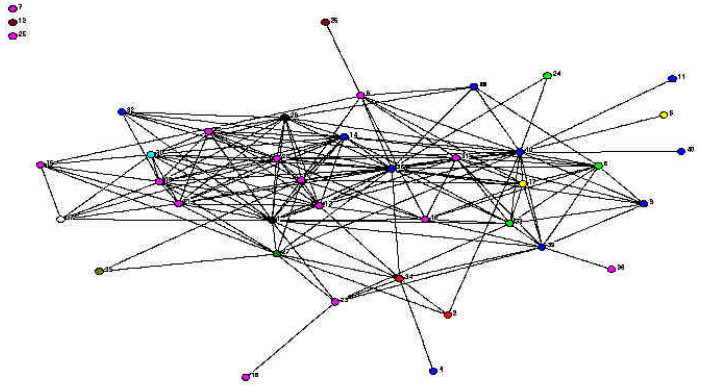
Our research in these centers combined techniques of social network analysis with those of ethnographic fieldwork. First, because full network methods require information about each actor as well as each actor's connections with all other actors, we gathered relevant data on researcher attributes, actions, and interactions by conducting a three-part survey with the population of researchers in each of the six centers by means of census (mean response rate = 73%). Second, although network analysis is an extremely useful way to understand the relationships between people in a particular group, it does not necessarily uncover why certain relationships are present or absent. Thus, in order to understand the context of and the dynamics between the researchers within each of the centers in our sample, we collected additional individual, relational, and organizational data by conducting site visits and systematic interviews in five of our six centers (mean number of interviews = 13).[ii]

The resulting data were used to: (1) Model the structure, relations, and positions of the research networks in each center; (2) Assess the relationship between the attributes of the individuals engaged in these networks, the conditions of the organizations that host them, and the nature of the interactions that populate them; and, (3) Identify the "hotspots" of interdisciplinary academic collaboration within each of these networks. The findings have yielded important insights about such things as the significance of individual features versus organizational factors in determining the shape of interdisciplinary networks, the consequences of "information sharing" versus "knowledge creating" activities for interdisciplinary collaborations, and the profiles of disciplinary versus interdisciplinary research "stars." However, because these results represent a very detailed picture of a small number of centers in a very specific arena of research at one particular time, we have continued to both test and augment them with evidence and experience from other interdisciplinary research activities, analyses, and assessments.[iii]

Table 1

	Center 1	Center 2	Center 3	Center 4	Center 5	Center 6
Affiliates	18	66	40	61	619	131
Founding Date	~1970	1996	1999	1997	1995	2000
Type	National Research Center	Human Dimensions of Global Change Center	Integrated Graduate Education and Training Program	Integrated Graduate Education and Training Program	National-State Research Center	Science Technology Center
Structure	Single Whole Network	Single Whole Network	Single Whole Network	Single Whole Network	Multiple Project Networks	Multiple Project Networks
Format	Single Institution	Multiple Institutions	Multiple Institutions	Single Institution	Hybrid	Multiple Institutions
(Sub)Disciplines	13	19	9	18	56	24
Fields of Science	6	8	4	4	8	7
Composition	44% faculty 17% (post)grad 39% non-tenure	52% faculty 38% (post)grad 10% non-tenure	55% faculty 40% (post)grad 5% non-tenure	41% faculty 57% (post)grad 2% non-tenure	46% faculty 20% (post)grad 33% non-tenure	30% faculty 42% (post)grad 25% non-tenure

Note(s): 1. Subjects agreed to participate in this study on the basis of anonymity and confidentiality for the research center and the research affiliates. 2. Center 5 and Center 6 had small populations of undergraduate students, which is why the composition does not total 100%.



Network diagram of one center's interdisciplinary research relations.

courses and resources of government agencies, policymakers, scholarly associations, and university administrators. We hear, for example, government officials such as Dr. Elias Zerhouni (Director, the National Institutes of Health) and Dr. Rita Colwell (Director, National Science Foundation)—the two largest federal funders of academic research—arguing that "disciplinary 'silos' need to broken" and "interdisciplinary connections are absolutely fundamental [as] the interfaces of the sciences are where the excitement will be the most intense" (Colwell 1998; Jones 2003). We also see the National Academies as well as individual national scholarly associations—from the American Geophysical Union and the American Chemical Society to the American Institute for Biological Sciences and the American Political Science Association—sponsoring interdisciplinary analyses and emphasizing interdisciplinary activities at the borders of their represented sciences and disciplines. And, we find academic institutions from Harvard to Haverford proclaiming "the need for academic and interdisciplinary change and innovation" to "foster and enable collaboration among the faculties . . . to advance understanding of complex problems" (Harvard University 2003; Haverford 1999).

There are also increasing public monies being dedicated to interdisciplinary research. Of the $4.11 billion that the NSF requested from Congress for research and related activities in 2004, $765 million—a 16.5% increase over 2003—has been earmarked for four priority areas, all designated as interdisciplinary: Biocomplexity in the Environment, Information Technology Research, Nanoscale Science and Engineering, and Human and Social Dynamics (NSF 2003; SIAM 2003). Likewise, the NIH has budgeted $130 million in fiscal 2004, with more than $2.1 billion scheduled over the next five years, for the new NIH Roadmap, which stresses establishment of interdisciplinary training programs, research centers, and collaborative conferences (Morrisey 2003).

In addition, private dollars are also being poured into interdisciplinary endeavors at unprecedented levels. In April 2003, the W. M. Keck Foundation underwrote a $40 million, 15-year grant to the U.S. National Academies for the "National Academies Keck Futures Initiative," a new program created to "stimulate new modes of inquiry and break down the conceptual and institutional barriers to interdisciplinary research" (National Academies 2003). In October of the same year, the James H. Clark Center opened as the new home of the Stanford University Bio-X Program, which is designed to accelerate interdisciplinary research for high-tech innovation in the biosciences. This center was funded largely by a $90 million grant from Clark (a well-known Silicon Valley entrepreneur) along with millions more from Atlantic Philanthropies (Miller 2003). And, while operations won't begin until 2006, the construction of the new Janelia Farm Research Campus was launched in late 2002. Speculated to cost $500 million and funded entirely by the Howard Hughes Medical Institute, the focus of Janelia Farm will be on "collaborative research that calls for the development and interdisciplinary application of cutting-edge technological tools [with] originality, creativity and a high degree of scientific risk-taking" (HHMI 2004).

Intrinsic motivation

According to Peter Weingart, interdisciplinarity, transdisciplinarity, and their inclusive kin have been "proclaimed, demanded, hailed, and written into funding programs" for more than 30 years, while at the same time specialization has increased at an exponential rate amongst researchers (Weingart 2000). While that may be true, we found more tension than contradiction between a researcher's institutional pressure to specialize and his/her *intrinsic* motivation to cross-fertilize. In contrast to the often stereotypical portrait of stubborn, risk-averse scientists resistant to venture from their disciplinary safe houses, we encountered many researchers—particularly younger researchers—driven to the edges of their fields by a shift in their epistemological values and

In contrast to the often stereotypical portrait of stubborn, risk-averse scientists resistant to venture from their disciplinary safe houses, we encountered many researchers driven to the edges of their fields by a shift in their epistemological values and intellectual interests.

intellectual interests. It was not uncommon to hear statements such as: "I have become very aware of the horrible inefficiency of the scientific enterprise in turning knowledge into useful products and benefits . . . so I came [to this interdisciplinary center] to branch out from what I was doing, to do something bigger and better, more intellectually interesting and more practically important." Or: the chemical engineer who reported, "When I first started [my research], I was really scared. The last time I had taken a biology course was in eighth grade. But, the question I wanted to answer required biology. I needed to find a way to work at the interface of chemical engineering and microbiology, or I needed to find a different question . . . Now, I am sorta' on the fringe of science, I guess, but I am dealing with the core problems of society. So, yeah, that is where I want to be." In their analysis of twelve cross-disciplinary initiatives at Emory University, Susan Frost and colleagues found a similar migration toward interdisciplinary research, with researchers also reporting to be motivated by the prospect of "intellectual enrichment" and the sense of "intrinsic reward" (Frost et al 2001).

The research affiliates in our study expressed this shift not only in their words but also in their actions and interactions. In the centers we surveyed, researchers reported committing on average about 50% of their total work time to center-related interdisciplinary activities. This is a substantial allocation of time given that interdisciplinary research is not always recognized as favorably or rewarded as equally compared to disciplinary research at the time of student and faculty evaluations. In fact, about 30% of researchers we surveyed reported that they felt their interdisciplinary affiliation had not helped and in some cases had even hindered their careers. For example, a graduate student in one center described his position as "non-traditional, highly beneficial, but completely risky," while a postdoctoral fellow in another center confided that "part of me thinks I did a little bit of career suicide by coming here."

In addition to making significant interdisciplinary research commitments, researchers also report making substantial cross-disciplinary research connections by either sharing existing information through "collegial" interactions or together creating new knowledge via "close" interactions. According to our survey results, the average number of close and collegial connections that any one researcher has with other affiliates ranges from 10 to 15 (depending on the center), of which an average of between 6 and 10 are with others outside his/her own discipline. Importantly, our data also indicate that while many of these connections—particularly those which cross disciplines—have yet to yield publications, 83% of the researchers surveyed said that their relationships with other center members have "positively" or "very positively" influenced the development of their own research agendas. It is not surprising that, in the short-term, diversity will yield more creativity than productivity, but it is significant as one begins to measure the "value" of interdisciplinary versus disciplinary science.

No systemic implementation

If neither attention nor motivation are lacking in the pursuit of interdisciplinarity, what forces are preventing its promotion from trend to transition? We argue that despite "talking the talk" of cross-boundary collaboration, many universities are failing to "walk the walk." Instead of implementing interdisciplinary approaches from the perspective of a thoroughgoing reform, many universities are simply adopting the interdisciplinary labels without adapting their disciplinary artifacts. The result has been problematic on two levels. Not only has the persistence of old structures created real or perceived disincentives to and penalties for pursuing interdisciplinary work. But, far more critically, the lack of *systemic* implementation taken in order to re-design and not just re-name these structures and thus actively support interdisciplinary research has actually created initiatives that are inherently incapable of achieving the very goals they seek to accomplish and unfortunately unable to serve the very constituents they hope to support. Below are just a few cursory examples of some of the common organizational errors that have resulted from the lack of vigorous thinking around interdisciplinarity.

Instead of implementing interdisciplinary approaches from the perspective of a thoroughgoing reform, many universities are simply adopting the interdisciplinary labels.

The interdisciplinary centers we studied here, as well as most of those we have since observed, are organized around large catch-all themes such as "global climate change," "environmental impacts," or "sustainable resources." Yet, they often lack unified and unifying problem definitions and project directions around which their researchers' skills and ideas could coalesce. While purposefully broad themes allow a certain amount of disciplinary multiplicity, the absence of explicit, discrete targets of work—otherwise known as "boundary objects"[iv]—appears to complicate rather than catalyze communication and collaboration between the disciplines. As a result, most interdisciplinary research centers have a tendency to become a nexus of loosely connected individuals searching for intersections, as opposed to cohesive groups tackling well-defined problems. This result is more akin to the traditional department structure—minus the common ground—than it is an example of a new mode of knowledge production.

Similarly, most centers we examined began by creating a "laundry list" of affiliates and disciplines at the proposal

stage, instead of selecting on the basis of the research problem and identifying what researchers might potentially contribute. In combination with a trend in interdisciplinary funding toward longer-term initiatives, this has meant that researchers—having been chosen to fill a nominal slot rather than address a specific role—often find themselves "locked in" to center affiliations from which they do not benefit professionally and may not even thrive intellectually despite their own motivations and interests. In several cases, researchers reported forsaking the *extrinsic* rewards for the *intrinsic* ones but in the end getting neither: "I was left with nothing but feelings of frustration and ambivalence with the interdisciplinary center, and feelings of fear and rejection in my disciplinary department." Thus, while longer organizational life cycles may give centers time to improve their research practices and processes, long-term and full-time affiliations can actually limit and not accentuate researcher creativity and productivity. In our study, researchers who felt free to enter and exit collaborative relationships reported more progress with their interdisciplinary projects and greater satisfaction in their professional lives overall.

In the same vein, interdisciplinary centers seem to have associated larger numbers of affiliates with greater rates of interdisciplinarity. While this may make sense in terms of increasing disciplinary multiplicity, our data show that it does not increase meaningful interdisciplinary activity. In fact, our results suggest that although medium and large centers (20-49 affiliates and 50 or more affiliates, respectively) may produce marginally more information-sharing relations within and across disciplines on average than small centers (fewer than 20 affiliates), they are not necessarily more effective at producing interdisciplinary knowledge-creating connections. Indeed, we found that small centers—or small bounded networks within large centers—actually produce more such connections than larger centers do.

> Most interdisciplinary research centers have a tendency to become a nexus of loosely connected individuals searching for intersections, as opposed to cohesive groups tackling well-defined problems.

Moreover, because many large centers are inter-institutional or international, they must rely on cyber-infrastructure to support interdisciplinary science. While such technologies make long distance science collaborations plausible, the data indicate that technologically-mediated communication may be a good complement but not a good substitute for face-to-face communication—particularly when working across different disciplines. Approximately 71% of the researchers in our study reported face-to-face communication as their primary mechanism for information sharing and knowledge creating, both in general and across disciplines. This compares to 59% who reported using technologically-mediated communication in general, and only about 50% who employ technologically-mediated communication across disciplines. Finally, the fact that 77% prefer informal to formal face-to-face communication in both circumstances reinforces other research suggesting that the sharing of scientific information and the creation of new knowledge are dependent on the interpersonal, spontaneous interactions of researchers (Kanfer 2000)—a class of interaction generally hindered by traditional disciplinary departments and so often unrealized by new interdisciplinary centers.

Some implications and conclusions

At the outset of our study, we were struck by how little empirical data existed about the real-world practice of interdisciplinary research. Two years later, we are struck by the fact that our data raise more questions than they answer. And yet, even so, we believe there are a number of clear implications to be drawn from our study regarding the future conduct of cross-boundary science.

To provide fertile ground for this type of research, interdisciplinary centers need not only to be well-funded but to have an independent physical location and intellectual direction apart from traditional university departments. They should have clear and well-articulated organizing principles—be they problems, products, or projects—around which researchers can be chosen on the basis of their specific technical, methodological, or topical contributions, and to which the researchers are deeply committed. While a center should be established as a long-standing organizational body with continuity in management and leadership, its researchers should be appointed for flexible, intermittent but intensive short-term stays that are dictated by the scientific needs of projects rather than administrative mandates. Not only will such rotating appointments allow researchers to satisfy their intellectual curiosities without jeopardizing their professional responsibilities, they will also better serve the epistemological priorities of interdisciplinary research.

As more researchers divide their time between interdisciplinary centers or programs and traditional disciplinary departments, the academic research community must learn to accommodate institutionally and professionally what Brown and Duguid (2000) describe as "networks of practice." Networks of practice constitute the broad social systems through which researchers share information but which do not always yield new knowledge in immediate or traditional forms. In the current academic structure, the value of research and researcher alike is usually measured by the production of new knowledge in the form of publications in academic journals. However, information sharing networks may often yield "harder to count" but equally important—

albeit different—outputs such as Congressional testimonies, public policy initiatives, popular media placements, alternative journal publications, or long-term product developments. While these are the opportunities that often draw individuals to interdisciplinary work, they are also some of the most under-appreciated and unrewarded activities within today's academy.

Finally, for interdisciplinary research centers to achieve their stated aim of addressing new problems in fundamentally new ways, they must be populated with individuals who can serve as "stars" and as well as those who can be "connectors." These are not always one and the same. Universities, therefore, will have to reconsider the priorities and practices of graduate education and training in order to prepare individuals for such centers. We argue that graduate programs must not only educate future scientists to be experts in the methods, techniques, and knowledge of their chosen disciplines but to have the broader problem-solving skills that require learning, unlearning, and relearning across disciplines.

How best to support and encourage these new ways of learning is the central challenge now facing the academy. All around us, the sciences are increasingly colliding at the nexus of complex problems. In the years ahead, those collisions have the capacity to produce many interdisciplinary discoveries as seminal as Watson and Crick's. The universities that successfully reform themselves to meet the challenges presented by interdisciplinary research will find themselves at the center of what some observers liken to a second scientific revolution. Those who fail will find themselves watching from the sidelines. ■

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Endnotes

[i] We use interdisciplinarity here to refer specifically to the integration of different methods and concepts through a cooperative effort by a team of investigators. We do not use the term to refer to simply the representation of different disciplines on a team nor to individuals who may themselves incorporate different disciplines on a project themselves.

[ii] Due to scheduling conflicts and the seasonal nature of the center, we were not able to visit the sixth center before the close of the grant period.

[iii] These include the author's participation in interdisciplinary program evaluations at the federal, state, and university levels; interdisciplinary center proposal and review teams; interdisciplinary strategy consultations with university leaders, government officials, and academic researchers; and, previous and related studies of interdisciplinary practices and processes.

[iv] Boundary objects are artifacts that are used by different groups but which, when they cross the boundaries between groups, may be interpreted differently. The notion of boundary objects was developed by S. L. Star, "The Structure of Ill-Structured Solutions: Heterogeneous Problem Solving, Boundary Objects and Distributed Artificial Intelligence," in Huhns and Gaser, eds. *Distributed Artificial Intelligence* (Los Altos, CA: Morgan Kaufmann, 1989).

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Word from the President

Toward a More Public Social Science

When lawsuits challenged affirmative action policies at the University of Michigan, social scientists contributed to several *amicus curiae* briefs and an active public debate. Social scientists have also figured prominently in American debates over marriage (including both how to support it and whether to ban some forms of it); over productivity growth, the implications of outsourcing, and other economic issues; and over how to reform a costly and inequitable health care system. Internationally, social scientists have contributed to debates over the environment; globalization; combining growth and equity in economic development; and how free from commercialization and government control the Internet can be.

Each of these is an important instance of "public" social science. And indeed a variety of efforts are underway both to call more attention to the public value of social science and to make sure social science is published in ways that reach broader publics. The American Sociological Association annual meeting this August will focus on "public sociology." A "public anthropology" section has just formed in the American Anthropological Association. Related concerns were part of the "perestroika" agenda for reform of the American Political Science Association. Several associations have either founded or are considering new journals to bring scholarship to a broader public. These efforts are all important.

However, I want to suggest four crucial ingredients of a more public social science that are not always stressed in such discussions.

1. Engagement with public constituencies must move beyond a dissemination model. It is not enough to say that first scientists will do whatever "pure" research moves them and then, eventually, there will be a process of dissemination, application, and implementation. Writing more clearly is good, but not the whole answer. For one thing, we should be cautious about assuming that social scientists should always write directly for broad publics; this may be more the task of some than others, and raising the standards for how journalists draw on social science may be equally important. As the crises of libraries and university presses reminds us, we have also failed to ask enough questions about what publications deserve public subsidies and which should proceed on market bases. In the process, we have made it hard for both ourselves and especially our nonspecialist readers to identify what is really worthwhile. We also need to bring non-scientific constituencies for scientific knowledge into the conversation earlier. Those who potentially use the results of social science in practical action, and those who mediate between scientists and broader publics, should be engaged as social science agendas are developed. Neither broader dissemination nor better "translation" of social science will be adequate without a range of relationships to other constituencies that build an interest in and readiness to use the products of research.

2. Public social science does not equal applied social science. More "applied" research may be helpful, but the opposition of applied to pure is itself part of the problem. It distracts attention from the fundamental issues of quality and originality and misguides as to how both usefulness and scientific advances are achieved. Sometimes work undertaken mainly out of intellectual curiosity or to solve a theoretical problem may prove practically useful. At least as often, research taking up a practical problem or public issue tests the adequacy of scientific knowledge, challenges commonplace generalizations, and pushes forward the creation of new, fundamental knowledge. Moreover, work engaging important public issues— democracy and the media, AIDS and other infectious diseases, immigration and ethnicity—is not necessarily short-term or limited to informing immediate policy decisions. While putting social science to work in "real time" practice is vital, it is also crucial to recognize that none of these issues will go away soon. We won't learn how to deal with them better in coming decades if we don't commit ourselves now to both long-term pursuit of deeper knowledge and also systematic efforts to assess and learn from the practical interventions made in the meantime.

3. Problem choice is fundamental. What scientists work on and how they formulate their questions shape the

likelihood that they will make significant public—or scientific—contributions. Of course there are and must be research projects driven by intellectual curiosity and by attempts to solve theoretical problems—and these may produce useful, even necessary knowledge for a range of public projects. But it is also true that many academic projects are driven by neither deep intellectual curiosity nor pressing public agendas, but simply by the internal arguments of academic subfields or theoretically aimless attempts at cumulative knowledge that mostly accumulate lines on CVs. To justify these by an ideology of pure science is disingenuous. To let these displace the attention of researchers from major public issues is to act with contempt towards the public that pays the bills. Making the sorts of social science we already produce more accessible is not sufficient; we have to produce better social science. This means more work addressing public issues—and being tested and pushed forward by how well we handle them—and high standards for the originality and importance of projects not tied directly to public issues.

4. A more public social science needs to ask serious questions about the idea of "public" itself. What is "the public?" How are its needs or wants or interests known? How are they formed, and can the processes by which they are formed be improved, made more democratic, more rational, or more creative? Are there in fact a multitude of publics? How do they relate to each other and what does this plurality mean for ideas of the public good? How is public decision-making saved from "tyranny of the majority?" When are markets the best way to achieve broad public access, and when are governmental or philanthropic alternatives most helpful? Can ideas of the public be reclaimed from trivialization by those who see all social issues in terms of an aggregation of private interests? What are the social conditions of a vital, effective public sphere and thus of an important role for social science in informing public culture, debate, and decision-making? Indeed, science itself must be public—findings published and debated, theories criticized. This is how it corrects and improves itself. And social science informs public debate, not only the making of policies behind closed doors. Good science raises the quality of debate, clarifying its factual bases and theoretical terms; it doesn't just support one side or another.

Consider the recent debates over affirmative action, including the University of Michigan court case. The idea that diversity of participation in higher education could be understood as a public good was in sharp tension with questions about the allocation of access as a private good. For many, the entire argument was over appropriate criteria for fair distribution of admission understood as a private, individually appropriated benefit. But others held that for the public good of the state or the country it was important to make higher education available on other than private bases. What "public" means in such a discussion, why it matters, and how public benefits might be demonstrated are all important social science questions. If we have trouble answering them, this has implications not only for affirmative action policies, but for the rationale for public universities themselves (and indeed, for treating "private" universities as providers of a public good worthy of tax exemptions). Why is high quality education a public good, why is it good for the public, and why because of this is it crucial to democracy?

This is not simply an abstract theoretical question. Public universities are suffering serious fiscal pressures, and sometimes responding in ways that fundamentally transform their social roles. Since they draw in varying degree on state budgets, it is important to ask what public interests they serve. Are they merely mechanisms for the (more or less fair) distribution of state subsidies to "deserving" students (who turn out to be mainly middle class)? Or are the subsidies also intended to support industry by virtue of research and training? Or do they have a more identifiably public mission?

The answer is fundamental to whether key social institutions that support the production of scientific knowledge—and the education of citizens to understand it—will remain vibrant. Whether those who make decisions about public expenditures will think public research universities worth the cost depends in part on how well we scientists build bridges to other constituencies and make sure that science engages problems of pressing public importance.

A more public social science depends not only on the institutions in which knowledge is produced, but those in which it potentially informs public opinion, debate, and decision-making. Democracy also depends on a vital public sphere, yet current transformations in the media—not just technology, but ownership and economic structure, content and orientation, career structure and professional practice—raise important questions. Advocates and activists tackle these questions, but with too little serious research informing their work and providing for learning from real-time engagements.

A new SSRC project takes up this challenge. Supported by the Ford Foundation, we are looking at the ways in which public communications media underpin democratic public life. A central part of our agenda is to provide a richer basis in theory and evidence for debates over the role of government regulation and facilitation of different media from broadcast to the Internet, over the implications of private ownership and public funding, and over how to ensure both wide public access and diversity and quality of contents. These issues are intensely contested by legal advocates, grassroots activists, and representatives of different interest groups. But academic attention is thin, and dispersed over a range of different fields both in the social science disciplines and in professional schools of communications, law, business, and public affairs. Different kinds of empirical knowledge and intellectual perspectives are needed to develop

an adequate account of what is publicly important about the media. And it is at once an intellectual and a practical question what it means for citizens to claim rights in regard to the media that are not simply private property rights.

As we develop this project, we will not only bring together academics from a variety of fields, but also build bridges among advocates, activists, practitioners and academics and between all of these and those making decisions in regulatory agencies, legislatures, and corporations. That is, we will seek ways to have the thinking of those developing theoretical and research agendas directly informed by the kinds of concerns driving practical action and arguments before courts and regulatory bodies. The point is not to determine the results in advance of scientific work, but to make sure there is a constituency for the results of scientific work.

An important public role of science is to generate theory and evidence that can command the serious attention of those who approach practical questions with different values or agendas. The "research" that informs too many public debates is tailor-made to fit the needs of one or another line of practical argument. This problem is exacerbated by the extent to which such research is produced on a contract basis by firms—like the so-called "Beltway Bandits" around Washington, DC—that do not have a commitment to advancing scientific knowledge and to the necessity of open debate over findings and arguments this entails. These firms—whether organized on a for-profit or not-for-profit basis—have grown largely because there was a demand for them from policymakers and advocates. This demand was informed partly by a desire to escape the uncertainties that a true quest for knowledge entails—including the possibility that the results won't support the position one has taken in advance. But it was also shaped by academic social scientists distancing themselves from public debates and practical issues in the name of pure science, orienting their communications almost entirely to each other, and failing to work at least partly on schedules that brought out the results of their work in time to address active issues.

Too often, we act as though making sure that knowledge is shared and even used can be left to afterthoughts—separate actions after the research of which publication is the most important. And publication, we imply, is simply a matter of the eternal record, the accumulation of truths on which policymakers may eventually draw. But publication is also a conversation, central to science not just as a record but as part of the process by which understanding is refined, errors corrected, and possible applications discerned. And the conversation needs to start before publication—and indeed often while research is still in the planning stage. It needs to include not only other scientists—like the interdisciplinary committees for which the SSRC is famous—but broader constituencies. Depending on the nature of the project, these might include policymakers, journalists, advocates, activists, or others. Getting a broader constituency involved in thinking about scientific research agendas as they are developed is an important way to make sure the results of scientific research get into the hands of those who need them. And for each SSRC project, we are trying near the outset to identify the set of core constituents whom we want to see informed by the debates and findings, and trying to map a strategy for reaching them.

None of this means that the scientific research process should be short-circuited, that political or policy considerations should distort findings. Nor does it mean that social science isn't advanced by many kinds of work—such as much of the history and theory close to my own heart—that doesn't have immediate practical uses. It does mean that better relationships between scientists and broader constituencies are vital to making science more useful, and indeed, in many cases intellectually better. Indeed, it may even be the case that better shared discussion of research agendas will sometimes build the basis for more acceptance of unpopular findings.

The SSRC can't work on all the public issues towards which social science has potentially important contributions to make.

Too often, we act as though making sure the knowledge is shared and even used can be left to afterthoughts . . .

We focus on a few—chosen partly because they are especially important, but also because they have strategic potential to change the way in which social science research is organized and informs public affairs. How is international migration organized, and how is it changing social life, social solidarities, culture and politics? How can growth and equity be effectively combined in economic development, and how can attention to the political, social, and cultural concomitants of economic change be integrated into development agendas? How does globalization both transform and work through regions and nations, how are these reconfigured, and when do they resist? How can public health be advanced, especially when socially organized capacities to deliver prevention, care, and treatment lag far behind new developments in biomedical science and in cases like AIDS where epidemics may bring social transformations?

Of course social scientists have long believed that the public ought to pay more attention to their work. The issue now is not simply to promote ourselves better, but to ask better social science questions about what encourages scientific innovation, what makes knowledge useful, and how to pursue both these agendas, with attention to both immediate needs and long term capacities. ■

CRAIG CALHOUN

Do We Need Recommendation Letters?

By Itty Abraham

Some weeks ago I was in New Delhi, publicizing our South Asia fellowship program. At a meeting at JNU, one of India's premier universities, I was asked a question by a member of the faculty that took me completely by surprise. The person in question, someone who had received her Ph.D. from Columbia, and hence, who knew all too well the protocols and culture of American academia, asked in reference to the application process: "Do we have to have letters of recommendation?" My immediate response was one of horror. "Of course," I replied, "how else would your application be complete?" She replied that the effort involved in getting letters, of asking colleagues to write on her behalf, was time-consuming and involved considerable expenditure of limited amounts of social capital. There were other reasons in her mind no doubt, and which I shall try and identify below, but she may not have been willing to state them in front of her colleagues. At the time, I must admit, I identified her question as yet another example of the weakness of professional norms in South Asian academic circles, namely, the expectation of rewards on the basis of status and rank rather than our preferred norms of professional consensus and peer-adjudicated standards. Others in the group spoke up and agreed that letters of recommendation were a familiar and desirable condition of competitive selection, and the matter died there. But given the person, and given the setting, her deceptively simple question has continued to nag at me, provoking this note in the hope of getting reactions to this challenge to a rarely-questioned academic standard.

> Letterheads from top-tier institutions become the equivalent of the Masonic handshake, informing us tacitly of the quality of the addresser.

As far as I can tell, the origins of "letters of recommendation" lie in communications between select individuals and editors of scientific journals, recommending the publication (and implicitly guaranteeing the quality) of scientific results conducted by non-members of elected professional associations. In other words, if you were not a fellow of the Royal Society and wanted to be published in their prestigious *Proceedings*, (formerly one of the leading journals of the natural sciences in Europe and hence the world), you had first to find someone who was a fellow, convince him (there were few women fellows) of the quality of your work and then have him communicate your paper to the Society for their consideration. Unsolicited papers would not be considered for publication. If the editor thought it necessary, the work would be reviewed by other scientists before the paper finally appeared in print. Needless to say, getting to know an FRS wasn't easy. The primary factors enabling such familiarity were locational: students and faculty colleagues occupied the first circle of acquaintance, professional colleagues living in the same country came next, and finally, colleagues hailing from nearby countries, i.e., Europe. Beyond that lay . . . dragons?

Not surprisingly, scientists based in the developing world were particularly handicapped by these conditions. Often being neither students of nor geographically close to members of the Royal Society and similar professional associations of high prestige, they had to count on rare visits of these elite scholars to colonial outposts on state-sponsored lecture tours in order to meet and discuss their work with them. Of course they could also write letters to appropriate scientists directly, but the likelihood of these letters, from unknown Indian or Vietnamese scientists, being taken seriously by famous European scientists were not high. Getting over the threshold of intimidation itself was not easy for colonial scientists, as various historical accounts attest to. Furthermore, a key consideration in the acceptance of these results, and thereby of the persons behind them, was an assessment of the rigor and reliability of scientific work. For mathematics and theoretical science, this was perhaps relatively less difficult, as the proof of the work could be included in written form, but for experimental scientists, an important element of the assessment of quality was knowledge about the setting where results were produced, the quality of the experimental process, including technical inputs and apparatus, the training and quality of lab workers, and so on. Assessing factors usually hidden behind the calm prose of scientific results required physical presence or demonstration in person. These barriers to entry ensured that colonial and American scientists would suffer a greater lack of visibility in global scientific circles (until relatively recently) than was an accurate reflection of their abilities. And, along the historical way, the idea that letters of recommendation from reliable, respected scholars were necessary in order to introduce new or less known scholars to their professional colleagues hardened into a rarely questioned norm in almost all domains of academic knowledge production.

What do letters of recommendation tell us? At the very least, they tell us who the applicant knows. When applicants know someone we know, it helps; it tells us that we may take their recommendation with greater levels of reliability than would otherwise be the case (unless of course we don't like them or their work). When we read letters of recommendation from people we don't know, the initial criterion of

scholarly respectability becomes the institution they write from; letterheads from top-tier institutions become the equivalent of the Masonic handshake, informing us tacitly of the quality of the addresser. Presumably the better universities have better faculty, but that depends what we mean by better. A recent SSRC study of publishing trends in South Asia discovered, to our surprise, that faculty based in teaching colleges (with heavier teaching loads and larger student enrollments) published in greater numbers in leading journals than their colleagues from more prestigious university departments. But more insidious than knowledge is ignorance. When we see letters of recommendation from faculty at universities lower down the caste ladder, do we implicitly under-value their assessments for that reason?

In the present, highly competitive international academic market, we also know that letters of recommendation suffer from the scholarly equivalent of grade inflation. Every person being recommended is the "best," the "top," the "highest ranked" student or colleague the recommending academic knows. This isn't to say that there aren't some scholars who take this responsibility very seriously, but their numbers are few and dwindling. When two or three letters from the same person arrive at our desks, extolling the quality of all the persons being evaluated in the same laudatory way, indeed sometimes in the same words, the value of the recommendation drops below our unstated Plimsoll line. Neither applicant nor recommender is served by this outcome. But if over-statement has become the norm in one university system, the opposite is true for faculty trained in the British academic style. The level of understatement in letters from British-trained or British-system scholars is legion, so much so that when our Anglo-colleagues cross the pond, the first thing they are told is to speak up loudly and often, in order to be heard at all. Indian letters of recommendation tend to focus on the character of the applicant. Reflecting a larger political culture where in order to get practically any official document, from passports to food ration cards, an official stamp of approval is necessary, the question of individual character is paramount in such epistolary statements. Applicant X may well be of "good character" and "from a good family," but it doesn't help us decide whether to award her a fellowship.

When we began a new postdoctoral fellowship program in South Asia a few years ago, we included the requirement of letters of reference without much prior reflection. On second thought, we realized that some of the faculty who would be writing these letters might not have had much experience in our local culture. So we also included an alternative to the traditional letter by creating a questionnaire comprised of all the questions that we thought a good letter of recommendation should touch on. The questionnaire was very successful, in that most referees preferred to use it rather than write a separate letter. Taking only the fourteen successful applicants from last year's competition (each providing two letters of reference), we received nineteen questionnaires and nine letters of reference. Six questionnaires were completed with the detail we were looking for. Thirteen were not, being filled with general statements or banal responses to our prepared questions (e.g., to a question "assess the applicant's command of the relevant theoretical material," a reviewer's response was, "the applicant holds the relevant Ph.D. degree and possesses relevant theoretical and practical knowledge.") Clearly this isn't very helpful.

Letters of recommendation should be sharply distinguished from anonymous letters by peers assessing the quality of a scholar's work. To help decide whether a piece of writing is worth publishing, as in a refereed journal, or to help decide whether the body of work produced by a junior scholar coming up for tenure meets appropriate local standards, assessments by knowledgeable peers is essential. What makes these letters more valuable than letters of reference is in no small part linked to their anonymity. It is only under conditions of partial secrecy, we seem to have agreed, will assessments be worth taking seriously. And, by and large, this system works well. In the Council's own assessment of applicants, we follow the same procedure. Although we ask applicants for letters of reference, we clearly don't trust them completely because we also have each application screened by anonymous reviewers, and if it passes muster, by a selection committee. Under today's competitive conditions, letters of recommendation will always be treated with some suspicion, precisely because the identity of the author is known to the person requesting it.

Should we continue with the practice of requesting applicants to provide letters of recommendation? On balance, I think not. As I see it, the negatives (essentially the lack of productive information gleaned) outweigh the positives (a good letter that helps explain why the proposal is important or provides other relevant information). I think we can get enough information from the detailed application form, research proposal, and, a new instrument we have begun to use, an 800 word personal statement.

Even if we decide to continue to use letters of recommendation, for reasons that I haven't thought about here, let's not do it just because we always have. Tradition is all very well, but needs to be reassessed every so often to see whether it still does its work. Reminding ourselves of the history of the "letter of recommendation" also reminds us that things have changed a bit since then. Finally, the one group of people who I know will greet this suggestion with great enthusiasm are the hundreds of faculty who seem to spend all their time writing letters of recommendation for students they hardly know or can barely remember, who took a single class with them a decade ago and call them out of the blue, "Prof, I need a letter." . . . . who are then recommended as "the best!" ■

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Emergent Regions: Producing Knowledge of Central Asia and the Caucasus

Introduction

By Seteney Shami and Anthony Koliha

Emergent regions

The 1990s was a challenging decade for scholarship generally and for the social sciences in particular. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the so-called end of the cold war freed scholarly thinking from binary oppositions that had long structured knowledge and visions of the world. However, it also threw certain fields into disarray (Soviet Studies, Security Studies) and, more generally, raised questions about the usefulness of, or indeed the need for, area and place-based knowledge. Transformative forces and explanatory vigor appeared to be manifest at the level of global circulations rather than local specificities. The fields soon reconstituted themselves, and the debate between those proclaiming the end of geography, territory and borders and those focusing on continuities, inequalities and constraints became less polarized as the decade wore on.

But the issue of how to position the frameworks of knowledge, of how to order facts, figures and interpretations in ways that took seriously contextual, historical and cultural forces, was not resolved. In hindsight, theories that sought to celebrate the creativity and diversity enabled by deterritorialization seem not so much thoughtless erasures of pain and suffering as wishful thinking. Sadly, the 21st century reaches the midpoint of its first decade in a world characterized by the tightening of borders and boundaries, heightened securitization of migration, everyday life, knowledge and faith, and the increased militarization and militancy of societies and peoples around the world.

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As the SSRC charts its route amongst intellectual and political currents and locates its evolving niche, it continues to sponsor regional programs that operate under the geographic rubrics of the area studies paradigm, while considerably changing the content and process of knowledge production sponsored through these programs. At the same time, the SSRC is exploring new types of circulations (e.g., projects on "illicit flows and criminality," "words in motion," "translocal flows in the Americas," and "transnational religion and migration") as well as the geo-politics of emergent regions.

The work done by the Eurasia program and the Middle East program on Central Asia and the Caucasus is an example of a "field building" initiative that is informed by theoretical debates on globalism, nationalism, regionalism and localism as well as by practical and pedagogical needs of scholars working on this part of the world. The series of short essays presented here by scholars who have been active in shaping SSRC initiatives on Central Asia and the Caucasus address multiple issues generated by this undertaking.

Received categories, conventional wisdoms

Inroads into bridging the disjunctures caused by area studies categories had already been undertaken over the past two decades through research that aimed at recovering older geographies and histories. Whether exploring the Black Atlantic, the Indian Ocean or the Silk Road, these histories of interconnection, trade and migration evoked earlier cosmopolitanisms, other systems of domination and subordination and revoked landmass-based geographies and boundaries. However, places, peoples and issues still fell between the cracks.

The difficulties and quandaries faced by scholars in formulating their growing interest in Central Asia and the Caucasus illustrate the issues raised by configuring scholarship on an "area" in a post-area studies era. The need for associations, peer review journals, academic posts and training opportunities are justified in familiar terms through the need for developing an intellectual community that knows and cares about a region, its historical specificities, its cultural attributes and political futures. However, there is an added burden to try and clarify how this framing of scholarship is different and new, and indeed there are specific conditions that configure knowledge on this part of the world in ways that do not neatly replicate previous experiences and transitions from colonial to post-colonial forms of knowledge.

Firstly, the Central Asian and Caucasian Studies community that is emerging is in many ways a hybrid one, a convergence of scholars in the region with their Soviet and regional academic traditions and scholars from the outside coming from Slavic/Russian Studies, Middle East Studies, Turkic Studies, Persian/Iranian Studies, East Asian, South Asian, Southeast Asian and Islamic Studies. In their essays, Bruce Grant and Steve Hanson address the ways in which these shifting fields are articulated in the study of the region

and what it means for the training of younger scholars and curriculum development. Students and researchers struggle to find a common discourse and set of concerns, given their varying trajectories into the region via different languages and histories, not to mention disciplines and topics. Bruce Grant suggests that the plurality and the quandaries themselves enrich the field and contribute to its dynamism, while Steve Hanson reminds us that intellectual creativity tends to come from the margins.

One way to think about the plurality and marginality, as well as the potential of this field of study, is to emphasize how poorly received categories and conventional wisdoms fit with the changing realities on the ground, or indeed with its historical legacies, as Scott Levi's essay illustrates. Scholars struggle with rethinking how Sovietization and Russification impacted upon societies and peoples of the region. While in the early days of the post-Soviet era Islam seemed to provide an explanation for many changes, as well as a more "authentic" category for understanding a range of issues from identity to politics, important divergences in the ways in which Islam plays into current dynamics precludes easy judgments. As discussed in the essays, conventional understandings of gender and "the woman question" (Marianne Kamp), international indices of development (Cindy Buckley), pluralism (Bruce Grant), state/society relations (Steve Hanson), and center/periphery dynamics (Scott Levi) all obscure as much as they help reveal. The challenges posed by understanding Central Asia and the Caucasus are disquieting for post-Soviet Studies, which realizes the extent to which these areas had been neglected in previous research, but equally for Middle Eastern Studies, which initially rushed to assimilate Central Asia (less so the Caucasus) into its understandings of Islam, gender and politics.

Other difficulties, besides the purely intellectual, also affect and shape the newly emerging field. Access to the region by outside researchers is made available through specific channels. Foundations, exchange programs and international organizations provide most of the opportunities for travel and research and in many ways structure the relationships between scholars in the region and scholars of the region. Some of the issues raised by these interactions are critically explored in the essays by Cindy Buckley and Marianne Kamp. While there has been a great deal of investment by foundations and international NGOs in the training of researchers and providing opportunities for research and exchange for scholars in the region, this takes place in the context of rapidly deteriorating institutional infrastructures in those countries and the draining of resources away from institutions in the region. This is a familiar story from many places around the world—however, the accelerated rate at which this is happening in Central Asia and the Caucasus does impose its particular conditions and inequalities in academic and scholarly hierarchies.

Finally, the newly emerging community of scholars is distinguished in maintaining fuzzy geographic boundaries. Conferences and publications of the Central Eurasian Studies Society accept papers about Tibet as well as Turkey, and the Association for the Study of Nationalities has an equally ambiguous geographical spread. In a parallel development, U.S. governmental agencies are increasingly working with a notion of "Greater Central Asia" as well as the "Greater Middle East," which overlap with one another. In many ways, the field is characterized by a tension between the felt need to create new descriptors, which threaten to revert to older ways of delimiting boundaries and "containing" knowledge, and the creativity but difficulties of exploring the intersections of multiple geographies and histories.

The newly emerging community of scholars is distinguished in maintaining fuzzy geographic boundaries. The field is characterized by a tension between the felt need to create new descriptors, which threaten to revert to older ways of delimiting boundaries and "containing" knowledge, and the creativity but difficulties of exploring the intersections of multiple geographies and histories.

Sadly, as described by Scott Levi, while individual scholars work hard to build bridges and overcome barriers to good scholarship, institutional structures are very slow to follow. Despite political and strategic interests and investments in the region, despite increased funding and despite the robust work carried out by individual scholars, the region and its students may remain marginal to academic disciplines and to academic institutional arrangements in the United States, as thoughtfully explored by Steve Hanson in his essay. It is in this context that the SSRC, through its programs on Eurasia and on the Middle East and North Africa, has designed its initiatives on Central Asia and the Caucasus, adopting a strategy of "rethink[ing]...from the ground up" as Bruce Grant phrases it in his essay.

SSRC activities on Central Asia and the Caucasus

The SSRC initiative on the region began with a series of workshops and discussions in 2001. The role of these activities was multifold—to help gather a community of disparate scholars, themselves often searching for how and where to

best fit into academic communities; to learn from these scholars what their concerns were and what could be done to further provide necessary institutional and intellectual frameworks in which to foster the development of research and knowledge building on the Central Eurasian region; and to help build new networks, engender dialogue, and advance research and expertise on this highly neglected, yet extremely important region of the world.

The first dissertation development workshop on Central Eurasia began by directly questioning past views of regional geographies at the macro and micro level as well as existing visions of history and identity. The second workshop attempted to locate Central Eurasia within larger processes of globalization. By the third workshop, what had begun as a disparate conglomeration of scholars, working on tangentially linked topics, appeared to have evolved into a more cohesive group of individuals working on independent projects but sharing a common basis of knowledge and collective understanding of the region upon which they worked—Central Asia and the Caucasus.

Whereas the dissertation workshops primarily addressed the Central Eurasian region from a post-Soviet perspective, engaging largely scholars who were trained in Slavic Studies, the series of roundtable discussions that the SSRC organized between 2001 and 2003 expanded the forum to include scholars from outside the Slavic fold. First held at the Middle East Studies Association (MESA) annual meeting, these roundtables added dimensions to the issues addressed in the dissertation workshops. At the first roundtable, participants argued that, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Central Eurasia might indeed emerge as a central focus of scholarship and geopolitics and that, at the least, Slavic and Middle East Studies would be forced to reevaluate themselves, histories of regional empires would be rewritten to include more multiethnic dimensions, and contemporary and historical ties between Central Eurasia and its neighbors would be reexamined.

While the first roundtable helped delimit issues central to the construction of a new field of knowledge, the discussion among participants at the 2002 MESA roundtable expressed frustration at the lack of cohesive structures and organizations through which to pool resources and build networks among Central Eurasian scholars, the difficulties inherent in gaining requisite skills such as languages to professionally study this region, and the lack of communication between many scholars in the field, due to the competing disciplinary and area studies obligations that lay first claim to scholars' time and allegiances. The third roundtable, held at the annual Slavic Convention (AAASS) rather than at MESA, combined the intellectual optimism of the first roundtable with the awareness of continued difficulties as stated at the second.

These activities and discussions have reinforced ongoing activities at the SSRC and paved the way for new initiatives. It should be noted that funding for training and research provided by the U.S. Department of State through its Title VIII program has been central in enabling SSRC to play a role in shaping new fields of study. For example, the SSRC Title VIII predissertation fellowships provide training opportunities for young scholars to acquire new language skills, methodological training, or greater familiarization with the regions of Eurasia—more and more scholars are seeking such support for projects that focus on Central Asia and the Caucasus as well as less-studied peoples and regions of Eurasia. Curriculum development is also supported through the SSRC Title VIII Teaching Fellowships. This has led to the planning of on-line teaching resources and multilingual bibliographies. In addition, the SSRC has begun a series of dissertation workshops, co-organized with Steven Kotkin at Princeton University, to explore imperial legacies and contemporary connections between Eurasia and other regions. The first workshop was held in April 2004 and was entitled "Russia/Eurasia in World Context: A Dialogue with Middle East Studies." Finally, a new initiative taking off from a set of collaborations with the Islamic University of Kyrgyzstan will focus on the role of religion in higher education within the context of the changing educational infrastructures in Central Asia. In this way, the SSRC will continue its interest in exploring topical and institutional interfaces that create new terrains of knowledge production.

Conclusion: area knowledge, globalization and theatres of action

Central Asia and the Caucasus present an interesting arena for understanding how fields of knowledge are constructed and how multiple actors are involved in determining boundaries, objects of inquiry and new hierarchies. Academics and researchers are by no means among the more powerful of these actors. The ways and purposes for which knowledge is produced often determines the categories of analysis—all too often as the essays argue, scholars are at the receiving end of these categories, instead of actively producing them. This is especially the case for scholars in the region who receive the "correct" analytical categories through specific vehicles and channels (international organizations, donors and such). Reflecting upon the emergence of a "new area" in a post-area studies context is an opportunity to better understand the place and role of scholarship, its processes and products, in a context of global reconfigurations and political re-alignments. ■

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For more information on SSRC projects on Central Asia and the Caucasus and on its examination of the usefulness of area studies and transboundary work, please go to www.ssrc.org.

Observations on SSRC/Title VIII Dissertation Workshops 2001-2003

The following two essays provide insights into and assessments of a series of three dissertation development workshops that the SSRC Eurasia Program organized between 2001 and 2003. Each workshop brought together a multidisciplinary group of ten graduate students (selected through a national competition) and five faculty members to discuss the students' current dissertation projects within the context of a larger discussion of Central Asia and the Caucasus.

Central Asia and the Caucasus in the Contemporary Social Sciences

By Stephen E. Hanson

As a proud beneficiary, early in my career, of a Social Science Research Council dissertation workshop on Soviet/post-Soviet affairs held at the University of Toronto in July 1988, I was happy to serve as a faculty advisor to the SSRC Eurasia Program's 2001-03 graduate student workshops in Central Asian and Caucasus Studies in Seattle, Berkeley, and Ann Arbor. For me, the opportunity to have early dissertation drafts thoroughly scrutinized and critiqued by leading Soviet specialists, as well as to build personal relationships with a group of graduate students who continue to this day to form the core of my professional network, had been of inestimable value. Now it was my turn to pass along a few tips about succeeding in the academic profession to the next generation of specialists in our field.

I soon realized, though, that my participation in these seminars would raise the problem of defining "our field," and my own place in it, in a particularly acute way. Reading through thought-provoking dissertation drafts on such topics as political Islam in the Russian and Ottoman Empires in the 19th century, the anthropology of health care "modernization" in contemporary Georgia, and the role of Stalin-era "folk" music in defining contemporary Central Asian national identity, it became clear just how thoroughly the "field" had been transformed since my graduate school days in the late Gorbachev era. Compared to my graduate cohort, which was still focused primarily on understanding state-society relations in the Soviet regime through Russian-language sources, these students all appeared to be trained in several area languages relevant to their research, attuned to multiple cultural perspectives on their subject matter, and approaching their particular regions and subregions in broadly comparative and global terms. Even the political science graduate students in these recent workshops—now a distinct minority, as compared to the dominant position of political scientists at our Toronto workshop—appeared to have, by necessity, at least one foot planted in disciplines such as history and sociology in order to navigate the complex new social and professional realities generated by the collapse of the Soviet empire. At the same time, it seemed to me that whereas our generation of "Sovietologists" could still plug our various dissertation projects into niches generated logically by pre-existing theoretical paradigms, the problem of constructing a comprehensive "literature review" for the new field of post-Soviet Caucasus/Central Asian Studies was, to say the least, a daunting one for most of our workshop participants.

These remarkable changes over the past fifteen years all stem from the undeniable collapse of the intellectual status (not the intellectual content!) of "Soviet" versus "post-Soviet Studies" in academia. The political science graduate students gathered in Toronto in the summer of 1988 assumed—wrongly—that we'd be leaders in the political science profession for decades to come; the historians, sociologists, and anthropologists there expected to have secure niches in the larger Soviet Studies field. By comparison, the intrepid young scholars at our workshops were in most cases quite unsure about their professional prospects. In fact, as they are well aware, they work in a subfield that has been triply marginalized since the late Gorbachev era.

First, as has been emphasized frequently since 1991, Soviet Studies tended to ignore the social and political importance of the non-Russian populations of the Soviet empire. Although many critics of "Sovietology" go too far in disparaging the often quite nuanced and sociologically sophisticated work of its best practitioners, it is nonetheless true that most Sovietologists downplayed the significance of "Soviet federalism" in generating and reorienting complex new forms of national identity and in providing potential bases for autonomous collective action. Certainly, few graduate students in Soviet Studies before 1991 learned regional languages other than Russian. While most of us were reasonably familiar with the history of the pre-revolutionary Russian

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Empire, very few (at least among the political scientists) had any deep knowledge of Ottoman, Persian, or Central Asian history. There are obviously several notable exceptions to this rule—and these exceptions, such as Ronald Suny, were among the most frequently cited authors in our workshops. Still, one reason why it is hard to write a good literature review in Caucasus/Central Asian Studies today is that there just wasn't that much literature on the subject until quite recently.

Second, when Sovietology disintegrated along with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, it wiped out much of the academic infrastructure for "post-Soviet Studies" as well. In political science, as late as 1990, every important department had to have at least one or two Soviet specialists; for several years after 1991, nobody wanted to hire a graduate student trained in the discredited Sovietological tradition. Many promising academic careers were quickly cut short in this way. During the ensuing decade, many more eminent young scholars have found that their theoretically sophisticated, empirically rich work on the complex dynamics of post-Soviet institutional change did not sufficiently impress skeptical journal reviewers and/or tenure committees. Thus another significant part of my cohort of post-Soviet specialists has now left academia. In sociology, post-Soviet studies has suffered similar reversals, while the distinct subfield of Soviet economics has now collapsed entirely.

Third, specialists in Central Asian and Caucasian Studies—at least, before 9/11—could not easily make the remaining tried-and-true argument for the relevance of their subject matter: that social scientists should try to understand the powerful regimes and regions that are most likely to compete with the United States in the future. The bias of social science toward the study of powerful countries, after all, was the central unstated reason for the prominence of Soviet Studies during the Cold War. Thus it should not have been surprising after the collapse of communism to see academic resources flow out of Soviet Studies, and into the study of the European Union and, to some extent, East Asia. Russia specialists after 1991 could, and did, continue to point out that they studied the largest country in the world—one bordering nearly every region of geostrategic significance to the United States and still possessing huge stockpiles of poorly guarded weapons of mass destruction. But during the 1990s, to convince ambitious chairs of social science departments or administrators of high-profile grant-making organizations to hire and support new faculty specializing on the impoverished, corrupt, and militarily insignificant countries of the Caucasus or Central Asia was, to say the least, a tough sell.

Thus, during the 1990s, graduate students studying Central Asia and the Caucasus faced a forbidding list of obstacles to professional success. They had to find faculty mentors in a field decimated by the collapse of the USSR, in departments where few senior scholars had regionally-specific expertise on their countries of specialization, at a time when scholarship support and graduate training downplayed "area studies" in favor of formal theory and quantitative methods, and in an era where "globalization" appeared to make the study of obscure peoples and regional histories obsolete. In short: they had to be true intellectuals, interested in their subject matter for its own sake, and not all that concerned with the possible professional consequences of studying it.

Judging by the participants in our workshop series, at least, this situation has produced a cohort of exceptionally innovative, hard working, and self-motivated young scholars, who will produce brilliant work for decades to come. In this context, the SSRC's initiative to launch the new dissertation workshop series was truly an important breakthrough. The field of Caucasus/Central Asian studies may have been triply marginalized in the 1990s—but intellectual creativity has always tended to come from the margins, not from the enforcers of old orthodoxies. The work of the graduate students who participated in the SSRC workshops over the past three years abundantly demonstrates this. While the social science mainstream focuses on the strategic interaction of self-interested actors enmeshed in stable, powerful institutions, these young scholars are tracing with unprecedented precision the processes by which old identities have been reformulated, decaying institutions reworked, and new political identities promulgated in the shifting and unpredictable institutional context of pre-Soviet, Soviet, and post-Soviet Eurasia. Their studies of national identity, religious mobilization, center-region bargaining, and "globalization" in the Caucasus and Central Asia are rich with insights that can help us understand even the core countries of the capitalist global order in new and fruitful ways.

Now, in part due to the opportunity provided by the SSRC to rebuild the disrupted academic networks of post-Sovietology, these young scholars will be able to cooperate in reformulating and, in the end, moving beyond "post-Soviet Studies" altogether. The shock of the events of 9/11, too, has obviously refocused government and academic attention back toward the Caucasus and Central Asia, making their hard-won specialist knowledge of these regions relevant again to the social science mainstream. More importantly, the turbulent beginning of the 21st century has taught us once again that the problems of failed modernity, socioeconomic crisis, environmental devastation, civil instability and violence typical of the post-Soviet periphery is in fact the condition of a large part of humankind. In the end, then, perhaps our workshop participants may transform not only their subfield, but also play an important part in revisioning the social science enterprise as a whole—eliminating its longstanding biases against the study of marginal peoples and regions, and in the process, reintegrating historical, anthropological, sociological, and political perspectives on the human condition.

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New Directions in the Study of the Caucasus and Central Asia

by Bruce Grant

The tectonic shifts in the former Soviet bloc over the last ten years carry with them their own reverberations in scholarship. For those of us on the SSRC Eurasia Fellowships and Grants Committee, it has often seemed that some of the most challenging and paradigmatic work being done in response to these shifting fields lies in the Caucasus and Central Asia. Yet the obstacles are many: Despite the region's increasing importance on the world stage, graduate programs are few, published literature is uneven, and the kinds of social networks that build the best scholarship have been elusive. The three seasons of SSRC Dissertation Workshops on the Caucasus and Central Asia were designed to respond to these obstacles, and through them the problems and challenges of this terrain became all the clearer.

Research in the Caucasus and Central Asia presents no small challenge to any doctoral student entering the field. To do the best work, one optimally needs to know at least Russian and the language of one of the newly independent states. To do any serious historical study in Central Asia in particular, further fluency in Arabic or Persian is the norm. To match the punning vocabulary of almost any street vendor in Yerevan, Tbilisi, or Baku, one has to start with a working knowledge of Greek, Roman, Arab, Mongol, Turkic, Persian, Ottoman, and Russian invasions! Most scholars who are new to the region take refuge and return to (or stay in) Moscow, Istanbul, or Tehran to pursue simpler matters.

Were the research itself the only concern. For those who take the study of the Caucasus or Central Asia as the center of their career plans, they confront well entrenched institutional structures that see their chosen areas as peripheral. Central Asia may be "central" in name, but in the heady ferment of the last decade, the region has made little splash in the organized area studies structures of Asian or Middle Eastern Studies.

What was striking to find at the three SSRC Dissertation Workshops, then, were young scholars who sought not to somehow get around these outdated traditions of knowledge-making, but to rethink them from the ground up. From the outset, we wanted to know what these graduate students were reading, and where they drew their own boundaries. We asked each participant not only to submit a chapter from their dissertations, but also a sample syllabus that would challenge the canons of longer standing literatures on these areas. The results were revealing.

What literatures are readily available to knowing and teaching the Caucasus and Central Asia? Soviet anthropologists and historians, for example, were expert at mapping what they saw as the folklore of the Caucasus and Central Asian republics, where "folklore" endured as the most politically acceptable way of identifying the centuries of recorded history and culture of the numerous civilizations in the USSR's southern reaches. During the Soviet period, restricted access for international researchers, in turn, meant that scholarship leaned heavily on metropolitan life and "top down" policy making. The gestures to non-Russian, or even non-urban regions, were few. After 1991, regional and international scholars alike rapidly fixed on questions of resource development in this oil and mineral rich region; after 2001, heightened security concerns fittingly joined this policy mix. The Caucasus and Central Asia make the front page of world affairs almost daily, through the brutal war in Chechnia, the struggles of breakaway republics, oil politics, security issues, and the election of autocrats. The international community labors to fashion policy responses to these scenarios, but with few established exceptions, there is remarkably little literature on the experiential dimensions—the cultural and historical codings of these questions—that are so essential for anchoring policy decisions in the first place.

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Across the board, the SSRC scholars' syllabi-in-the-making pressed at the limits of the literatures in print. Making ample use of primary sources in English translation from the region, the very best of these syllabi wanted to know: Why are the Caucasus and Central Asia somehow seen as "excessive," in the image of a biblical Tower of Babel—too many languages, too many religions, too many political systems? Is there any evidence, by contrast, that the Caucasus and Central Asian traditions have been excessive to those who have lived them? (Might this mean that the vexation over such pluralisms say as much about foreign researchers who have been schooled in the histories of more narrowly defined nation-states, as they do about the researched?) To wit: Why do historical records of

colonized places always begin with the arrival of the colonizer (who is, after all, no longer the hero of the story)?

In the projects that the SSRC Dissertation Scholars presented, it was striking to identify at least five areas where these riddles of plurality are guiding innovative work that consistently presses at conceptual borders.

1. *New Idioms of Sovereignty*. Scholars such as historian Ron Suny or the late political scientist Mark Saroyan have written amply on limits of the idiom of the nation-state in a world region that has, for so long, been drawn together around such complex ties of trade, religion, and communism. Is it possible to think of Armenia and Azerbaijan as cooperative economic partners, rather than opponents in the catastrophic war over Nagorno-Karabakh? Can the negotiation of fishing rights along the Caspian basin, or water rights along the Amu Darya River recall earlier periods of cooperative political unions? The best work from these workshops argues that the answer is yes, if one looks creatively and historically.

2. *Human Rights*. Western governments have been vocal in advocating for the improvement of human rights across the Caucasus and Central Asia, not least in states like Uzbekistan where torture is a legally recognized form of penal control. Yet do human rights abuses take place in a vacuum? Despite calls to advance civil society, Western governments have dealt repeated blows to local intelligentsias and the fragile middle classes of these emergent states over the last ten years by embracing existing autocrats and the elections of new ones, making it clear that questions of international security and resource development reign preeminent. Tellingly, hardly a single presentation over three years of workshops—ranging from conditions in prisons, to "environmental terrorism," to the prospect of collapsing state capacities—failed to make the kinds of crucial connections between Western advocacy for human rights and the West's corresponding denigration of those rights in competing security climates. The most striking conversations revolved around what "security" means (be it environmental, social, domestic, international) and for whom.

3. *Global Political Economies*. In recent years many scholars have been inclined to read economic and political prospects for the Caucasus and Central Asia through the language of nation-based neoliberal restructurings. But for all their privations, the newly independent states of these regions have been expansive in their cultivation of Chinese, Mongolian, South Asian, Middle Eastern, and East European trading partners, while at the same time knotted in any number of political arrangements focused on the West. Looking at these regional partnerships in tandem with global ambitions suggests a better understanding of new transnational ties ahead, as well as the diasporic links that lie behind so many of the current power shifts in these regions.

4. *Taking Religion Seriously*. Politicians, journalists, and even many scholars routinely identify the Caucasus and Central Asia as "Muslim," despite the fact that Judaism had some of its earliest developmental advances in Bukhara, or that Armenia and Georgia today are predominantly Christian. Few traditionally move beyond these faith-based labels as more than political identifiers. Yet this creates a key disconnect in political and scholarly styles. One would never think to explore Christian liberation theology in Latin America or Buddhist peace activists in Myanmar without recalling the primary religious texts of either movement. Yet policymakers and scholars in the Caucasus and Central Asia routinely look to "fundamental Islam," "moderate Islam," or "everyday Islam" in the region without motioning to a single hadith or Qur'anic sura. These SSRC workshops indicated that the tide may finally be turning, with serious engagements of the enormous variety of religious practices that have long made these regions so famous.

5. *The Soviet Period*. Last but not least, how many eager scholars have mistaken the exuberance of nationalist revivals for the death of Soviet social thought! Since the collapse of the USSR, scholars from across and beyond the former Soviet Union have been active in producing what historian Adeeb Khalid—one of our SSRC faculty at these workshops—has called "national martyrology." These are texts that work up to 1917, pause for lament, and then resume again in 1991 as if the Soviet period with its acmeist social hopes and telling social losses were only an interruption of manifest destiny. Some of the most important work ahead—if the SSRC's cohort of the best new scholars emerging in the field is any indication—refuses this amnesia and looks to engage with vigor the remarkable new levels of access to the Caucasus and Central Asia's tumultuous "Russian period"—as archival readers, fieldworkers, and new policy specialists.

Bruce Grant is an associate professor of anthropology at Swarthmore College, where he teaches courses on the former Soviet Union, nationalism, the Caucasus, cinema and related subjects. He currently chairs the SSRC Eurasia Program Fellowship Selection Committee.

These SSRC workshops indicate that the tide may finally be turning.

Roundtables on Central Asia and the Caucasus

The following three essays are based upon presentations at an SSRC-sponsored roundtable held in November 2003 at the annual convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) in Toronto, Canada. The roundtable was the third in a series that the Council organized to address research and study on the regions of Central Asia and the Caucasus. The first two roundtables were held in preceeding years at the annual conventions of the Middle East Studies Association (MESA).

Gender Studies in Central Asia

by Marianne Kamp

My discussion at the 2003 SSRC Roundtable centered on Gender Studies in Central Asia, concerning both the development of the field of study and its possible utility and relevance in Central Asia. I began with an explanation of the evolution of and the disjuncture between the Soviet "women question" and the contemporary "gender problem." "Gender problems" are featured in studies supported by international NGOs, and regional researchers tend to adopt their frameworks in defining them. Although considerable effort has gone into studying gender issues, so far these studies have not been translated into civil society action. In the development of scholarly studies of gender in Central Asia, continuities with earlier studies of the "women question" are more evident, and interaction with schools of thought on gender that have developed elsewhere, especially in the U.S. and Europe, are only beginning to redefine some issues for research.

Because the Soviet Union placed importance on changing women's social status and labor roles, studying and writing about women was a standard part of the work done by Academy of Sciences Social Sciences divisions, at least since the 1960s. There was a place in most republican histories for "the woman question," and the state strove to collect statistics that would demonstrate the improvement of women's conditions under socialism. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the "woman question" disappeared, to be replaced by "gender problems," or *gendernye problemy*. Now various institutions hold training sessions on *gendernye problemy*, to discuss the same sorts of issues that would previously have been discussed under "the woman question," although the Soviet ideological insistence that statistics demonstrate improvement in the lives of women died during Perestroika. There is at least formal concern about issues of discrimination in the workplace. Intellectually, however, the issues discussed under the title "gender problems" are often exactly the same as those previously discussed under "the woman question." Soviet-era scholarship accepted gender roles as given and as fixed, and did not explore the ways that gender is socially constructed. "Gender problems," as a new name for "the women question," follows in this Soviet scholarly tradition, and really pays little attention to the social construction of gender.

Much of the new work on "gender problems" has been inspired by international organizations that have worked elsewhere with women, and that have developed the paradigms of study and explanation that we might briefly call the "women in development" literature. There are benefits and drawbacks to this change in approach. The benefits include the standardization of ex-Soviet social science. Researchers are being trained in international standards of social science research and interpretation, and are using that knowledge and training to present issues that Central Asian women face in comparative form, and in ways that can be understood by anyone in the field of gender studies. Researchers draw on tools like poverty and development indexes to situate their own countries, and they create strong, empirical studies exploring attitudes about women and employment, for example. These researchers have benefited from international training and funding, and clearly are making good use of what has been offered.

Typical of this approach is a paper by Dinora Alimjonova, of a Tashkent NGO called the Gender Study Center, "Gender Aspects of Citizens' Participation in Political and Economic Activities of Society." Alimjonova defined gender discrimination using ideals expressed in CEDAW (the UN Convention to End Discrimination Against Women), and according to internationally accepted scholarship on gender and discrimination. She carried out a survey of attitudes concerning hiring and promotion at various enterprises in Uzbekistan. She found that in general, "androcentric approaches and biodeterminism" as well as "psychological obstacles" perpetuate discrimination against women in career choice, hiring and promotion, and proposed certain changes, including the "transformation of key social institutions," and "adjustment of government programs." Her questionnaire presented questions on gender attitudes that might be asked in any country, and her statistical workup and conclusions would allow full comparativity with similar research undertaken in other countries.

A related project, "Gender Stereotypes in Employment in Uzbekistan," by Lyudmila Kim, explored gender stereotypes and the ways they shaped career choice. She looked for responses to statements meant to evoke "traditional family models," such as "The main calling of a woman is to be a good wife and mother" and "A man is a breadwinner and head of the family." She also explored the ideas that men and women hold about the kinds of work that each should enter, and the kinds of public roles each should hold, and concluded that "traditional" concepts continue to dominate, though they may be modified by contrasting statements of commitment to the equality of men and women. Research by Svet-

lana Shakirova (Center for Gender Research) and Yelena Istileulova (Kazakhstan Institute of Management, Economics, and Strategic Research), "Gender Trends in the Labor Market in Kazkhstan"), found through research in the state and private sectors that "women work in different sectors, for fewer hours of paid work, have higher rates of schooling and literacy, are less likely to be self-employed and more likely to be unemployed." Their research focused on demonstrating vertical and horizontal gender segregation in employment, and as an extension of the project they examined what kinds of private businesses women entrepreneurs were likely to establish.

Just as the Communist Party set the agenda for what would be studied under the "woman question," international organizations set the agenda for what will be studied under "gender problems." Thus far, this poses some limits for the kinds of questions that are asked, and the kinds of areas that are explored. International donor funding is more directed toward practical questions like women's labor participation or health issues than toward developing scholarship in the humanities about women and gender, for example. More interestingly, in the above mentioned examples of the work that has come out of Women in Development studies on Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, researchers from those countries were so adept at using international norms that everything from those countries seemed identical to anywhere else. That is, while researchers would occasionally refer to "tradition" as an obstacle to women's advancement, they paid no attention to the specificities of Central Asian culture that shape women's lives, and instead framed their questions to the norms of international comparability. But unpacking "tradition" is at the core of gender studies, though with few exceptions, this purpose does not seem yet to have reached the context of Central Asian scholars of gender. An unpacking of "tradition" in Uzbekistan might suggest, for example, that Alimjonova's survey raise questions not only of gender roles, but of social assumptions about reproduction, and the ways that those shape career trajectories. "Tradition" may mean that most people in Uzbekistan assume female marriage and the delivery of a first child should take place before a young woman reaches the age of 22 or so. To the casual observer, this assumption—not only about gender roles but about the particular sequence of a woman's life (first have babies, then go to work)—seems to be the case. If indeed it is, then women's career trajectories necessarily are shaped by attitudes that may be rather specific to Uzbek culture, requiring research into an Uzbek social construction of gender, and it may be that making women's career opportunities equal to men's under these circumstances requires some innovative approaches. Similarly, there may be social concepts about gender and property that would help to explain why male entrepreneurs in Kazakhstan seem more capable of raising capital investment, while women seem more dependent on state- and NGO-based micro-lending.

Gender studies have developed largely within the frameworks of women-oriented non-governmental organizations, although gender issues are also subject to some work in academic institutions. In theory, studying gender issues ought to strengthen the activism of these "Women NGOs." This has been slow to begin. While scholars may enjoy studying an issue, translating findings into action is challenging, not least in a less-than-open political environment. Some researchers fulfill public roles as "gender experts," and are called in to state organizations to give training sessions on gender issues. Several researchers from Uzbekistan reported that businesswomen there have recently come to the realization that, working together, they might be able to lobby the government for changes beneficial to women. In more concrete form, some research is directly related to planning for microlending programs. Research by Gulnora Makhmudova of the Tashkent Business Women's Association (which has stronger state connections than other Women NGOs), on women's entrepreneurship in Uzbekistan, directly impacts decisions that her organization makes about lending.

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Gender studies in the "West" only recently came to include the study of men and masculinity. Not surprisingly, gender in Central Asia still seems to be something only women have, and "gender problems" has not yet expanded much beyond the "woman question."

International exchanges and the internationalization of "gender issues" have aided Central Asian researchers in strengthening their own research in this area. Comparative frameworks employed by NGOs allow regional researchers to expand their own analytical toolkits, as well as to see the ways that gender issues in their own countries are indeed like gender issues in many other places. Agenda-setting by international NGOs has thus been very productive. Ultimately, though, many Central Asian scholars would like to be able to set their own agenda for research, and then share that with outsiders, rather than occupying the weak end of the donor equation, where an outsider sets the agenda and allows the Central Asian

scholar to participate. Ultimately gender studies will thrive in Central Asia only if researchers there want to, and are encouraged to, ask their own questions about gender that emerge from nuanced knowledge of local life-ways, as well as the kinds of questions that world-wide studies of gender have produced.

Marianne Kamp is currently an assistant professor of history at the University of Wyoming, where she teaches courses on the history of the Modern Middle East, the Islamic World, and the Soviet Union. She was formerly president of the Central Eurasian Studies Society.

Data Access and Knowledge Production
by Cynthia Buckley

During the Soviet period, scholars focusing on Central Asia and the Caucasus faced significant challenges in term of field access and the availability of social science data on the individual countries of the region. Overall social, demographic, and economic trends for the Soviet Union served to shroud the individual experiences of countries in the region and prevented careful analysis of linguistic, ethnic, and religious groups. The past thirteen years are marked by dramatic improvements in field access and significant investments in national social surveys and social science data collection in many countries of the region. Yet, often such data are under utilized by scholars in the region and by area specialists outside the region, who either lack access to the material itself or to the technical facilities required for analyses.

At one extreme, policy analyses focus on the comparative data sets and indicators favored by organizations such as the World Bank, UN and USAID. In essence, such approaches identify and define Central Asia and the Caucasus simply as additional members in the community of developing nations. At the other extreme, many area specialists continue to concentrate upon the unique descriptive details of the region, highlighting diversity within the region and the need for carefully contextualized work, defining the region as unique. Either extreme is fraught with epistemological difficulties, but under-appreciating the power differential in knowledge production, clearly favoring globalizing international actors, is especially perilous for area scholars. As scholars interested in the region we need to become better informed concerning what information is available, critically engage in the means and mechanisms through which it is created, and incorporate the ability to analyze and access this knowledge into our training efforts. Only through critical engagement and critique across this gulf in knowledge production can scholars of the region exert influence in defining the region, and fully contribute their expertise to policy discussions.

Recent large-scale investigations of reproductive and child health in Central Asia and the Caucasus provide a clear case study in the ways in which knowledge production becomes compartmentalized, and privileged. Tremendous resources were devoted to the collection of demographic and health surveys and reproductive health surveys in the region, both sponsored by USAID. While the results are available in public access data sets and free final reports, in several countries of the region local scholars—outside of those hired as regional consultants by USAID—were not aware of how to acquire summary reports of the projects. They had no access to these data, believing that the information itself was closed. In Uzbekistan, dozens of Russian language copies of the project final report lay gathering dust in the Ministry of Health. These data sets, freely available in English off the web, were not easily available to local scholars in the region and very rarely utilized by them in spite of the detailed information on family structure, health practices, gender attitudes, and health. The lack of access to these types of data both diminishes the participation of regional scholars in policy debates and encourages researchers to repeat, often at significant cost, small-scale data collection efforts.

Yet it is the results of large-scale comparative studies that form the basis for policy recommendations. Demographic and health survey data are often employed in discussions of maternal and child health in the region at the policy level, and presently serve as the primary data source concerning contraceptive knowledge, attitudes and practices. As concern mounts over the spread of sexually transmitted diseases in the region, the information generated in these studies concerning sexual practices, condom use, and symptom awareness will be increasingly used to inform intervention strategies, with or without the benefit of informed critique and contextualized interpretation from the scholarly community involved in area specific research. Failing to engage with the information generated by the large-scale cross national studies within the region can exclude area scholars from full participation in policy debates that would benefit tremendously from enhanced understanding of family structure, attitudes towards health, childbearing norms, and gender roles

Failing to engage with the information generated by the large-scale cross national studies within the region can exclude area scholars from full participation in policy debates.

Increasing the knowledge of and access to major surveys in Central Asia and the Caucasus and expanding technical and training facilities for analysis of social science data among regional scholars (both inside and outside of the region) can assist in forging stronger links between regional scholarship and policy analysis. Numerous national surveys and censuses

have taken place across the region, in addition to a plethora of smaller scale regional studies. Stronger efforts to publicize the content of household budget surveys and health surveys in Central Asia and the Caucasus and to provide clear avenues of access for reports and data sets for area scholars would be clearly beneficial. Secondarily, such efforts could encourage regional researchers to adhere to norms regarding open data access and secondary data analysis, currently weak within the region.

Efforts to provide technical assistance in terms of analytical training, computing facilities and software within the region can provide in-country researchers greater opportunities to incorporate information from these data sources into their own research. Area studies programs concentrating on Central Asia and the Caucasus must consider the incorporation of similar training opportunities for students. Scholars unable to engage in critical assessment and interpretation of information generated by large-scale comparative studies may well find themselves marginalized in the production of policy relevant knowledge in the region. In the short term, this bodes poorly for area studies in general. In the longer term it raises ominous possibilities for the misinterpretation of social, economic and political trends and the generation of ineffective or detrimental policy. Scholars in and of Central Asia and the Caucasus need to generate stronger connections to the social science information generated about the region if we are to play an active role in the generation of knowledge about the region.

In no way am I calling for a mass shift from language study to statistical modeling, or arguing that large-scale surveys and macro level trends provide a more valuable or truthful knowledge source than ethnographic studies and in-depth archival work. However, I do believe that regional scholars ignore such resources at their own peril. Greater use of secondary data can provide generalizable contexts for qualitative work, open new research opportunities for students and colleagues, afford greater access to policy debates, and perhaps most importantly provide an avenue for informed and precise critique of the "knowledge" such information generates.

Cynthia Buckley is an associate professor of sociology at the University of Texas, Austin, where she is also affiliated with the Women's Study Program, the Population Research Center, and the Center for Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies.

A Transregional Approach to Central Asia
by Scott Levi

Near the end of my first week as a graduate student, in the fall of 1992, I sat in the office of the Chair of the Department of South Asian Studies at the University of Wisconsin, Madison and was advised that I would not be allowed to pursue the avenue of research that I had just proposed. I was devastated. I had recently returned from spending much of the 1991-92 academic year on a language study program in Pakistan, and I still recall in great detail seeing the pale green, blue and white Uzbekistan Havoyolari banner in the Islamabad International Airport announcing the inaugural flight connecting Islamabad with Tashkent, the capital of the newly independent Republic of Uzbekistan. My interest was piqued; during my remaining months in Pakistan, Central Asian Turkic influences seemed ubiquitous: in South Asian Sufism, the Pakistani cuisine, the music, the words on my vocabulary lists, the architecture of the Delhi Sultanate and Mughal Empire, and the cultural heritage of the wave upon wave of Turkic migrants and invaders that crossed the Hindu Kush and permanently settled in the subcontinent.

My appreciation for the influence that Turks have exercised in the past millennium of South Asian history was no great revelation. This is a subject that has received considerable scholarly attention and remains a hotly debated topic. My idea—and the proposal that had just been rejected out of hand—was to craft a graduate program that would prepare me to look for Indian influences on the other side of the Hindu Kush. This would be something new, exciting and, according to the Chair, utterly impossible. Wisconsin boasted a fledgling program in Central Asian Studies, and it seemed logical that I should be able to work between the two regions to pursue my research goals. (Both have since been incorporated into a grander Department of Languages and Cultures of Asia.) The Chair informed me, however, that the language requirements and academic preparation for such a project would be too demanding, and the institutional obstacles were even greater. Simply stated, his department would not accept credit toward graduation for courses that I would have to take in the Central Asian program. I was advised not to let my studies wander beyond the boundaries of the subcontinent. If I continued with this transregional agenda, the Chair was certain that I would never finish graduate school.

For decades now, area studies programs across the nation have offered, and continue to offer, invaluable region-specific training to students with diverse international interests and career goals. This conversation at Wisconsin was my first exposure to their rigid geographic determinism, one of their most profound weaknesses.

In the end, I was fortunate. A sympathetic faculty member in Central Asian Studies directed me away from his own program and toward a colleague in the History Department with a tradition of conducting transregional research. I abandoned the area studies programs and began my graduate training in History. This training (along with an SSRC Dissertation Fellowship) prepared me to spend a year living in Tashkent and working in the archives of Uzbekistan (1996-97). The product of this work was my dissertation, "The Indian Diaspora in Central Asia and its Trade, 1550-1900" (UW, Madison, 2000), which has since been revised and published under the same name (E. J. Brill, 2002).

At its core, this book is a study of a merchant diaspora that remained active in the urban centers and agricultural countryside of Central Asia (among other regions) for more than 350 years. Arguably, the study's most important contribution to

Central Asian historiography is its challenge of the received wisdom that Central Asia fell into a lengthy period of economic isolation and decline in the seventeenth century, as the European maritime presence in the Indian Ocean increased and, presumably, usurped Central Asia's role in the East-West "Silk Road" trade. It was during this very period of European domination in the Indian Ocean that numerous heavily capitalized, caste-based Indian family firms began sending thousands of agents to Central Asia. The diaspora emerged in the mid-sixteenth century, grew to the tens of thousands in the seventeenth century, and maintained an active commercial presence in Central Asia until the end of the nineteenth century.

My work on the Indian Diaspora is only one example of a growing trend. In recent years, scholars of Chinese, South Asian and the Middle Eastern history have begun to exhibit a refreshing new interest in venturing beyond the traditional boundaries of their areas and embracing transregional research that touches upon Central Asia (historians of Russia have been engaged with Central Asia for some time). Much of this scholarship can be credited with opening new and important avenues of research, underlining the fact that the geographic "centrality" of Central Asia makes a transregional approach to historical studies of the region a particularly useful one.

This is an important trend and it should be encouraged, but for Central Asia it is not without its problems. Most notably, these works tend to be based on sources written outside of Central Asia, in non-Central Asian languages, and their underlying assumptions tend to privilege the area of focus and reify the peripheral position of Central Asia in world history. Thus, the uniqueness of Central Asian history is consistently eclipsed by the Russo-centric, Sino-centric and (admittedly even) Indo-centric work on the region. What remains lacking is transregional work that is "centered" in Central Asia.

The uniqueness of Central Asian history is consistently eclipsed by the Russo-centric, Sino-centric and Indo-centric work on the region. What remains lacking is transregional work that is "centered" in Central Asia.

It was this problem that prompted me to return to the Central Asian archives to begin research for a new monograph, tentatively titled: *Central Asia at the Crossroads of World History: Khoqand, from Khanate to Colony in the Farghana Valley* (this time with the support of an SSRC Eurasia Program Postdoctoral Research Fellowship). The emergence of the Khanate of Khoqand in the eighteenth century has traditionally been used by historians to demonstrate the growing isolation of the region, as the Bukharans' economy was presumed to have grown anemic and their grip over the distant Farghana Valley weakened. However, while there is convincing evidence to demonstrate economic hardship, political decentralization and deurbanization in specific regions of pre-colonial Central Asia, the primary sources also offer abundant evidence suggesting that the region was responding to changing global economic trends and was undergoing a process of economic realignment and even growth in some transregional trade relations. One result of this re-alignment was the intensification of economic activity in some previously peripheral regions (e.g., the Farghana Valley).

Preliminary research suggests that, already in the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Farghana Valley was emerging as a center of commercial vitality in Central Asia, largely due to its strategic position along the trade routes leading to expansionist Qing China. By the middle of the century, archival records suggest that the ruling family of the Uzbek Ming tribe had gained control over much of the Valley and had begun to piece together a state infrastructure, at least partly based on the profits from the eastward trade with China. The Ming Biys used these resources to sponsor massive irrigation projects, thereby promoting agricultural production, tax income, urbanization and political centralization. This process was enhanced as Russia pushed its commercial frontier into the steppe in the late eighteenth century and emerged as an industrial power—and an important trade partner for Khoqand—in the early nineteenth century. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the Khanate of Khoqand had grown to rival Bukhara in population and exceed it in size.

There is a growing body of literature demonstrating that pre-colonial Central Asia was not an isolated backwater far removed from world historical events and processes and that, perhaps more than other regions, the study of Central Asian history can benefit greatly from a transregional approach. Still, we must recognize that much of this work continues to place Central Asia on the periphery of the more established area studies programs. Rectifying this imbalance presents a number of significant challenges. Despite the rapidly growing interest in the field, there are only a handful of Central Asian Studies centers where students can receive graduate training. As interest in the field expands, our institutions should take note and help to build programs that will produce researchers equipped with the linguistic tools and other area-specific knowledge necessary to conduct primary research in the Central Asian archives, and the methodological tools to transcend the limitations of an area studies approach to Central Asian history.

Scott Levi is an assistant professor of Central Asian and Islamic world history at the University of Louisville. He is currently working on a social, political, economic and social history of the Khanate of Khoqand from 1798-1876.

Update on The Information Technology and International Cooperation (ITIC) Program

By Robert Latham and Saskia Sassen

The Information Technology and International Cooperation Program began in 2000 on the assumption that computer centered networks and technologies are reshaping social relations and constituting new social domains on a global scale. These transformations assume multiple forms and involve diverse actors. Of significance to the program are communication and information structures largely constituted in electronic space. Examples are electronic markets, Internet-based large-scale conversations, early conflict warning systems, open source software development communities, and knowledge spaces arising out of NGO networks, among others. Such structures result from various mixes of computer centered technologies and the broad range of social contexts that provide the logics, rationalities, and cultural meanings for much of what happens in these electronic spaces.

Despite a strong commitment to viewing technologies, as scholars such as Manuel Castells do, in social rather than technical terms, the program considers it important to recognize the specific technical capacities of digital technologies. They are central to the emergence of new information and communication structures and the transformation of existing ones. In their digitized form, these structures exhibit dynamics of their own that derive from technological capacities that enable specific patterns of interaction. Among such patterns are the simultaneity of information exchange, capacity for electronic storage and memory, and new possibilities for access and dissemination that characterize the Internet and other computer centered information systems.

Program phase one: digital formations

The research advanced in this initial phase of the program covered a range of topics that are considered important in internationally-focused social scientific analysis of IT, including: transnational civil society, transboundary public spheres, global finance, transnational corporate networks, global technological diffusion, regional integration, and international economic development. The work of this initial phase resulted in, among other outcomes, a book titled, *Digital Formations: Information Technologies and New Architectures in the Global Realm* (forthcoming, Princeton University Press, 2004, Robert Latham and Saskia Sassen, eds.).

The program sees at least three sets of implications for the study of communication and information structures from a social science perspective. One is the difficulty of prediction in a domain of contradictory and uneven patterns and processes, a fact that may help undermine various types of regimes for control and governance. A second implication is that the technical capacities intrinsic to these structures may limit the extent to which they are conditioned by social and political contexts such as the international system of states. Such capacities not only can in turn condition such contexts but they also can help form contexts of their own such as an electronic public sphere. A third implication is that communication and information structures need to be treated as distinct from information technology. That is, the former are human "habitats" or ecologies anchored in the social relations associated with public spheres, networks, organizations, and markets. They are therefore not subsumed by or reducible to the technology that helps make them possible, even though as recognized above such structures have specific technical capacities.

Program phase two: a focus on civil society—politics beyond the state

The transnationalizing of a growing range of local or national relations and domains, as well as the formation of new ones, enable non-state actors to enter international domains once exclusive to states and the formal interstate system. This is well illustrated by specific features of the growing numbers and types of international non-governmental organizations, global business alliances, and diasporic networks. The program has become especially concerned with understanding better the political implications, at various geopolitical levels, of this new enablement and what role digital technologies play in it. With the opportunity to enter a second phase starting in 2003, the program has sought to consolidate its substantive efforts by focusing on the use of digital technologies by civil society organizations (CSOs) to achieve their aims through activities and networks that cross national borders. CSOs have adopted such technologies as a core element in their activities. If the transnational linkages among CSOs are being shaped by digital technologies and thereby helping produce a new realm of politics beyond the state, then it would seem important to understand this process. While such CSO-based activities as anti-globalization campaigns, transnational networks of grass root organizations, and the sharing of environmental data worldwide have received a great deal of attention in the media—and have generated isolated studies and CSO-based reports—there is no organized knowledge and comprehensive analysis of:

- How digital technologies are being used by CSOs and to what political effect
- Which technologies are effective or ineffective and under what circumstances
- How rules and decisions about the nature of digital technologies—typically made by global bodies such as the World Intellectual Property

Organization (WIPO)—open for CSOs new uses or close them off; whether there are opportunities emerging for CSOs to organize their own forums and institutions for ICT governance, and

- What differences emerge in ICT use and networking activities across the North-South divide

The committee and staff have determined that—to bring focus—the primary tasks of its final phase should be: a) mapping what we currently know about this important subject (evidence, data, analysis) in "state of the knowledge" reports; b) mobilizing targeted analysis and research around crucial gaps identified in the reports; c) drawing practitioners fully into the mapping and analysis process, linking directly to their practical and policymaking needs; d) disseminating widely all program work and e) engaging with the relevant communities of organizations and experts.

Ultimately, it is hoped that the knowledge and collaborations generated in both phases of the program can lead to self-sustaining networks of activists and researchers and help CSOs develop sophisticated and effective information and communication strategies.

Saskia Sassen is the Ralph Lewis Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago and chair of the ITIC Steering Committee. Robert Latham is SSRC program director of the Program on Information Technology and International Cooperation.

New Staff

Diana Rhoten has recently joined the Council as a program director of the Program on Knowledge Institutions and Innovation. Rhoten has a Ph.D. in Social Sciences, Policy, and Educational Practice and an M.A. in Sociology from Stanford University, as well as an M.Ed. in International Development Education from Harvard University. Rhoten's work in this arena has focused on the social, economic and cultural processes of globalization and their impacts on education and social policy in North and South America. Her unique multi-method and multi-level approach to public policy and development has been funded by grants and contracts from the Fulbright Commission, the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Stanford University Center for Latin American Studies, and the Stanford University Lieberman Fellowship Committee.

After graduating from Stanford, Rhoten served as an assistant professor at the Stanford University School of Education where she taught courses in international education development, international organizations and policy-making, and interdisciplinary research methods (1999 - 2003) and directed the Master's program in international comparative education (1999 - 2001). In addition to her role at Stanford, Rhoten also joined the Hybrid Vigor Institute, first as an organizational consultant (2000 - 2001) and then as the Institute's research director (2001 - 2003). In this capacity, Rhoten served as the principal investigator for Hybrid Vigor's National Science Foundation-funded pilot study on interdisciplinary research networks and methods. She also conducted the Institute's study on intra-organizational collaboration in the philanthropic sector, funded and published by the Surdna Foundation. In June 2003, she was appointed a Hybrid Vigor Fellow.

Rhoten is currently working with various universities on the design and development of interdisciplinary research centers and programs and she began a second NSF-funded evaluation of interdisciplinary graduate education and training programs in January 2004. Her recent work on the subject is covered in an article, "Interdisciplinary Research: Trend or Transition," in this *Items & Issues* (see pp. 6-11).

Online

The SSRC recently unveiled its redesigned website (same address, www.ssrc.org.). The new site provides a clearer presentation of SSRC activities and easier navigation of its 1200+ pages. It also provides better access to the range of knowledge resources generated by individual programs, including Council-related books, online essays, etc. This is a major step in the development of a much richer and more interactive SSRC web presence-a process that will continue through the next year. The site also inaugurates the use of the new SSRC logo, and is part of a broader redesign of SSRC publications.

Items

Abe Fellowship Program

Consumer Culture and Its Discontents

The Abe Fellowship Program held a writers workshop on "Consumer Culture and Its Discontents" on January 15-17, 2004 in Tokyo in conjunction with the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership under the CGP-SSRC Seminar Series. Convened by Sheldon Garon, Princeton University, and Patricia Maclachlan, University of Texas, Austin, the meeting brought together 13 chapter writers to critique revised papers first discussed at a workshop in April 2003. Subsequently three Japanese scholars joined the project and two officials from the Bank of Japan attended as discussants. The general theme of the workshop was popular and official ambivalence about mass consumption. Although consumption has been raised to a patriotic value in the United States, continental European societies are less enthusiastic and some regulate consumption in surprising ways. Despite a tripling of consumer debt in Japan since 1990, the nation's savings rate is still three times that of the U.S. The editors expect to send a manuscript to a university press late this summer. A report on the first workshop is available on the Abe Fellowship web page.

University Reform in Japan

The Abe Fellowship Program hosted a Brown-Bag Lunch on January 21, 2004 at the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership (CGP). Former Abe Fellow Junko Kato ('95), University of Tokyo, spoke on her experience under the Abe Fellowship and university reform in Japan. Professor Kato praised the Abe Fellowship, citing the need of scholars for research funding independent of the Ministry of Education and Science (MES). A Ph.D. in political science from Yale University, she endorsed U.S. graduate training much touted by the MES in its drive to revamp Japanese universities. However, Kato disputed the wholesale adoption of American practices, for example, the U.S. tenure system as a model for higher education in Japan. The rapid up-or-out competition spawns undistinguished scholarship churned out to gain promotion, she said. Committed young scholars need more time to complete ambitious, difficult projects. Citing other examples, Kato argued that the government was throwing out the baby with the bath water by abolishing valuable Japanese practices in favor of U.S. ways supposedly based on objective, quantifiable criteria. Representatives of many fellowship-awarding organizations participated in the meeting, including the Fulbright Program, Fuji Xerox Setsutaro Kobayashi Memorial Fund, the Nippon Foundation, and CGP.

Annual Fellows' Retreat

The Abe Fellowship Program recently held its annual Fellows' Retreat from January 29 -February 1, 2004 at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel on Amelia Island, Florida. Participants included Abe Fellows from the 2000, 2001, and 2002 cohorts from both Japan and the United States. The retreat is designed to enable Abe Fellows to interact with each other and with Program Committee members in a relaxed setting. In addition, it provides an opportunity for the Fellows to gain and offer advice on their research through research presentation sessions. These sessions were supplemented by lively group discussions throughout the weekend. A Friday afternoon session used SSRC President Craig Calhoun's essay "Social Science and the Crisis of Internationalism: A reflection on how we work after the War in Iraq" as a basis for discussion. Participants considered the threats to intellectual freedom in both the U.S. and Japan. A Saturday afternoon session focused on the growing importance of Japanese popular culture and the role of "soft power." To start the session, Professor Ann Allison of Duke University spoke on the Pokemon phenomenon in the U.S. Her talk was followed by a multimedia presentation by Mizuko Ito on Japanese animation. A Sunday morning session on Joseph Stiglitz's *Globalization and Its Discontents* considered the economic impact of globalization and Japan's role in the world financial system.

Domestic Violence: Legal Remedies and Social Services in Japan and the United States

Murder, assault, and stalking were the topics on February 23 at the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership when the Abe Fellowship Program hosted a symposium on "Domestic Violence: Legal Remedies and Social Services in Japan and the United States." Abe Fellow Marjory D. Fields, former Judge, New York State Family Court, was the speaker. Fields outlined the level of domestic violence in the U.S. and Japan and described the civil and criminal legal remedies and help available in both countries. She also discussed the public policy implications of government responses to domestic violence. Fields' presentation was based on seven months of research in Japan that included meetings with women in grassroots organizations providing shelter, counseling, and support for victims of domestic violence, as well as interviews with lawyers and Justice Ministry officials. Unlike other Abe events, the audience was more than 90 percent female, drawn largely from the non-governmental organizations. Governor Akiko Domoto, Chiba Prefecture, one of five female governors in Japan and a leader in the women's movement, spoke from the floor about efforts to pass the new law on domestic violence. The legal community and officialdom were also represented.

Applied Economics

Risk and Development Field Research Grants

The Program in Applied Economics recently announced a new round of field research grants under its Risk and Devel-

opment initiative. The grants are being offered to both graduate and postdoctoral researchers, and will support field-based research projects bearing on questions of risk and uncertainty in the context of economic development. This is the second year the PAE has offered the field research grants; last year's awards went to researchers studying health and migration in Kenya, credit market structure in Peruvian agriculture, and risk insurance in rural Romania, among others. More information about the grants, including a full list of past fellows and projects, can be found on the PAE's website: www.ssrc.org/pae.

The Art of Rachel D. Tanur: Photographic Journeys

The Social Science Research Council is exhibiting the photography of Rachel D. Tanur (1958-2002) at its New York offices as part of its commitment to showing the works of artists that contribute to social and historical perspectives on globalization, inequality, human rights, migration health, and other major issues. Over 75 guests attended the March 25 opening and viewed photographs of Venetians at Carnevale, Cubans at work; Chinese in transit; Africans in reflection; and Guatemalans at market. Tanur, daughter of Judith Tanur, member of the SSRC Board of Directors, travelled the world capturing images that connect and relate the spirits and stories of people separated by vast oceans and great land masses, as well as by differing cutlures, religions, and life chances. The SSRC will continue to host artists from around the world who draw inspiration from images of social and cultural life as well as issues affecting or resulting from social, economic, historical, and political events.

Board of Directors Reception

On June 10, the SSRC Board of Directors hosted a reception at the Century Association in New York that included SSRC funders, friends, former fellowship recipients, and past members of the Board of Directors. More than 175 guests heard Lisa Anderson, current chair of the Board of Directors, and Craig Calhoun, SSRC president, speak about the Council's work around the world, its initiative on HIV/AIDS, and the importance of fellowship programs in building capacity for social science research.

Children and Armed Conflict

Children and Armed Conflict in the Great Lakes Region in Africa
The Children and Armed Conflict program organized on December 15-17, 2003 a workshop on Children and Armed Conflict in the Great Lakes Region in Africa. The workshop was conducted in partnership with the Office of the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict (OSRSG/CAC), UNICEF and the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers (CSC). The workshop brought together more than 30 participants amongst national and international organizations, scholars and activist groups working on children and armed conflict in Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Uganda. Key issues for discussion at the workshop were: (1) the impact of armed conflict on girls and young women; (2) mechanisms for monitoring and reporting violations of children's rights; and (3) identification and strengthening of local capacity for research and advocacy in this area.

Members of the Advisory Board for the International Research Network on Children and Armed Conflict

Advisory Board Meeting
This first meeting of the Advisory Board of the International Research Network on Children and Armed Conflict was convened by the Social Science Research Council on 14 May 2004. Board members examined the role and priorities of the Network and provided guidance for initial projects. The key theme of the gathering was the dire need for network partners to better inform policymakers on the impact of armed conflict on children and the best intervention policies.

Data Collection Workshop
A workshop on Data Collection on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Children took place on 17-18 May 2004 and

was jointly organized by the SSRC and UNICEF. The workshop brought together more than 35 experts on data collection, displacement and recruitment of children in situations of armed conflict. Participants were drawn from Angola, Colombia, Democratic Republic of Congo and Sri Lanka, as well as from UN agencies, international organizations and academic/research institutions. The four countries represented will be the locations for case studies in a larger project sponsored by European Commission's Humanitarian Aid Office (ECHO), which seeks to strengthen data collection on children and armed conflict.

Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum

On May 5, 2004, the Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum (CPPF) organized a meeting that brought together a small number of senior UN staff along with experts on Somalia (and relevant comparative cases) from both outside and inside the UN system for a small, off-the-record meeting to take stock of the present political context and identify new and productive points of engagement for the UN system and other international actors.

On May 6th, an event was organized by CPPF to examine critical dynamics in Indonesia's transition in order to develop a deeper, shared understanding of the broader context within which various UN operational efforts occur. The meeting, which was entirely off-the-record, was attended by a small number of experts from academia, NGOs and the United Nations.

At the request of the UN Office in West Africa (UNOWA), CPPF convened a meeting in Dakar, Senegal in February 2004 to help UNOWA develop strategies for addressing the relationship between youth unemployment in West Africa and political instability (a topic on which UNOWA is mandated to report to the Security Council). As widespread unemployment among West Africa's burgeoning youth population has been noted as both a cause and an effect of crisis and conflict in the sub-region, CPPF designed a meeting to bring together representatives of West African civil society and academia working on these crucial linkages. Plans for the remainder of 2004 involve continued work on West Africa and regional dimensions of conflict that should inform UN engagement.

Economy and Society

University-Industry Linkages in Eastern and Southern Asia
A planning meeting was held on May 13, 2004, in New York to begin a joint planning effort with the Development Economics Research Group at the World Bank aimed at exploring the nature and scope of university-industry linkages in Eastern and Southern Asia. The planned project will focus specifically on how these linkages operate in developing metropolitan areas, working to spur local dynamism and maintain economic resilience over the long term. Using both cross-country empirical analysis and a case study approach, the research will mobilize scholars from Asia and elsewhere to examine the current configuration of research-oriented universities in the region, survey the state of university-industry linkages, and assess the institutional frameworks that govern relationships between knowledge production and commercialization in different contexts.

More information about the project can be found on the Economy and Society web page at http://www.ssrc.org/programs/app_econ/Asian_Economies/index.page.

International Forum on Development Steering Committee Meeting
On February 13, 2004 the SSRC, serving in its role as Interim Secretariat, hosted the Steering Committee Meeting of the International Forum on Development (formerly the Globalization and Development Forum). The Committee is co-chaired by SSRC Board member Deepak Nayyar (University of Delhi) and Ha-Joon Chang (Oxford University).

The Forum's goal is to institutionalize a space for dialogue on policy innovation that is devoted to the production, discussion, dissemination and legitimization of concrete policy proposals that are genuinely developmental and practicable. The IFD is positioned as a counterweight to mainstream, market-oriented approaches to development that have been prevalent in international financial institutions and in developed country policy circles. Not only is the initiative designed to promote the articulation of an analytically informed, socially-oriented development paradigm focused on harnessing the forces of "globalization" in ways that will promote greater social equity; it also aims to encourage policymakers in less developed countries to strive for alternative strategies for promoting sustainable development, and to broaden the range of stakeholders whose perspectives will be incorporated in the elaboration of such development strategies.

The steering committee's meeting focused on the core objectives of the initiative and on the nature and content of the first annual Forum. Among other decisions taken by the Steering Committee, it was agreed to convene the first Forum around the general topic of growth and employment and the specific theme of "Unilateralism Disguised: U.S. Foreign Commercial Policy."

Education

Transitions to College: From Theory to Practice
On October 10-11, the Education Program's project, "Transitions to College: From Theory to Practice," held the first meeting of its Committee and Practitioners Advisory Group in New York. This new SSRC project examines the extent to which conditions for opportunity and success are available to all American adolescents as they attempt to navigate the transition from secondary school to college and beyond. Guided by questions of how to expand access to and successful completion of higher education and eventual entry into mean-

ingful careers, the committee discussed the mission and tasks associated with the project.

On February 27-28, the Transitions to College Project held its second committee meeting at the Silverado Resort in Napa, CA. The meeting focused on discipline-based field reviews of peer-reviewed journal articles and books relating to transitions from high school to college for disadvantaged youth. The meeting was structured around four smaller working groups that were defined by four issue areas: college preparation, college access, financing college, and college retention/outcomes.

The NAE-SSRC Joint Committee on Education Research
The NAE-SSRC Joint Committee on Education Research presented papers to a presidential-invited session at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association in San Diego on April 15, 2004. The session, "Estimating Value: Evidence on Quality in Education Research," featured presentations on the philosophical and epistemological debates about definitions of quality, recent work that seeks to systematize judgments of quality in causal and qualitative research designs in education, and an early look at data gathering on the impact of awards and prizes in education research scholarship. The project on quality is slated to become a volume edited by Larry Hedges (committee co-chair) and Sheri Ranis, SSRC program director.

Eurasia

Annual Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS)
On November 20-23, 2003, the Eurasia Program participated in the annual convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) in Toronto, Canada. The Eurasia Program highlighted its Title VIII fellowship and grant opportunities during a funding panel with other Title VIII recipient organizations. The program also organized a roundtable on "Central Asia and the Caucasus: A Multilingual, Multidisciplinary Approach." The roundtable expanded upon key issues that arose during a series of dissertation development workshops and past roundtables over the last three years (see pp. 17-28 of this issue).

In addition to the funding panel and the roundtable, the Eurasia Program held a reception for past Title VIII fellows, institutional partners, and other colleagues in the field of Eurasian Studies. Numerous meetings between the Eurasia Program and representatives of U.S. and international universities and organizations were also held throughout the four-day conference.

Building Expertise on Eurasia and Central and Eastern Europe: Accomplishments and Future Directions for Title VIII
Program Director Seteney Shami and Assistant Director Anthony Koliha both represented the Eurasia Program in Washington, D.C. on December 4, 2003 at a conference celebrating 20 years of the Title VIII program. The conference was entitled "Building Expertise on Eurasia and Central and Eastern Europe: Accomplishments and Future Directions for Title VIII." Title VIII fellowship recipients from the past 20 years, representing academia, journalism, government service, and other sectors, recalled the impact of the Title VIII program on their own careers and the careers and training of others. Key points of discussion throughout the conference included issues of policy relevance, future funding, and recent changes in Eurasian studies. The Eurasia Program will most likely incorporate many of the conference themes in plans for future Title VIII programming.

Dissertation Development Workshops
On March 5-7, 2004, the Eurasia Program held its annual dissertation development workshop, funded by the U.S. State Department under Title VIII, at the University of Texas, Austin. It was composed of ten graduate students, chosen on a nationally competitive basis, and five faculty members representing different social science disciplines. Having completed a series of three such workshops on the regions of Central Asia and the Caucasus, the Eurasia Program shifted its focus this year to the issue of governance, a way of approaching the study of power relations by simultaneously looking at the effects of interactions between and among the state and private sectors, society, individuals, and kin networks. The five professors, from leading U.S. universities, offered their expertise and suggestions to the students over two and a half days in an effort to both further the students' dissertation objectives and tackle the theme of governance from various angles.

In addition to the challenging workshop activities, the University of Texas, through its Center for Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies (CREEES), held a public seminar on "Issues of Good Governance" at which key university professors paralleled many of the issues raised during the workshop in a larger, more comparative setting (unrestricted by area studies region). The public seminar and the reception that followed allowed workshop participants to interact with a larger network of interested scholars from the University of Texas and expand professional contacts.

On April 2-4, 2004, the Eurasia Program held its second Dissertation Development Workshop in 2004, held at Princeton University. Ten graduate students, chosen on a nationally competitive basis, were selected to participate along with six faculty members representing various social science disciplines for the three-day workshop. As always, the workshop was organized to enhance interdisciplinary interaction and discussion (see pp. 20-23 of this issue). Unlike other dissertation workshops, this event brought together scholars both of Eurasia and the Middle East and included two international scholars who added novel research perspectives. The workshop also built upon past work from the workshops on Central Asia and the Caucasus by addressing the issue of regional boundaries—this time questioning larger area boundaries.

Global Security and Cooperation (GSC)

Understanding South Asia's Nuclear Crisis and Crisis Behavior
On January 16-18, 2004, the Program on Global Security and Cooperation held a workshop in Washington, DC entitled "Understanding South Asia's Nuclear Crisis and Crisis Behavior."The meeting, which was held at the SSRC's Washington Office and at George Washington University's Elliot School of International Affairs, was the second in a series of meetings for the Program's South Asian Nuclear Project. Over the three days, scholars from India, Pakistan and North America met to discuss the meaning of "crises" in relation to South Asia, particularly emphasizing the factors that influence the process of decision-making in the countries. The participants were asked to examine the beginnings and endpoints of crises, and to consider what insights could be drawn from a comparison of South Asia with other nuclear crises.

Responding to Hegemony: The Dynamics of Social Movements
In June 2004 the Program on Global Security & Cooperation convened its first workshop of a project, supported by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, called "Responding to Hegemony: The Dynamics of Social Movements." Over the course of eighteen months, participants aim to explore the international security dimensions of how social movements form and act to restrain hegemonic power globally. The inaugural workshop, held in Paris, examined hegemonic power and resistance and dissent in the past, with particular concentrations on the French experience in Algeria, anti-colonial movements in Africa, resistance to British, Ottoman, and Russian/Soviet imperialism, and cultural forms of domination and dissent. The next session, scheduled for January, will engage the Cold War period from regional perspectives. The project is organized into three related lines of inquiry—past, present and future—all built around a central question: how do social movements challenge hegemonic power and alter the "rules of the game" in global governance? The analysis of present American hegemony is complemented by an examination of relevant periods of hegemonic dominance in the past and informed speculation about the formation of oppositional politics with respect to future potential hegemons (China, India, Russia, and possibly the EU).

The Economic Analysis of Conflict: Problems and Prospects
On April 19-20, 2004, the Program on Global Security and Cooperation convened a workshop in Washington, DC on "The Economic Analysis of Conflict: Problems and Prospects."This workshop is part of a larger project on Globalization and Conflict (http://www.ssrc.org/programs/gsc/gsc_activities/globalization_conflict/). The origins of conflict have earned increasing attention from social science scholars over the last dozen years or so, owing to the end of the Cold War, the spectacle of genocide, state collapse, and massive refugee crises, and confusion in the international community about how to respond. Much progress on the origins of conflict has been made empirically—notably, a considerable amount from economic and statistical analyses. Workshop participants examined these economic analyses, with an eye toward the contributions they have made, their limitations, and the potential for complementarity with other approaches. The next issue of *Items and Issues* will carry three of the papers from the workshop and the agenda and papers presented at the workshop are available at: http://www.ssrc.org/programs/gsc/gsc_activities/globalization_conflict/conflictagenda/.

Reframing the Challenge of Migration and Security
On May 7, 2004, the Program on Global Security and Cooperation held the first event within its new initiative "Reframing the Challenge of Migration and Security," supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The project's consultative group convened in the SSRC's Washington office for a full day of discussions and research planning. The group, which consists of leading U.S. and European experts on Muslim communities in America, migration, homeland security and related civil liberties issues, will conduct substantial preparatory research work on subjects such as the meaning of security—homeland, national, international—in the post-9/11 context; the immigration-security nexus as reflected in U.S. policymaking; and reactions to post-9/11 policies in immigrant Muslim communities. The main purpose of the project is to create space for a constructive dialogue between two different groups—leaders from immigrant Muslim communities and homeland security professionals—on post-9/11 homeland security measures and their impact on immigrant Muslim communities. To learn more about the project and the consultative group, please visit the project website at: http://www.ssrc.org/programs/gsc/gsc_activities/migration/index.page.

Collaborative Action Research Grants on Globalization, Natural Resources, and Violent Conflict
The Program on Global Security and Cooperation is pleased to announce the selection of the recipients of the Program's Collaborative Action Research Grants on Globalization, Natural Resources, and Violent Conflict. The grants (of $10,000 each, for a period of 4-6 months) were awarded to five teams of researchers who currently reside or work in the Andes or Southeast Asia—places beset by violent conflicts directly tied to issues of natural resources. The selected projects will explore the relationship between processes of political and economic globalization—privatization, lowered trade and investment barriers, unregulated borders, violent conflict, and competition over natural resources.

This grant competition was the second round of GSC's Collaborative Action Research Grants, a component of a recently launched project on Globalization and Conflict. One of the objectives of this project is to create a global network of researchers pursuing conflict analysis by using a variety of

empirical and theoretical methods. The next round will address the links between globalization, state capacities, and violent conflict. For more information and a list of the grant recipients and project titles please visit http://www.ssrc.org/programs/gsc/gsc_activities/globalization_conflict/.

GSC Quarterly

The Program on Global Security and Cooperation has launched the 12th issue (Spring 2004) of its electronic newsletter, the *GSC Quarterly*. This issue features work by the 2003 GSC Fellows and their colleagues. The themes tackled by this cohort include infectious diseases, small arms trade and new non-lethal technologies, the rise of paramilitary forces, political globalization, as well as the science-policy nexus in the current U.S. administration. The *GSC Quarterly* can be accessed online at: http://www.ssrc.org/programs/gsc/gsc_quarterly/newsletter-spring04/index.page.

HIV/AIDS and Social Transformation

SSRC President Addresses the Bretton Woods Committee

SSRC President Craig Calhoun addressed a meeting organized by the Bretton Woods Committee on December 17, 2003 to examine national and multilateral HIV/AIDS programs, particularly the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, and the President's Emergency Plan for HIV/AIDS. He was joined by Geoffrey Lamb, the Global Fund's Trustee at the World Bank and Joseph O'Neill, Deputy AIDS Coordinator for the president's initiative. The purpose of the event was to gauge progress in combating the epidemic and to ensure that programs are financially viable and operating in coordination with each other. Ambassador Henry Owen, former co-chair of the Bretton Woods Committee, also briefly described private sector activities designed to combat HIV/AIDS. Summaries of their presentations can be found at: http://www.brettonwoods.org/hivaids.html Mr. Calhoun's address may be found at: http://www.ssrc.org/ president_office/brettonwoodsaddress.page.

Symposia on HIV/AIDS and Social Transformation

The HIV/AIDS Initiative has organized a series of symposia on the social, economic and political dimensions of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The series, organized with support from the Open Society Institute and the International Development Research Center, seeks to bring together intellectual, policy and political perspectives to address the social processes that shape transmission and those that shape the effectiveness of response.

The first session took place on April 8, 2004 and was hosted by the Open Society Institute. It featured leading development economist, Tony Barnett, from the London School of Economics; Richard Parker, professor and chair of the Department of Sociomedical Sciences in the Mailman School of Public Health at Columbia University; and Christina Zarowsky, a physician specialized in public health, medical anthropologist and current director of the Canadian International Development Research Centre's program on Governance, Equity and Health. The 50 participants included a diverse and eminent group of scholars, policymakers and practitioners from various fields and institutions.

Mobilizing Donor Support

On June 11, 2004, Aryeh Neier, president of the Open Society Institute, hosted and co-convened a luncheon with the SSRC to mobilize donor support for addressing the social, political and economic dimensions of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. More than twenty foundation presidents and senior executives participated in the luncheon, which featured distinguished medical anthropologist Paul Farmer and Council President Craig Calhoun. The discussion addressed the need for a fundamental shift in research, policy setting and operational approaches to the pandemic. It called for broadening and deepening the HIV/AIDS agenda and finding areas where evidence and knowledge can inform policy and operations, where we can learn real-time from interventions, strengthen in-country research capacity, and better integrate public health, bio-medical and social scientific approaches. Atlantic Philanthropies Vice President Alan Ruby called for further mobilization on these issues and offered to co-convene a second meeting in July 2004 with Stephen Heintz, president of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

Information Technology and International Cooperation

IT Governance and the Politics of Civil Society

On December 13-14, 2003, the Information Technology and International Cooperation Program held a workshop on "IT Governance and the Politics of Civil Society" at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, Switzerland. The workshop followed a three-day United Nations conference on the information society, which a number of workshop participants attended. The workshop included six panel discussions on topics such as "Digital Networking for Social Change," "Global Modes of Collab-

oration," and "Current Trends in Cooperation and Conflict in ICT Governance." In addition, the members of the program's two research networks held planning meetings to discuss their agenda and goals going forward. There were 65 participants from over 20 countries at the workshop, which included the ITIC committee, the two research networks, representatives from the Ford Foundation and the Open Society Institute, SSRC staff, and several outside experts. Among the countries represented were Nigeria, Tunisia, Serbia, South Africa, Palestine, Brazil, Indonesia and Colombia.

Information Technology and Social Transformations

On Sunday, April 18, 2004, the BBC ran a technology news story, "'Net Ninjas' Take on Web Censorship," (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/technology/3632757.stm) about the work of two researchers affiliated with the Information Technology and Social Transformations project. Ron Deibert and Rafal Rohozinski developed this collaboration as part of their Ford-funded work for the Information Technology and Social Transformations project. They have been working together on Citizen Lab (http://www.citizenlab.org/) and OpenNet Initiative (http://www.opennetinitiative.org). The OpenNet Initiative recently conducted a study on Internet access in Iran, "Unintended Risks and Consequences of Circumvention Technologies," which can be downloaded at: http://www.opennetinitiative.net/advisories/001/ .

Working Group on the Integrative Doctoral Programs in the Health and Social Sciences

On April 29-May 1, 2004 the Working Group on Integrative Doctoral Programs in the Health and Social Sciences held a collaborative workshop at the Airlie Conference Center in Warrenton, VA, on current trends and future directions of integrative graduate training. The meeting drew together a range of stakeholders in this area, including training program directors, integrative researchers, current students, and funders from a wide range of universities and agencies in the private and public sector. Over the course of two full days of discussion, the participants addressed such questions as: Which areas of research call for interdisciplinary research? Which kinds of doctoral degree combinations (MD-PhD, PhD-PhD, PhD-MPH etc.) might best serve the researcher working in these areas? What form or sequence might such training take? What formal and informal strategies (such as new mentoring or funding opportunities) could be initiated to promote these diverse training mechanisms?

This event significantly furthered the project's goal of considering how best to meet the interdisciplinary training needs of future researchers who will address pressing health and healthcare challenges that demand expertise in both the biomedical and social sciences.

International Dissertation Field Research Fellowship (IDRF) Program

Fellows Workshop

In late March, the International Dissertation Field Research Fellowship (IDRF) Program hosted the second of its two workshops for the 2002 cohort of fellows. The meeting, held at the SSRC's Washington, D.C. office, brought a diverse group of 20 IDRF fellows together for an intensive four-day exchange of research experiences across both disciplines and regions.

The workshop, which is a key component of the IDRF fellowship, provides fellows with a forum to discuss their research in its varying stages amongst interested peers as well as an opportunity to share ideas with program staff, facilitators, and other fellows regarding the more general aspects of theory, research methodology, write-up and fieldwork experience.

Fellows presented their projects in cross-disciplinary and cross-regional panels organized by common themes such as "Localizing Science and Knowledge" and "Political Contestations" that developed the linkages between their disparate projects. Individual fellows' topics ranged from transactional sex and geographies of HIV infection in Kwazulu-Natal, South Africa to Islamic literary traditions in Indonesia and Southern India.

The Meanings and Uses of Field Research

The IDRF program launched an initiative on "The Meanings and Uses of Field Research" with a planning meeting on April 26, 2004. The idea for the project resulted from an evaluation of the first five years of the IDRF program, which called attention to the difficult process of considering the rationales for field research and the quality of proposals in an interdisciplinary competition that includes all fields in the humanities as well as social sciences. A small group of scholars convened at the Council to refine a set of questions that that would map what different scholarly traditions mean by

field research and how those traditions are changing. What counts as data in different fields? What are legitimate methods for its collection and appropriate training to do so? What is its relation to research design, the logic of argument, and theoretical claims? What is the relationship of field research produced by knowledge producers from outside the academy (journalists, for example) to scientific and scholarly knowledge? By making explicit how different fields answer (or argue about) these questions, the project hopes to both shed light on the often taken-for-granted components of the research process within and across various fields, and to provide useful information to applicants and reviewers of interdisciplinary peer-reviewed research programs like IDRF.

International Migration

Working Group on Migration and Gender

In January 2004 the Working Group on Migration and Gender held its second meeting at the SSRC's New York offices. Established in 2002 with funding from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the working group aims to assess the contributions of disciplinary-based scholarship on gender to the study of international migration and promote scholarly attention to gender both as a topic of research and an analytic approach within the field of migration studies. Authors presented papers assessing how gendered approaches to migration studies are undertaken in various disciplines. In comparing their findings the participants found that across the social sciences gendered analysis is still confined to certain topical, disciplinary, and methodological domains. Gender is taken into account primarily in examinations of the roles of women, network relations, families and households, and employment; and gendered analysis is much more integrated into anthropology, history and, to a certain extent, sociology than it is into political science or psychology. Within disciplines analysis of gender relations is often restricted to particular subfields rather than being considered part of the mainstream, with the result that major schools of thought continue to ignore gender theoretically. It is also more common in work that uses historical, ethnographic, and other qualitative methods than it is in quantitative research. The participants identified the central methodological and disciplinary challenges to mainstreaming gender in migration studies and highlighted areas for future work. The working group members are revising their papers for publication in the fall, when they will also meet to consider possible future activities to promote a gender perspective in migration studies.

Group on Transnational Religion, Migration and Diversity

On January 22-24, 2004 the International Migration Program hosted the second meeting of its Working Group on Transnational Religion, Migration and Diversity in Cape Town, South Africa. The working group was established in 2000 to explore and develop an analytical framework for investigating how cross-border activities of religion and migration intersect with one another and influence social and cultural diversity in places of origin and settlement. By bringing together scholars from different disciplinary and geographical perspectives, the working group hopes to explore movement, creativity, diversity, and conformity across religious networks as they become territorialized in different contexts. The January meeting brought together South African and international scholars to study these themes in the South African context. Future conferences are planned for Malaysia and Brazil with the final goal of producing written materials that can provide guidance to future researchers in both conceiving and implementing research about the transnational dimensions of religion and migration.

Fellowship Program

This January marked the end of the International Migration Program's Fellowship Program as the last round of fellows met for their final conference in Pacific Grove, CA. Concluding seven years of competitions supported by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the three day conference brought together over 60 fellows and senior migration scholars from a cross section of disciplines. They explored how the fellows' research contributes to U.S. immigration studies and how the field is evolving as a result of the changing backgrounds and perspectives of the newest generation of migration scholars. The fellows were asked to tailor their research presentations to the conference theme, "Crossing Borders/Constructing Boundaries: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on International Migration," in order to identify and emphasize thematic commonalities and facilitate discussion. The conference presented an opportunity for fellows not only to present their research to leading migration researchers but also to connect with each other and strengthen the network of migration scholars. The International Migration Program plans to seek publication for the fellows' papers in two volumes to be edited by Caroline Brettell and Susan Carter.

Between 1996-2002, the International Migration Program awarded 108 fellowships to predoctoral and postdoctoral fellows—individuals now emerging as leading scholars in the field, laying the foundation for future migration research.

Working Group on Migration and Education

The Working Group on Migration and Education held its first meeting on April 23-24, 2004, in New York City with funding provided by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. The meeting convened 13 scholars from Europe and the United States to discuss central questions about immigrant education regarding transitions from high school to both college and work. Participants were asked to compare the challenges faced by immigrant youth with those of native-born children of non-immigrant parents and how immigrants' status interacts with class, race, ethnicity, and gender to affect their ability to make the transitions into higher education or employ-

ment. The meeting also explored how educational institutions have responded to the changing demographics of the student population and assessed whether programs designed originally to promote college access or vocational training for underserved and native-born minorities fit the particular needs of immigrant students. Scholars from Europe and Canada brought an international perspective to these questions and provided important cross-national comparisons regarding educational policy and its impact on immigrant youth. Possibilities explored for future activities include a research publication that would summarize existing knowledge related to these questions and suggest a future research agenda, network building between scholars and practitioners, and a research fellowship and training program.

Islam and America

The third planning meeting on "Islam and America" was held in New York on February 6-7, 2004. The meeting convened members of four related thematic working groups:

1. Muslim Identities and Group Relations;
2. Liberal Democracy, Secularism and Islam;
3. Muslim Diasporic Institutions and Networks; and
4. "Securitization" of Migration: Homeland Security and Muslims in America.

This cross-program collaborative project seeks to integrate these thematic working groups and develop a joint research agenda. Participants were asked to examine how their individual projects might fit into a larger working group that would explore Muslims' interaction with various American "institutions" (such as law, health, or education) and the process of institutionalization of Islam as an "American" religion, similar to the Americanization of Catholicism and Judaism in the past. Once established, this working group would expand and employ an international perspective with the goal of promoting Islam studies more broadly. Most participants believed that their own work would be enhanced by such a comparative approach and that an international focus would add greater insight into the current debate on Islam.

In relation to the project, the Council is offering a five-day institute for journalists on "Islam and Muslims in America," September 27-October 1, 2004 in New York City. Journalists with a particular interest or responsibility for covering issues relating to Islam and Muslims in America are encouraged to apply. The deadline for applications is July 22, 2004. The project is jointly supported by the New York Times Company Foundation and the Western Knight Center.

Japan

Japan Studies Disseration Workshop

The SSRC's Japan Program held its 9th annual Japan Studies Dissertation Workshop from December 17-21, 2004 at the Asilomar Conference Grounds in Monterey, California. The workshop brought together twelve Ph.D. candidates from across the U.S. for a full program of discussion and feedback designed to assist participants with their dissertations. Participants came from a number of disciplines including sociology, political science, religion, anthropology, literature, and history. The workshop is made possible by a grant from the Japan Foundation.

Latin America and the Caribbean

Inequality in Latin America

A March 5, 2004 workshop at Princeton University brought together several members of the Regional Advisory Panel on Latin America and roughly a dozen other scholars to debate agendas for research on diverse forms of inequality in Latin America, past and present. The discussion was organized around memoranda regarding three sets of issues. The first addressed linkages between dynamics of inequality and the age-old "agrarian question" in Latin America, a second revolved around conceptualizations of labor markets, emphasizing patterns of segmentation and regulation, while a third considered ways in which struggles relating to inequality have given rise to various forms of collective action. Throughout the meeting, attention was given to the micro- and meso-level processes through which inequalities are reproduced over time, and to the organizers' contention that Latin America's inequalities were paradoxical: on the one hand, they persist despite continuous efforts by mobilized actors, intellectuals and even policymakers to seek their attenuation, and on the other hand they evolve differently depending on whether one's preferred unit of analysis is the economy, the polity or the society. The organizers, Jeremy Adelman, Princeton University (Chair, LA RAP) and Eric Hershberg (program director for Latin America, and visiting professor at Princeton AY-03-04), hope that this meeting, funded by the Program on Latin American Studies at Princeton, will provide impetus for further scholarly collaboration addressing inequalities in the region, as this is a priority line of work both for the university and for the RAP.

Initiative on Cuban Libraries and Archives

On February 27-28, 2004, the ACLS/SSRC Working Group on Cuba's Standing Committee on Libraries and Archives held its third annual meeting in Havana. The committee includes preservation specialists from the U.S., France, Mexico and Venezuela, as well as from four primary preservation institutions in Cuba (José Martí National Library, National Archives of Cuba, the General Directorate of Archives, and the Institute of Literature and Linguistics). Committee members reviewed progress made on the projects funded in 2003, which included an advanced workshop on map conservation; the conservation of the Institute of History's photograph collection; the conservation of the Institute of History's map collection; a workshop on digital preservation; a workshop on documentary assessment; and a workshop on preventive conservation. The committee also considered pro-

posals for projects to be completed during 2004 and approved funding for a microfilming workshop; a document classification workshop; a records management workshop; the conservation and restoration of documents in non-standard format; the preservation of 19th Century Cuban Press; and travel grants to attend meetings of the International Council of Archives and the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions. To date, most of the projects supported by the committee include training components and emphasize inter-institutional cooperation, with a view toward long-term impact on the library and archives systems of Cuba. Funding for this initiative is provided by the Ford Foundation.

Development Strategies for Cuba Project
With support from the Christopher Reynolds Foundation, the Council arranged participation of several Cuban economists in a study tour in China and Malaysia in March 2004, as part of its Cuba Program. Carried out in cooperation with the International Organisation for Knowledge Economy and Enterprise Development (IKED) of Malmo, Sweden, the visit focused on industrial upgrading in the region and served to help the Cuban economists stake out positions concerning the relevance of Asian experiences to Cuba's evolving economic challenges.

Scholarly Collaboration on Environmental Initiatives
The ACLS/SSRC Working Group on Cuba recently awarded five grants to support collaborative work on environmental initiatives between Cuban and North American institutions. A sixth grant is pending approval from Cuban institutions. The institutions and projects funded include: New York Botanical Garden, for the participation of Cuban scientists in the Flora of the Greater Antilles research project; University of Wisconsin, Madison, for the IDERC workshop on geospatial metadata; University of California, Berkeley, for an agroecology course on sustainable agriculture for Cuban students and professionals; Missouri Botanical Garden, to bring a Cuban botanist to work at the Botanical Garden for a month; Reinaldo Funes Monzote of the Fundación Antonio Núñez Jiménez, for travel to the American Society for Environmental History Conference in Canada.

Seminar on Cultural Studies
In November 2003, the SSRC/ACLS Working Group on Cuba sponsored a weeklong seminar on Cultural Studies. Following the preparation of a Spanish-language reader that included a survey of important texts from the English, U.S. and Latin American traditions in this field, Professor Rossana Reguillo (ITESO-Guadalajara) and Professor Emerita Jean Franco (Columbia University) were invited to give a series of conferences on different dimensions of and debates within the field of cultural studies to an interdisciplinary group of over 30 Cuban scholars working in universities and institutes throughout the island. The weeklong seminar took place at the Ludwig Foundation in Havana, Cuba and included lectures on topics such as the re-emergence of religiosity; Latin American youth cultures; gender, sexuality and globalization; urban cultures of fear; Che Guevara's biographies; and politics of citizenship and representation.


Freeman Hrabowski, president, University of Maryland at Baltimore

SSRC Mellon Mays Fellowship Program

Recognition of the first 100 Mellon Ph.D.s
On Wednesday, March 17, 2004, Beverlee Bruce, director of the Social Science Research Council's Mellon Mays Fellowship Program, joined Lydia English, program officer and director of Higher Education at the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, in hosting a celebration and recognition ceremony at the Graduate Center of the City University in New York (CUNY) for the first Mellon 100+ Ph.D.s and their mentors.


Beverlee Bruce, program director, SSRC Mellon Mays Fellowship Program


Mary Byrne McDonnell, executive director, SSRC

In welcoming remarks William G. Bowen, president of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, underscored the necessity to provide underrepresented populations opportunities for access to the professoriate in American higher education. Matthew Goldstein, the City University of New York Chancellor, welcomed everyone and thanked the Mellon Foundation for having selected four public colleges, each a member of the CUNY system, to host the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship Program. Mary McDonnell, the SSRC Executive Director described, in brief, the history of the Council, and the ways in which the goals and mission of the Mellon Mays Program and the Council are interrelated to the benefit of both, as evidenced, in part, by a shared belief in the importance of the scholar activist in effecting positive social change.

The following day, Postdoctoral Fellows and Coordinators

met in small groups to discuss ways in which modifications in the program will be implemented to enhance its primary goal of transforming the academy. On Friday March 19 the assembled group heard the president of the University of Maryland at Baltimore, Freeman Hrabowski, challenge them to remember that though they have tenure track assistant professorships, though several have been awarded tenure and many are working on second and third book manuscripts, they must remember there are others who require mentoring and support from them as positive role models. From the standing ovation at the end of Hrabowski's presentation, it's a safe bet that the first Mellon 100+ Ph.D.s will heed his call.

Philanthropy and the Nonprofit Sector

Dissertation Workshop

The SSRC Program on Philanthropy and the Nonprofit Sector held its fourth annual dissertation workshop in Denver, Colorado, on November 18-19, 2003. Co-hosted with the Aspen Institute and the Indiana University Center on Philanthropy, the workshop was organized around a series of presentations and discussions of dissertation projects, providing a useful opportunity for fellows to discuss their research with faculty and peers. Dissertation topics of the fellows included: Civil Society from Abroad: Western Donors in the Former Soviet Union; Ownership and Outcomes: Investigating Nonprofit and For-Profit Subsidized Housing Developers; Formal and Informal Philanthropy Among African Americans and White Americans; and Public Beneficiary, Private Benefactor: Wal-Mart, the Walton Family Foundation, and the Christian Free-Market.

Nine SSRC fellows participated in the workshop, along with five Aspen fellows. Following the workshop, fellows and faculty took part in the annual Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA) conference, which brings together scholars and practitioners from around the world to present and discuss papers on nonprofit studies, voluntary action and philanthropy.

Dissertation Fellowships

The Program on Philanthropy and the Nonprofit Sector (PPNPS) Selection Committee met on April 9, 2004, to award this year's Dissertation Fellowships. The Program received 70 applications from a variety of social science and humanity disciplines including: anthropology, economics, geography, history, political science, social work and sociology. Each awardee will receive support for dissertation research on the history, behavior, and role of nonprofit and/or philanthropic organizations in the United States. Awards were granted to 12 graduate students representing four different disciplines and nine universities. Awardee topics include Catalyzing Caregivers: Nonprofit Sector Influence on Political Consciousness of Informal Careworkers; Community Politics, Urban Regimes, and the Transformation of Low-Income Housing Production; and Labours in the Cause of Humanity in Every Part of the Globe: Transatlantic Philanthropic Collaboration and the Cosmopolitan Ideal, 1760-1815.

Sexuality Research Fellowship Program

The Sexuality Research Fellowship Program is pleased to announce the successful completion of the 2004-2005 Sexuality Research Fellows competition. The selection meeting convened on March 11-13, 2004, at the SSRC to determine the ninth cohort of dissertation and postdoctoral fellows. The meeting concluded Saturday evening with a celebratory dinner at Aquavit, where members of the Selection Committee and staff were toasted for their excellence and hard work.

The 2004 competition drew 92 applications, 68 for dissertation and 24 for postdoctoral support, from a wide range of social and behavioral science disciplines including: sociology, anthropology, psychology, political science, history, education, linguistics, English, public health, geography, journalism, neurobiology, sociomedical sciences, social work, nursing, and various interdisciplinary programs such as American, cultural, labor, ethnic, performance, media, and women's studies. Out of this highly competitive pool, eleven dissertation fellowships for one-year of support and four postdoctoral fellowships were awarded—one for two years and 3 for one year of support.

Awarded proposals featured a widely diverse range of topics. Proposal topics range from Sexuality Education in American Public Schools: (Re)shaping Gender, Disease, and Morality, to The Role of Sex Steroids in Cognitive Processing and Sexual Arousal in Women, and from The Transformations of Puberty for Girls: Narratives of Gender, Sexuality, and the Body, to Oye Loca: The Making of Cuban American Gay Miami.

The Sexuality Research Fellowship Program's Annual Fellows Conference is scheduled for October 13-17, 2004, at which current fellows, SRFP staff, and invited guests will have the opportunity to further strengthen research networks within the field of sexuality research and exchange ideas.

South Asia

Collective Memory and Repression

The South Asia Program sponsored and organized a lecture tour in South Asia for SSRC Board Member Professor Elizabeth Jelin for her work on collective memory and repression. The tour, which was scheduled from November 24-December 11, included presentations and lectures by Professor Jelin at major universities and research centers located in India, Sri Lanka and Pakistan. Professor Jelin started the tour with a presentation of her work on "Personal Testimony and Public Memory," first at a colloquium for students and faculty at Delhi School of Economics and then at a seminar at the Women's Studies Department at Jawaharlal Nehru University. The tour then proceeded to Calcutta where she delivered lectures on "Memories of Violence and Repression in South America" and "Giving Meaning to Past Violence" at Calcut-

ta University, Jadvapur University, Calcutta Research Group and at the SSRC's partner institute, the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences. In Mumbai, Professor Jelin met with oral historians and archivists at Sparrow and gave a public lecture at the Nehru Centre where she addressed a large audience of academics, bureaucrats, journalists and students. Her work resonated well with researchers and students who were dealing with memories on partitions of the subcontinent and reconstructions of violence that these events had generated. Scholars across disciplines and institutions were extremely enthusiastic about her visit and eager that the SSRC should continue to facilitate such collaborative programs in the future.

Fellows' Workshop

The South Asia Regional Fellowship Program (SARFP) hosted its second fellows' workshop in Negombo, Sri Lanka from December 16-20, 2004. The workshop is a requirement of the SARFP postdoctoral fellowship and aims to expose fellows, who are university and college teachers, to contemporary inter-disciplinary approaches to "migration" before they embark upon their research. Along with being a forum for fellows to discuss and receive feedback on their research projects, the workshop exposed fellows to more nuanced and less conventional ways of thinking about migration. The workshop was organized into three sessions: plenary, small group, and senior fellow presentations. The workshop concluded each day with a group dinner by the sea, which proved to be a perfect way to relax and unwind from the day's intense and engaging discussions.

Translocal Flows in the Americas Project

On May 7-8, 2004, the Translocal Flows in the Americas (TLFA) project held its capstone workshop, "Translocal Cities: Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago," at the offices of the SSRC in New York City. The workshop brought together a number of participants from past TLFA project activities, as well as other scholars with relevant expertise, to explore the empirical and conceptual intersections between the study of migratory processes, transnationality and urban formations in the context of these three U.S. cities. The event served as an opportunity to integrate and synthesize work on the issues of migration and urban spaces in the Americas, and to explore possibilities for future SSRC activities in these arenas. The meeting concluded with a presentation by Annette Bernhardt of NYU's Brennan Center for Justice and a very fruitful plenary discussion on research agendas, community organizations and translocal activism.

Vietnam Program

Interdisciplinary Social Science Research Training Project

On February 2, 2004, the Vietnam Program, in collaboration with the National Center for Social Sciences and Humanities (now the Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences), opened the third year of our joint interdisciplinary social science research-training project in Hanoi. This intensive training program for 40 younger and mid-career researchers and faculty members from all regions of Vietnam will help develop knowledge on the concrete issues of rapid social and economic change in Vietnam by developing capacities for conducting interdisciplinary social science. Details are available on the Vietnam Program page at: http://www.ssrc.org/programs/vietnam/social_science_research_training_program_vietnam.

SSRC President in Vietnam

From February 22 through the 29th, Council President Craig Calhoun was in Vietnam to meet with high-ranking Vietnamese officials and SSRC's partner organizations to examine ways to further social science research and training and their interface with the policy process in Vietnam. Meetings were designed to give Calhoun a hands-on feel for Council projects in Vietnam and the environment in which they are operating, to provide an opportunity for him to interact with academics and ranking officials who have social science as part of their portfolios, to enhance the visibility of the SSRC and contribute to its ability to do work in Vietnam with local partners, and to raise the profile of social science in relationship to public knowledge and policy in Vietnam. President Calhoun also spoke at and participated in a conference in Ho Chi Minh City (see below).

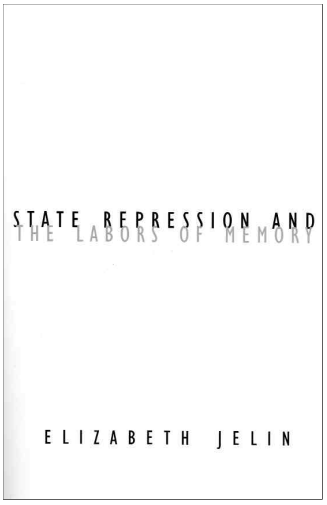
Craig Calhoun, SSRC president and Pham Gia Khiem, deputy prime minister of Vietnam

International Conference on Poverty Alleviation, Migration, and Urbanization: Ho Chi Minh City in Comparative Perspectives

The Vietnam Program organized an international conference on "Poverty Alleviation, Migration, and Urbanization: Ho Chi Minh City in Comparative Perspectives" in Ho Chi Minh City from February 25-28, 2004. This event capped a five-year program of research, training, institution building and network creation between the SSRC and the Institute of Social Sciences in Ho Chi Minh City (ISSHO—now named the Southern Institute of Social Sciences). The longitudinal project examines urban socio-economic mobility and socio-economic differentiation in a context of a rapid growth, urbanization, and in-migration. The conference itself explored findings concerning poverty, migration, and urbanization; migration dynamics and urbanization; and socio-economic mobility opportunities for the poor and other social strata during urbanization. The conference agenda, schedule, participant list and other details have been posted online at http://www.ssrc.org/programs/vietnam.

Publications

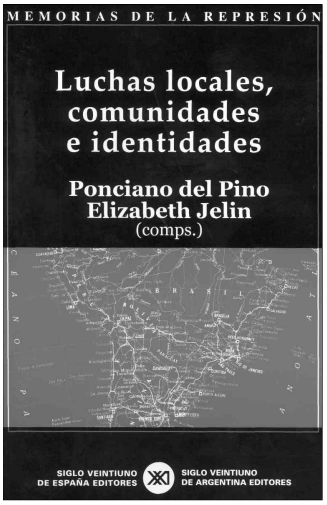
STATE REPRESSION AND THE LABORS OF MEMORY, by Elizabeth Jelín. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2003. 163 pp.



This volume was originally published in Spanish as the first of a twelve-volume series, directed by Jelín, that results from the Council's multi-year program of research and training on Collective Memory of Repression in the Southern Cone and Peru. Seven volumes have been released simultaneously in Madrid and Buenos Aires by Siglo XXI Editores, and volumes eight through twelve will be published during 2004. Appearing for the first time in English, *State Repression and the Labors of Memory* examines the trials of Pinochet, the searches for "the disappeared" in Argentina, the investigation of the death of former president Goulart in Brazil, the Peace Commission in Uruguay, the Archive of Terror in Paraguay and the Truth Commission in Peru. Combining a concrete sense of present urgency and a theoretical understanding of social, political, and historical realities, Jelín creates tools for thinking about and analyzing the presences, silences, and meanings of the past.

Elizabeth Jelín is a sociologist, professor at the University of Buenos Aires, and the academic director of the Collective Memory and Repression Program organized by the SSRC. She also works with CONICET (Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas), directs research for IDES (Instituto de Desarrollo Económico y Social) in Buenos Aires and is on the Latin America Regional Advisory Panel for the SSRC.

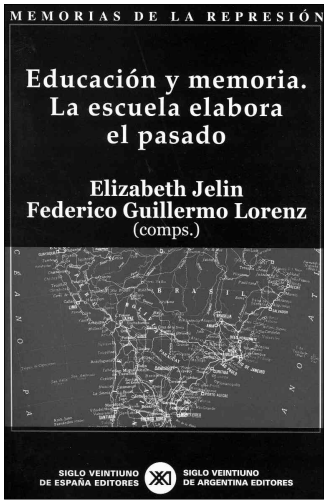
LUCHAS LOCALES, COMUNIDADES E IDENTIDADES, edited by Elizabeth Jelín and Ponciano del Pino. Madrid: Siglo XXI Editores, 2003. 232 pp.



This book, volume six of the Memorias de la Represión series, studies the construction of memories in specific geographic spaces or communities, the majority of which are considered territorially, symbolically or politically removed from the centers of power and capital cities in the countries in which they are located. Ranging from a study of a favela in the heart of Rio de Janeiro to the Ashaninka communities in the Amazon jungle in Peru, from Neuquén, a city of 400,000 inhabitants in southern Argentina to the small logging towns in the south of Chile, the chapters examine the effects of violence and repression on these local populations and their memories through various frameworks, including the construction of community, the relationship between insiders in the communities and outsiders from the centers of power, and the forces that unify and divide the communities themselves. The book strives to demonstrate the existence of a multiplicity of meanings of memories in local communities, and the need to look to both the breaches in communication and the dialogues among actors from different levels and regions to understand the dynamics of memory and repression.

Elizabeth Jelín's background is described above. Ponciano del Pino has published numerous articles, many of which focus on the recent civil war in Peru and the related issues of citizenship, democratization, historical memory, and cultural identity. He has also worked on research projects with various international organizations, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, World Vision and Doctors Without Borders.

EDUCACIÓN Y MEMORIA. LA ESCUELA ELABORA EL PASADO, edited by Elizabeth Jelín and Federico Guillermo Lorenz. Madrid: Siglo XXI Editores, 2004. 185 pp.

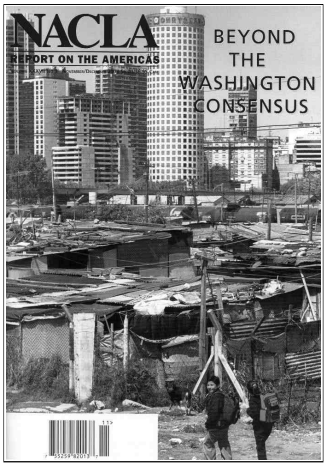


Volume seven of the Council's project on Collective Memory of Repression in the Southern Cone and Peru analyzes the educational system as a space of memory struggles, where the Southern Cone's violent and traumatic recent past conditions the practices and discourse of diverse educational communities, including students, teachers and parents. The explanation and incorporation of this past generate public policies that are expressed in academic textbooks, rules and calendars. In particular, schools are venues where many distinct social demands come together, from those linked to the "duty of memory" to the parents who request that the instructors "not get political" when teaching painful topics. The works united here are not a catalogue of solutions for the dilemmas that confront the educational community, but an attempt to explain that the challenge is to build bridges between the past and the present, keeping the past alive as a way to generate concerns about current affairs confronting students.

In addition to the seven volumes already released, up to five additional volumes will be published with Siglo XXI in 2004, including the upcoming publication of volume eight on the Catholic church and struggles over memory in Chile.

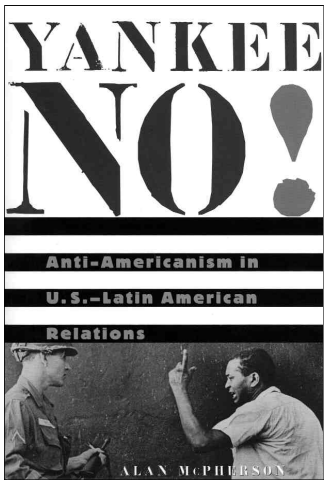
Elizabeth Jelín's background is described on the previous page. Federico Guillermo Lorenz is a historian with the Center for Memory Studies at IDES (Instituto de Desarrollo Económico y Social), as well as the Oral History Program of the Philosophy and Letters Department of the Universidad de Buenos Aires.

"Beyond the Washington Consensus," guest editor, Eric Hershberg, *NACLA Report on the Americas*, 37, 3, 2003.



The "Washington Consensus" that international financial institutions require market-driven growth and the curbing of government expenditures has generated renewed and enormous controversy in Latin America since the collapse of Argentina's economy in 2001. This issue of *NACLA Report on the Americas* provokes readers to rethink development outside the neoliberal consensus, providing an overview of some of the questions that are being debated vigorously in Latin America and the Caribbean, and highlighting some of the more provocative ideas circulating among progressive analysts of development in the region. Contributors to the issue identify a socially-driven agenda and a politically democratizing mode of decision making as critical components of this alternative approach. SSRC Program Director Eric Hershberg is guest editor of the report and author of the lead essay, "Latin America at the Crossroads." In addition to his duties at the Council, Hershberg is president of NACLA's Board of Directors.

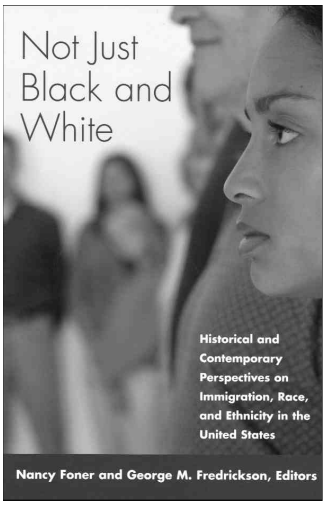
YANKEE NO! ANTI-AMERICANISM IN U.S.-LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS, by Alan McPherson. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003. 247 pp.



After surveying anti-U.S. movements since the hemisphere's independence from Europe, Mcpherson focuses on the crucial years that witnessed the Cuban Revolution, the 1964 Panama riots, and U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic. Deftly combining cultural and political analysis, he demonstrates the shifting and complex nature of anti-Americanism in each country and the love-hate ambivalence of most Latin Americans toward the United States. In underscoring the many different dimensions to U.S. concerns about "why they hate us," McPherson offers a sweeping argument for reconsidering the unexpected diversity and duality in many countries' defiance of U.S. power.

Alan McPherson is assistant professor of history at Howard University. He is a past recipient of an SSRC International Predissertation Fellowship and a subsequent matching grant.

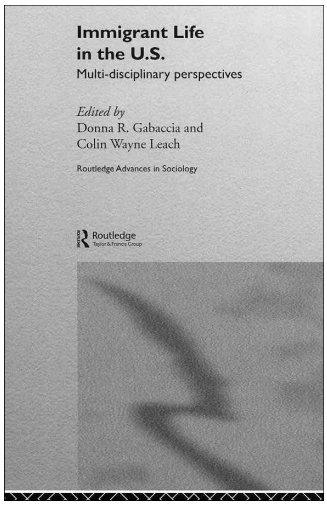
NOT JUST BLACK AND WHITE: HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES ON IMMIGRATION, RACE, AND ETHNICITY IN THE UNITED STATES, edited by Nancy Foner and George M. Frederickson. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. 376 pp.



Immigration is one of the driving forces behind social change in the United States, continually reshaping the way Americans think about race and ethnicity. How have various racial and ethnic groups—including immigrants from around the globe, indigenous racial minorities, and African Americans—related to each other both historically and today? How have these groups been formed and transformed in the context of the continuous influx of new arrivals to this country? In *Not Just Black and White*, editors Nancy Foner and George M. Fredrickson bring together a distinguished group of social scientists and historians to consider the relationship between immigration and the ways in which concepts of race and ethnicity have evolved in the United States from the end of the nineteenth century to the present. The volume has its origins in a series of workshops organized by the Social Science Research Council's Program on International Migration and sponsored by the Mellon Foundation.

Nancy Foner is Distinguished Professor of Anthropology at the State University of New York, Purchase, and Lillie and Nathan Ackerman Visiting Professor of Equality and Justice in America, Baruch College, School of Public Affairs, City University of New York. George M. Frederickson is Edgar E. Robinson Professor of History Emeritus and codirector of the Research Institute for the Comparative Study of Race and Ethnicity, Stanford University.

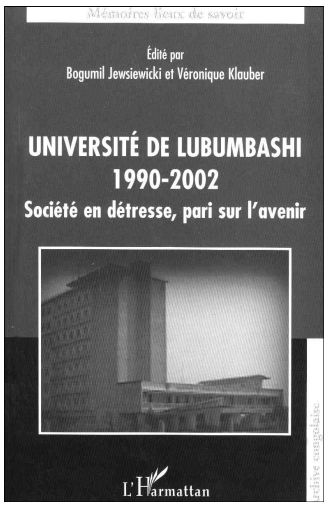
IMMIGRANT LIFE IN THE U.S.: MULTI-DISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES, edited by Donna R. Gabaccia and Colin Wayne Leach. London: Routledge, 2004. 233 pp.



This collection of essays represents a broad ranging attempt to assess the effect of migration and transnational life on human identity through comparative study of migrants, past and present, who have come to the United States. The editors ask, "Do transnational flows of people necessarily produce transnational selves, and if so under what conditions? Have new technologies of transportation and communication marked the current round of globalization as unique or particular in any way? If so, how is human subjectivity changing in the current global ecumene and what transformations seem most salient to those working, living and studying in the United States?" While the questions are large, the research that attempts to answer them is finite, historical, grounded. The essays range from studies of adoption agencies, urban playgrounds, and the cultural symbols of immigrant youth, to the long-term consequences of the Bracero program, the functions of contemporary employment agencies, and workplaces as diverse as California kitchens and the high-tech offices along Rte. 128 or in Silicon Valley. The volume emerged from a series of fellows conferences, sponsored by the SSRC in 2001 and 2002, for recent recipients of pre- and post-doctoral SSRC research fellowships. It reveals the exciting directions taken by a new generation of migration scholars, from a host of disciplines, who are determined to ground theorization of global processes in empirical and comparative work.

Donna R Gabaccia is Mellon Professor of History at the University of Pittsburgh. Colin Wayne Leach is associate professor of psychology at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

THE UNIVERSITY OF LUBUMBASHI 1990-2002: A SOCIETY IN DISTRESS BETS ON THE FUTURE, edited by Bogumil Jewsiewicki and Veronique Klauber. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2003. 241 pp.



In spite of more than a decade of social and political calamity in the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire), The University of Lubumbashi has survived and remained a place of learning, free speech, and a testimonial to the social and political life of the DRC. This book recounts the history of the University of Lubumbashi as it became embroiled in the conflicts of the DRC in the 1990s and as it sought to maintain its educational mission. The volume brings together a report based on research conducted by a team of Congolese social scientists (led by Donatien Dibwe) as part of the SSRC's Africa Higher Education project, and accounts by two former rectors of the University, Julien Kilango Musinde and Jean-Baptiste Kakoma Sakatolo Zambeze.

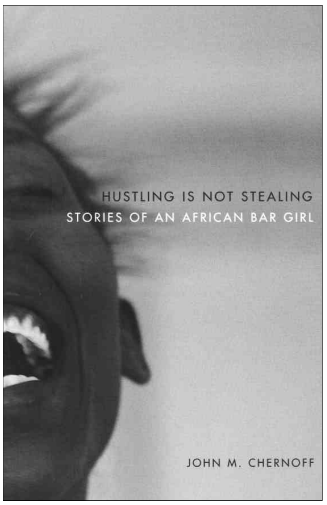
Bogumil Jewsiewicki is Canada Research Chair in Comparative History of Memory at Université Laval. Veronique Klauber is a Ph.D. candidate in ethnology at the Université Laval and the École des hautes études en sciences sociales.

"The Public Dimensions of the University in Africa," by Ebrima Sall, Yann Lebeau, and Ron Kassimir, *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*, 1, 1, 2003.

A product of the SSRC's Africa Higher Education project, this paper explores the role of the African university as a public institution, and investigates how both universities and public institutions in Africa are shaped and influenced by the social, political, and economic contexts in which they are situated. In particular, the authors focus on the multi-dimensional nature of the African university and the tensions in the contexts of poverty and instability that result as it functions both as an actor in politics, civil society, and the public sphere, and also as a key institution in the behavior of a range of other actors, groups, and constituencies.

Ebrima Sall is a senior researcher with the Nordic Africa Institute and a member of the SSRC Regional Advisory Panel on Africa. Yann Lebeau is a researcher at the Open University's Centre for Higher Education Research and Information, London. Ron Kassimir directs the SSRC International Dissertation Research Fellowship Program and co-directs its Africa Program.

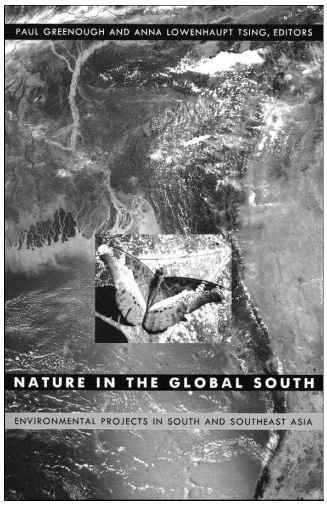
HUSTLING IS NOT STEALING: STORIES OF AN AFRICAN BAR GIRL, by John Chernoff. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003. 480 pp.



While living in West Africa in the 1970s, John Chernoff recorded the stories of "Hawa," a spirited and brilliant but uneducated woman whose insistence on being respected and treated fairly propelled her, ironically, into a life of marginality and luck as an "ashawo," or bar girl. Refusing to see herself as a victim, Hawa embraces the freedom her lifestyle permits and seeks the broadest experience available to her. Combining elements of folklore and memoir, Hawa's stories portray the diverse social landscape of West Africa.

John Chernoff is the author of *African Rhythm and African Sensibility: Aesthetics and Social Action in African Musical Idioms* (University of Chicago Press, 1979). He is a past recipient of an SSRC/ACLS Joint Committee on African Studies Grant for Postdoctoral Research.

Nature in the Global South: Environmental Projects in South and Southeast Asia, edited by Paul Greenough and Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003. 409 pp.



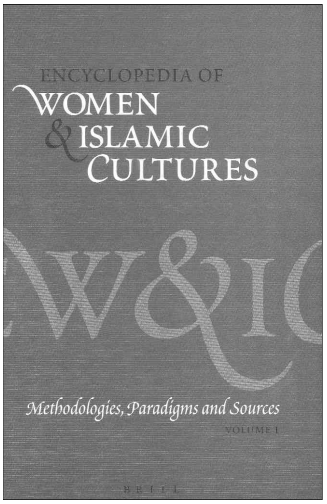
This collection of essays gives a nuanced look at how nature has been culturally constructed in South and Southeast Asia and further contributes to understandings of environmentalism and development in a postcolonial epoch. The volume examine how the tropics, the jungle, tribes and peasants are understood and transformed; how shifts in colonial ideas about the landscape led to extremely deleterious changes in rural well-being; and how uneasy environmental compromises are forged at present among rural, urban, and global allies. (The Indian edition of the volume is being published by Orient Longman.) The essays grew out of a conference on "Environmental Discourses and Human Welfare in South and Southeast Asia," sponsored by the former SSRC-ACLS Joint Committees on South and Southeast Asia.

Paul Greenough is professor in the Department of History and director of the Global Health Studies and the Crossing Borders Programs at the University of Iowa. Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing is professor in the Department of Anthropology at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

"For a Cultural Politics of Natural Resources," edited by Amita Baviskar, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 29, 48 (Nov. 29-Dec. 5, 2003).

Papers on "Resources: Conceptions and Contestations," presented at a 2003 SSRC conference in Kathmandu, Nepal, have been published in a special edition of this much read, Mumbai-based publication. The collection of essays makes a case for the study of natural resources through the lens of cultural politics. The issue is available online at www.epw.org.in/ and includes articles from Amita Baviskar, David Gilmartin, Michael Watts, Tania Li, David Ludden, Lyla Mehta, Steve Rayner, Simon Dalby, Michael Thompson, and Anna Tsing.

Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures, Volume I: Methodologies, Paradigms and Sources, edited by Suad Joseph. Leiden: Koninkliike Brill NV, 2003. 615 pp.



The first volume of the six-volume series, *The Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures* (EWIC), has been published recently. An interdisciplinary, transhistorical, and global project, EWIC brings together upwards of 1,000 scholars to write critical essays on women, Muslim and non-Muslim, and Islamic cultures in every region where there have been significant Muslim populations. It aims to cover every topic for which there is significant research, examining these regions from the period just before the rise of Islam to the present.

Under the general editorship of Suad Joseph, the series has five associate editors, among them Seteney Shami, program director for the Council's Middle East and North Africa and Eurasia Programs. Shami's areas of responsibility for the ambitious EWIC project include the Arab Gulf States, the Arab Eastern Mediterranean, North Africa, Mauritania, Israel, Andalusian Spain, and Europe under the Ottoman Empire.

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