

Census Director's Northern Exposure

by Kenneth Prewitt

Editor's note: Readers who picked up the New York Times on January 21 were rewarded by the sight of Kenneth Prewitt, the former SSRC president who now heads the Bureau of the Census, bundled in furs on a dogsled. We have reproduced this picture for the benefit of those friends of the Council who may have missed it. Items & Issues asked Mr. Prewitt to tell us about his ride and about his efforts to publicize and increase participation in the 2000 census. His response was written before information on return rates was available. In fact they have exceeded the 1990 rates. As we go to press, the door-to-door enumeration phase of the census is still in progress.

On seeing this photo, a friend quipped, "It looks like they are taking you taking you prisoner." In truth, I was being taken to conduct the first enumeration of Census 2000. The vast undertaking of counting and geo-coding 275 million American residents started there for a simple operational reason. Remote Alaskan villagers, many of them dependent on subsistence hunting and fishing, disperse with the spring thaw. The census can reach them best in their winter village homes. This is one of dozens of geographic and group specific operations needed across the country if we are to reach people whose habits, living arrangements and, to be sure, attitudes toward the census can only be described as wonderfully diverse.

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AP/Wide World Photos

The Impact of the Economic Reforms in Latin America and the Caribbean

by Barbara Stallings

In the last 10 to 15 years, structural reforms in the Latin American and Caribbean region have brought about the most significant economic transformation since World War II. An increasing number of countries have moved from closed, state-dominated economies to economies that are more market oriented and more open to the rest of the world. Complementary policies have accorded a new pri-

ority to macroeconomic stability, especially lower rates of inflation, and to increasing expenditure in the social area. Policymakers expected that these changes would speed up economic growth and increase productivity gains, and create more jobs and greater equality at the same time.

Have those expectations been fulfilled? It is impossible to make more than a preliminary analysis at this point, since in many cases the reforms are less than a decade old. However, governments must decide whether the new policies are moving in the right direction and, even if they are, whether they require mid-course corrections. Any conclusions that can be drawn will be relevant beyond the boundaries of the region, because in many parts of the

world—including central and eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, Africa, some parts of Asia and even some industrialized countries—governments are experimenting with similar policy changes. Since Latin America has had a head start, others are interested in learning from its successes and failures.

Wilson Peres and I recently published a book that reports on the most ambitious study to date on the impact of the reforms. It was a joint venture between the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) and research centers in the nine countries that were studied: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Jamaica, Mexico and Peru. In addition to this new syn-

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Census Director's Northern Exposure

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I also went to Unalakleet to signal to the country that the "census is starting," that is, as an element in our huge promotional effort. This promotion is at an unprecedented scale—\$165 million in paid advertising; 90,000 partner agreements with businesses, churches and community groups; 1.5 million teaching kits as part of a census-in-schools program; 10,000 complete count committees formed with local governments; and more. This promotion and publicity effort is probably one of the largest applied social science projects ever. It is a civic mobilization campaign designed to convince American households to return their census form in the mail or, failing that, to cooperate with enumerators in the period where we follow up with non-responding households.

The first phase is called 90 Plus Five, which is the straightforward task of increasing the mailback response rate by 5 percentage points over the 1990 base. In 1980, approximately 75% of the households returned their census forms by mail. In 1990, this dropped to 65%. The Census Bureau's internal models predicted 61% for 2000. We can view the response rate as an indicator of civic engagement. If the census response rate is in the low 60s, this suggests that the several decades-long decline in civic engagement continues. If the decline is arrested or, better, reversed, take this as a sign that civic mobilization campaigns can work.

[Regardless of the rate], there is a social science question to answer. With support from a number of foundations—Annie E. Casy, Carnegie, Ford, Hewlett, MacArthur, Mellon and Russell Sage—real-time data are being collected, by InterSurvey, to track the impact of various features of the mobilization strategy. Early results from this study were reported in mid-May, and public use data files became available soon thereafter. ■

The Impact of the Economic Reforms in Latin America and the Caribbean

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thesis volume [see reference list on p. 6 for full citation], four topical volumes (on investment, technical change, employment and equity) and nine country volumes will be published in the course of the year.

Two Waves of Reform Literature

We are not, of course, the first to study the reforms. There were several studies in the late 1970s and early 1980s, of which the most influential were those directed by Anne Krueger for the National Bureau of Economic Research; these provided the intellectual foundations for the reforms (Krueger 1978, 1981-83). In the 1990s came empirical analyses of the impact of the reforms (see especially Williamson, 1990; Edwards, 1995; ECLAC, 1996;

IDB, 1996 and 1997; Burki and Perry, 1997).

The early literature advocating the reforms as a way of raising growth rates stressed the need to move from production that was overwhelmingly oriented toward the domestic market to a greater emphasis on exports. Three arguments supported the benefits of export-led growth: greater efficiency at the microeconomic level, better exploitation of economies of scale and moderation of stop-go cycles deriving from foreign exchange shortages. The most important instrument for achieving export-led growth was argued to be a competitive exchange rate, although this was considered to be a necessary but not sufficient condition. Eliminating the special privileges enjoyed by import-substitution firms (protected domestic industries that pro-

duced formerly imported goods) and providing positive incentives for exports were also required.

The literature argued that removing the distortions caused by the import-substitution industrialization (ISI) model would generate more employment, especially for unskilled workers. A more efficient allocation of resources would facilitate faster growth, and faster growth would result in more job creation. The mechanisms for increasing equity were closely related to those for expanding employment. The most obvious link was the creation of new low-skill jobs. Since many of these new jobs would be in rural areas, they would help alleviate the great poverty there. It was also expected that the greater demand for unskilled labor would have a positive impact on the relative wages of those who were already employed.

That is, the wage differential between skilled and unskilled workers would decrease, improving the distribution of income.

Although the reforms did not promote specific firms or sectors, they were not meant to be neutral. They aimed at reducing the share of government, eliminating state-owned enterprises and increasing foreign direct investment flows into the region. A central objective was to overcome the strong anti-export bias that had developed under protection policies, because the resulting trade deficits represented a serious constraint on growth. The long-run sustainability of an export orientation would depend to a large degree on whether the reforms could overcome, or at least reduce, external constraints on growth.

Not all potential exports were expected to benefit equally from the reforms. Trade liberalization and the phasing out of industrial and agricultural policies, which were believed to have artificially increased labor costs and reduced the cost of capital, would lead a country to specialize in areas in which it had comparative advantages. The proponents of the reforms generally assumed that Latin America's comparative advantage lay in unskilled labor; they therefore predicted two additional outcomes. First, labor-intensive sectors would produce the most dynamic export performance and, consequently, the most rapid growth and employment creation. Second, small firms, which presumably specialize in labor-intensive sectors, would grow faster than large ones, which were concentrated in capital-intensive, protected sectors.

The more recent literature is aimed at evaluating the extent to which these expectations about a "first generation" of market-oriented reforms were fulfilled, leading to a faster growth rate, more rapid generation of employment, greater equity and a more sustainable position of the balance of payments. There has been a surprising degree of consensus on these questions. Growth is perceived as being disappointingly

slow, slower than in the past and slower than in other world regions. Job creation is not only sluggish, but job quality has decreased. Inequality, at best, has remained constant and may have gotten worse. Balance of payments deficits, after shrinking for a while in the early 1990s, have widened once again.

A Macro-Micro Approach

Most of the literature stops here because the methodology allows only aggregate level analysis. Our work, in contrast, has focused less exclusively on the macroeconomic and regional levels and more country comparisons and microeconomic behavior of firms, grouped by sector, size and ownership characteristics. The resulting groups of firms are affected quite differently by government policies, including structural reforms, and by the increasingly globalized world economy. The sum of the behavior of these groups of firms produces the aggregate behavior others have observed and measured.

Another way to characterize our approach is that it insists on making economic actors central to the analysis and trying to understand their reactions to government policies in order to explain, predict and (if necessary) modify their behavior. In particular, we focus on entrepreneurs' decisions to invest and to incorporate new technologies. Under what domestic and international conditions will they make positive decisions? What will be the time frame for implementing investment decisions? Without investment and increased productivity through technical progress and better skills for workers, medium- and long-term growth cannot take place, although economic recovery can occur. A disaggregated approach is also necessary for analyzing other outcomes. Job-creation capacities vary widely for large and small firms and for firms in labor-intensive or capital-intensive or natural resource-intensive sectors. The skill differential that characterizes jobs in different categories of firms is then a crucial factor in determining patterns of income distribution.

Our findings bear out the need for a more disaggregated analysis. Many of the most interesting results emerge only after we have left the aggregate, regional level. Indeed, at the aggregate level, the reforms appear to have had very little impact. Econometric evidence shows that the reforms had a small positive impact on growth and on investment. They also had a small negative impact on employment creation and on equity. It is at the country, sectoral and microeconomic levels that we begin to find evidence of strong effects of the reforms. The reforms fostered investment and modernization, but at the same time they led to significant differences in performance: high- and low-growth countries, dynamic and lagging sectors, a gap between large and small firms and a shift in favor of transnational corporations over domestic firms. The result was specialization and polarization, with greater opportunities for some and greater obstacles for others.

Heterogeneous Outcomes from Reforms

Four sets of results illustrate the insights that can be attained by changing the level at which analysis of the reforms is conducted. The first two center on the country level, while the third and fourth derive from the sector and firm levels.

Aggressive versus cautious reformers

Major differences emerged between two groups of countries in the way reforms were implemented. Some countries were very aggressive in terms of the speed and scope of the reforms, while others were more cautious and selective. The differences were closely correlated with conditions in the period preceding the reforms. Four elements, in particular, influenced policy choice: prior growth performance, inflation, degree of economic distortion and level of governability. These elements tended to cluster. At one extreme, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile and Peru scored poorly on all four ele-

ments. At the other end of the spectrum were Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Jamaica and Mexico. While these countries had problems (especially macroeconomic instability in Brazil and Mexico), they did not match those of the previous group.

If we look at growth rates in the post-reform period, those of the aggressive reformers are both higher than those of the other group in the 1990s (our proxy for the post-reform period) and higher than those in their own past. The cautious reformers, in contrast, grew more slowly in the present and more slowly than in their past. This looks like a clear recommendation for more reforms, but a closer look hints at a spurious correlation. A third variable—initial conditions—actually accounts for both policy choice and growth performance. Where initial conditions were especially poor, governments were willing to experiment with profound changes. And those same poor conditions meant that just catching up would lead to rapid growth. Where initial conditions had been better, such rapid catching up was not possible.

Consistencies versus “inconsistency syndromes”

Another important difference that became evident at the country level was the relationship between reforms and macroeconomic policies. In some countries, these were complementary and in others contradictory, crossing the aggressive/cautious dichotomy. On the positive side, the most successful mix of reforms and macroeconomic policy occurred in the area of inflation. Governments generally targeted macroeconomic policy at taming inflation; trade liberalization supported these efforts in two important ways. First, inputs, or materials required for production, could be imported at lower prices, thus making it possible for local companies to produce cheaper goods. Second, competition with foreign products constrained the ability of local business to raise prices, even if all their

inputs were local. Privatization of state firms also helped to lower inflation by resolving fiscal deficits, although those governments that used privatization revenues to increase spending tended to run into trouble later on.

Other areas displayed significant contradictions among reforms and macroeconomic policies. One example of the “inconsistency syndromes” that we found centered on exchange rate policy and its link to reforms. International financial liberalization produced a rush of short-term capital into the countries and led to appreciation of the local currency. The appreciation made imports cheaper and exports more expensive, thus increasing the trade deficit. It also sent mixed signals to firms that had been encouraged by the trade reforms to invest in new capacity oriented toward exports. While the trade deficit could be covered in the short run by the very capital inflows that caused the appreciation, the flows were reversible and could leave the country as quickly as they entered in response to domestic problems or international financial trends. In the best of cases, the capital outflows caused disruptions in the local economy; in the extreme, they resulted in currency crises that were extraordinarily costly and took years to overcome.

Heterogeneous investment behavior at the sectoral and micro levels

Investment in the post-reform period was concentrated in a relatively small number of sectors. Only one sector (telecommunications) saw dynamic investment in all countries, and only one country (Chile) increased investment in all major sectors. Manufacturing investment grew particularly rapidly in certain capital-intensive subsectors (for example, cement, steel, petrochemicals and chemicals). Nonetheless, investment coefficients overall were, at best, only slightly higher than in the pre-reform period.

Privatization was instrumental to investment recovery and to modernization when other necessary conditions

were also present. It fostered investment in certain tradeables (that is, goods that can be traded across borders—in this case, mining and natural gas), although linkages with the rest of the economy continued to be weak. In nontradeables, the biggest increases in investment were in telecommunications; results were mixed in electricity and transportation. Privatization alone did not guarantee efficient performance. Strengthening property rights proved to be important for attracting foreign investment in mining, while increased competitive pressures were necessary to ensure efficient market outcomes in services sectors like telecommunications.

Large firms were the most dynamic investors, although smaller companies had a minor presence in some activities where investment grew rapidly. Among big firms, transnational corporation subsidiaries gained ground vis-à-vis large domestic conglomerates. These subsidiaries were responsible for much of the rise in investment, not only in the fastest-growing areas of manufacturing but also in mining and telecommunications. Privatization, liberalization of regulations that prevented foreign firms from investing in many sectors, and the globalization of important industries combined to strengthen the position of foreign corporations.

Productivity gains were more evenly spread across broad sectors (agriculture, manufacturing and services), but heterogeneity increased within subsectors, for example, between commercial and family agriculture. Likewise, within manufacturing, some subsectors performed very well but others lagged behind. While the overall productivity gap in manufacturing between Latin America and the United States did not narrow in the 1990s, it did shrink in specific subsectors where considerable investment took place. This was partly a continuation of adjustment processes begun during or even before the crisis of the 1980s. Although the gap between the productivity of large firms and that of small and medium-size enterprises narrowed in some coun-

tries, performance continued to be extremely dissimilar. Modernization processes, like investment, occurred mainly among larger firms.

The importance of external factors in the incorporation of new technologies increased in tandem with the investment process. The growing significance of imported capital goods, the substitution of foreign for domestic materials and the construction of technologically advanced plants by foreign firms all resulted in a greater presence of foreign components in the region's national innovation systems. At the same time, the state reduced its involvement in technological efforts, but private actors have not always stepped in to fill the void.

Employment deficiencies at the sectoral and micro levels

Reforms did not solve, and quite probably increased, two problems: investment continued to be concentrated among large enterprises that have not shown the capacity to develop linkages with smaller firms, and supplier chains were destroyed by the quest for competitiveness through increasing imported inputs. Both processes led to specialization and higher efficiency, but they also led to polarization and the persistence of trade deficits, and thus reliance on foreign savings.

A related problem concerned employment: the reforms did not deliver the expected employment growth in the tradeables sectors. Commercial agriculture and formal sector manufacturing firms underwent an important process of modernization, which implied a more intensive use of capital. This undermined job creation in those sectors where output grew most strongly, such as natural resource-based commodities and the automobile industry. Changes also occurred across sectors as well as within sectors. Specifically, activities that traditionally produced the most employment, such as textiles and garments, declined across the board. Only the *maquila* assembly plants, operating under special international

regulations, provided the strong growth in highly labor-intensive activities that the reforms were expected to produce.

Slow growth in labor-intensive tradeables had a number of causes. First, as mentioned above, the contradiction between the reforms—which sought to move toward an export-led growth model—and macroeconomic policies—which in the presence of large foreign capital flows led to overvalued exchange rates—sent producers ambiguous signals that hindered investment in tradeables. Second, assumptions made about the region's comparative advantage were wrong, at least for the level of generalization to which they applied. The regional experience and international comparisons have shown that the main advantage of Latin America in general, and of the South American countries in particular, lies in natural resources rather than in unskilled labor. This factor was compounded by changes in the relative prices of factors of production, which occurred when trade liberalization sharply reduced the relative cost of capital goods.

When the concentration of growth in capital-intensive activities created few jobs, services became the residual source of employment. Services had a mixed performance: high-quality jobs were created in telecommunications, banking and finance, but most jobs were in low-skill services. Polarization increased between activities that had been rapidly modernized and traditional ones that employed a low-skill workforce. Potential workers who couldn't find other jobs tended to be employed by the latter, leading to slow growth in the overall productivity of the sector. Microenterprises offered the greatest number of jobs, with most of them operating on an informal basis. The low rate of job creation by large, modern firms that offered higher wages led to a widening wage gap. Poor employment performance in the tradeables sectors has thus been accompanied by increasing heterogeneity and polarization in the labor market.

Conclusions

By the end of the 1990s, regional economies had more or less recovered what they had lost during the 1980s in terms of investment and productivity levels.* The new investments were more efficient than the ones they replaced, but they were highly concentrated in a few sectors, some of which are growing slowly in the world market, face falling terms of trade and are technologically mature. Moreover, the expected rates of return on these investments are likely to be lower than before the reforms were introduced, due to greater competition and less state support. Labor productivity also returned to its pre-crisis levels, but this implies that the gap in Latin America and the Caribbean with respect to the industrial countries and the East Asian economies increased. While a number of individual sectors did very well, their dynamism was not transmitted to the economies as a whole, partly due to weak or nonexistent supplier relations.

Given these factors, a significant increase in growth rates in the coming years cannot be taken for granted. Lacking strong growth, unemployment rates are likely to remain high, which will exacerbate social problems and hinder attempts to lower the very high rates of inequality that characterize the Latin American region. External vulnerability, which has probably risen because of increased globalization together with trade and financial liberalization, makes solutions more complex. This outlook surely justifies the consideration of policy changes to improve expected outcomes.

A first principle in establishing a policy agenda for the future—one that was frequently violated during the first round of reforms—is to avoid across-the-board policy recommendations. Latin American and Caribbean countries are currently in very diverse situa-

* Whether complete recovery has taken place or not depends on the use of simple or weighted averages. Since Mexico and especially Brazil – the two largest countries in the region – have lagged behind other countries in performance in the 1990s, the weighted averages show investment and productivity still behind 1980 levels.

tions with respect to the reforms themselves and to other structural and policy variables. What will work for one is not necessarily appropriate for another. Nonetheless, the experiences of the nine countries we studied provide both positive and negative lessons.

Another principle—also frequently violated in the first round—is to obtain the necessary information and to engage in the appropriate analysis before making irreversible policy decisions. Many of the theoretical propositions underlying the first round of reforms were based on different types of economies than existed in Latin America, so it was not surprising that many of the predictions turned out to be erroneous. The analysis must include the individual country, sectoral and microeconomic levels rather than generalities about the region as a whole. One of the most important examples of the need for information on which to base rational decisionmaking is in the area of labor reform. Beyond general considerations about the advantages of more efficient labor markets, we do not know what to expect from that reform in terms of growth and employment.

The 10 to 15 years of reforms in the region have led to significant accomplishments, but much remains to be done and many problems still exist. One influential set of proposals recommends further reforms; it calls for a deepening of first-generation reforms

complemented by a second generation of reforms, particularly in the field of education. Our view is that the vast majority of benefits that can be obtained from first-generation reforms have already materialized. Except in those countries where reform came late, deepening those same reforms will only cause decreasing returns. In the case of large, federal countries, however, first-generation reforms may still have a role to play at the state or local levels.

We agree with the growing consensus among governments and international organizations that another round of reforms is needed. Our agenda, however, is broader than that of most others. Our policy recommendations involve three central issues: the need to engage in competitiveness policies and investment promotion to increase growth, to undertake a major offensive in the social area and to maintain and improve macroeconomic stability. To accomplish these goals, changes are also needed in two cross-cutting areas: closer relations between the public and private sectors and policies to deal with external vulnerability. We believe that there is increasing support for such policies in most governments of the region. But only when they are actually implemented can Latin America reap the full benefits of the policies that have already been put in place through considerable sacrifice. ■

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SSRC Programs

	Applications Received	Fellowships Awarded
Abe	96	13
Applied Economics	52	17
Eurasia Dissertation Fellowship	45	8
Eurasia Predissertation Fellowship	34	4
IDRF	814	47
IPFP	94	22
Latin America	91	16
Middle East and North Africa Dissertation	43	8
Middle East and North Africa Predissertation	5	1
Philanthropy and the Nonprofit Sector	68	7
Sexuality Research Dissertation	74	10
Sexuality Research Postdoctoral	20	5
South Asia (Bangladesh)	6	1
Southeast Asia (Vietnam)	20	4

The table to the left summarizes the results of the 1999–2000 fellowship competitions of the Social Science Research Council. Out of 1,422 applications, 163 fellowships were awarded, or approximately 11.5% of the total applicant pool. (Several programs could not report results by press time). For more information, see our website, www.ssrc.org.

Rethinking the Object of Anthropology (and Ending Up Where Kroeber and Kluckhohn Began)

Richard A. Shweder

Most definitions of “culture” in the history of American anthropology can be sorted into two kinds. Some definitions are behavioral in emphasis (for example, “behavior patterns that are learned and passed on from generation to generation”), and others are symbolic in emphasis (for example, “the beliefs and doctrines that make it possible for members of a group to make sense of and rationalize the life they lead”). Of course any genuine cultural community is the beneficiary of both behavioral and symbolic inheritances, and the challenge for theorists in anthropology has been to formulate a definition of culture that draws our attention to that fact.

That challenge was successfully met by Robert Redfield in 1941 when he conceptualized “culture” as “shared understandings made manifest in act and artifact.” It was successfully met again in 1952 when A.L. Kroeber and C. Kluckhohn (1952) unified various definitions of culture into a single formulation focused on both the symbolic and the behavioral inheritances of a cultural community: “Culture,” they wrote, “consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other hand as conditioning elements of further action.”

Clifford Geertz (1973) famously carried forward this “symbols and meanings” or interpretive approach to the understanding and explanation of behavior. Many others have formulated cognate conceptualizations of “cul-

ture,” which are just variations on this theme. In my own variation (1991, 1996, 1999, In press; also see D’Andrade 1984; Shore 1996) I have defined the intellectual object called “culture” more or less this way: By “culture” I mean community-specific ideas about what is true, good, beautiful and efficient. To be “cultural” those ideas about truth, goodness, beauty and efficiency must be socially inherited and customary; and they must actually be constitutive of different ways of life. Alternatively stated, “culture” refers to what Isaiah Berlin (1976) called “goals, values and pictures of the world” that are made manifest in the speech, laws and routine practices of some self-monitoring group. That is what I shall mean by “culture” in this essay, and that is what I think several generations of American anthropologists have meant by it as well....

*The idea of “culture”
does not imply that
“whatever is, is O.K.”*

There are many anthropologists these days who either want to disown the concept of culture or don’t want anyone, including themselves, to do anything with it (see for example, Clifford and Markus 1986; Abu-Lughod 1991; Kuper 1999; Wikan 1996). This emergence within anthropology of an “anticulture” or “postcultural” position is a rather ironic twist, because outside the discipline of anthropology—among political scientists, psychologists, sociologists, legal scholars, public policy analysts and even economists—“culture” has become an increasingly legitimate and popular topic of investigation.

One sign of the times was the World Bank conference held in Florence in October 1999, entitled “Culture Counts.” At that meeting,

which featured keynote addresses by the president of the World Bank, several economists and economic historians, Ministers of Culture and Finance from around the world—and, ultimately, Hillary Clinton—two kinds of voices could be heard. There was the voice of those who believe that globalization means “Westernization,” which (it is believed) is a necessary condition for economic growth. Those who adopt this position seem to like the idea that “culture counts” in part because it is a discreet way of telling “underdeveloped” nations that they must either “Westernize or remain poor.”

There was also the voice of those who like the idea that “culture counts” because they believe that social and economic problems can only be solved within the framework of local traditions of practice, meaning and value. Happily there are more than a few economists these days who are turning to anthropologists to learn about ethnography and “thick description.” They are eager to figure out why some behaviors seem “sticky” or “inelastic” or resistant to incentives. They want to learn how to estimate the value of things in more than or other than economic terms. Imagine their surprise when they learn that many anthropologists think ethnography is impossible and that others are in the process of renouncing a major part of their intellectual inheritance (the concept of “culture”). “Isn’t anthropology shooting itself in the foot?” they ask.

Of course there are many reasons for the recent emergence of various “anticultural” or “postcultural” critiques within anthropology. But are they good reasons? For the most part I think not. For example, the idea of “culture” does not imply that “whatever is, is O.K.” There are plenty of anthropologists these days who want to promote political agendas of one sort or

another: Western egalitarian agendas, cosmopolitan liberal agendas, free market libertarian agendas. The slogan “It’s not cultural it’s [fill in the blank: criminal, oppressive, barbaric, inefficient]” has become a rallying cry for global moral interventionists of all kinds, including some schools of cultural anthropology. Indeed there are anthropologists who seem to take an interest in other cultures (especially their family life customs, gender ideals and reproductive practices) mainly as objects of scorn. They argue that the idea of “culture” reinforces authoritarian power relationships and permits local despots to deflect criticism of restrictive or repressive systems of control by saying “that is our custom” or “that is the way we have always done things in our culture.” According to these advocates the idea of culture is a conservative force that stands in the way of their political goals.

It is not my aim to comment on specific political goals or moral crusades. It is important to recognize, however, that valid social criticism and questions of moral justification are not ruled out by the idea of “culture.” Nothing in the Redfield/Kroeber and Kluckhohn formulation suggests that the things that other peoples desire are in fact truly desirable or that the things that other peoples think are of value are actually of value. The concept of culture per se is not a theory of the “good”; although cultural analysis is probably not possible without reliance on some kind of moral stance, even (in the limiting case) if that moral stance is the stance of the emotivist or subjectivist who believes there are no such things as objective values and that only might (power) makes right. In other words even from a moral point of view we need not throw out the concept of culture just because some tyrant puts the word “culture” to some nefarious (mis-)use.

The idea of culture also does not imply passive acceptance of received practice and doctrine or that human beings are robots or putty or blank slates. Culture theorists ought to analyze behavior much the way sensible

economists do, as the joint product of “preferences” (including goals, values and ends of various sorts) and “constraints” (including “means” of various sorts such as causal beliefs, information, skills and material and nonmaterial resources), all mediated by the purposive strivings of human agents (see Shweder 1995). Some social scientists tend to privilege “preferences” and others “constraints” in their explanations of behavior. Nevertheless there is much that is “cultural” on both sides of the equation (for example causal beliefs are a type of “constraint” and in substantial measure they are “cultural”). It is truly bizarre to see the idea of “agency” or “intentionality” used as synonyms for “resistance to culture” in the discourse of “anticulture” theorists. Even fully rational, fully empowered, fully “agentic” human beings discover that membership in some particular tradition of meanings and values is an essential condition for personal identity and individual happiness. Human beings who are

Complex and contingent behavioral systems are often best understood by an appeal to a simple model of shared ideas.

“liberationists” are no more agentic than human beings who are “fundamentalists,” and neither group stands outside some tradition of meaning and value.

It is precisely because behavior is the joint product of preferences and constraints that abstract hypothetical models are important. The case for modeling is not a case for focusing only on culture; it is a case for distinguishing between sources of variation so that a complex behavioral system can be better understood. It is not surprising that meteorologists, geologists and economists are model builders. It is an open question whether predicting human behavior in context is more or less complicated than predicting the behavior of a storm or a volcano.

Moreover, in building a model of

human behavior the construction of the cultural part of the model often goes hand in hand with the identification of noncultural constraints. For example, most cultural analyses of “who sleeps by whom” in the family (e.g., Caudill and Plath 1966) recognize that sleeping patterns might be caused by physical space constraints (a fact of ecology). The cultural part of the analysis involves the identification and validation of “traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas” (in this instance an ordered list of value preferences and associated causal beliefs about the consequences of, for example, requiring a child to sleep alone or permitting or requiring husband and wife to exclude all children from their bed). But this type of cultural analysis only makes sense after the “limitations of space” explanation for sleeping patterns has been ruled out.

For example, in research that several colleagues and I conducted on sleeping arrangements in the temple town community of Bhubaneswar, Orissa, India (Shweder, Balle-Jensen and Goldstein 1995), we began with observations and descriptions of behavior in context and we collected a sample of one-night sleeping patterns in 160 families. These data were quite complex. Families varied in size and in the age, sex and generation distributions of family members. Moreover there was no uniform or fixed sleeping pattern in the community. In one family (on that single night) the father co-slept with his 6-year-old daughter while the mother slept with her 4-year-old son and 3-year-old daughter. In another family (on that single night) the father slept alone and the mother slept with her 14-year-old daughter, 8-year-old daughter and 3-year-old son. Nevertheless despite all the variety of behavior across 160 cases it was possible to build a simple model of local ideas about what is good and efficient (ideas about incest, protection of the vulnerable, the importance of female chastity and respect for the status of superiors) that accounted for most of the choices

that cultural agents made in deciding where to sleep at night. Many times complex and contingent behavioral systems are best understood by an appeal to a simple model of shared ideas.

The idea of culture also does not imply the absence of debate, contestation or dispute among members of a group. Nor does it necessarily imply the existence of group homogeneity in knowledge, belief or practice. Every cultural system has experts and novices; one does not stop being a member of a common culture just because cultural knowledge is distributed and someone knows much more than you do about (e.g.) how to conduct a funeral or apply for a mortgage. The basic point is that not everything has to be shared for a "culture" to exist. Only enough has to be shared for a people to recognize itself as a cultural community of a certain kind and for members of that community to be able to recognize each other as recipients and custodians of some tradition of meaning and value. Members of a cultural community do not always agree about this or that, but they do take an interest in each other's ideas about what is true, good, beautiful and efficient because those ideas (and related practices) bear on the perpetuation of their way of life. The critique of the concept of "culture" that starts with the observation of internal variation and ends "therefore there is no cultural system" should have been a non-starter.

The idea of culture also does not imply that other kinds of peoples are aliens or less than human. We live in a multicultural world consisting (as Joseph Raz has put it) "of groups and communities with diverse practices and beliefs, including groups whose beliefs are inconsistent with one another." The aspirations (1) not to lose your cultural identity, (2) not to assimilate to mainstream pressures, (3) not to be scattered throughout the city, country or world, (4) not to glorify the Diaspora, and (5) not to join the highly individualistic and migratory multinational, multiracial but monocultural cosmopolitan elite are real and legitimate aspirations.

They are certainly not the only legitimate aspirations in a multicultural world; there is much that can be said in favor of a liberal cosmopolitan life. Nevertheless, life in the Diaspora takes on meaning in part because not every member of the ancestral culture is wandering here and there.

Of course multicultural life can be hazardous, especially for immigrant or minority groups and for members of different cultures who are in geopolitical conflict. And it is a truism that without the existence of cultural and ethnic groups there would be no cultural conflict and no ethnic hatreds, which does not necessarily mean that the world would be at peace. Nevertheless, cultural communities and ethnic groups are not going to disappear. One looks to anthropology for a useful concept of "culture" that increases the chances for mutual understanding and tolerance in a multicultural world, not for no concept of culture at all.

That is not to deny that there have been some notorious cultural anthropologists who have either treated "culture" as everything or have placed a taboo on the study of everything that is not "cultural." But why should we conflate their misuse of the concept with the idea of culture itself? There is more than enough that is "cultural" to go around and to supply anthropology with a worthy and distinctive object of study. ■

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Report From the *President*

Custom dictates that once a year the President should report to the Board of Directors on the “State of the Council,” and that a version of this report should be published in the next issue of *Items*. Recognizing that reason lies behind many customs, I am happy to keep this one alive, though with acknowledgment of its ironic echoes of grander presidencies.

I am pleased to report that the SSRC is in good fiscal and organizational health—and I think in increasingly good intellectual form. The current year is likely to set a record for new grants to the Council (though I hasten to add that this was made possible by work underway before I became president). Several of these continue established programs, including the Sexuality Research, Applied Economics and the Mellon Minority Fellowship Programs. The Council’s programs in Vietnam and Cuba have been both renewed and expanded. Renewal is still pending (but with positive signals) for the Abe Fellowship Program and the Ford international program grant (which funds much of the infrastructure for the Council’s regional activities and many other dimensions of our international work). In addition, we have received the support needed to launch new programs or projects on a range of themes, including Religion and Migration, Global Security and Cooperation and The Corporation as a Social Institution. Several other grants support specific activities in relation to Latin America, the Middle East, Eurasia, Asia and elsewhere.

It is also time to phase out some programs, notably the International Predissertation Fellowship Program. This transition has been anticipated. The IPFP has been extremely successful, and indeed there will be a celebratory conference in the summer of 2001. But it was always planned (and funded) as a finite intervention. We have learned from it much about the importance of predissertation support, especially for fieldwork-related research, and we hope to secure funds to put this knowledge to work in new, probably more thematically specific programs.

In sum, then, the Council is operating efficiently and effectively. Its short-term health is good. What of its long-term direction and life expectancy?

Securing Vitality

Among the hardest things to explain about the Council is the extent to which its programs are dependent on grants. People expect an institution of such major impact to have more resources of its own. Income from our modest endowment provides, however, only about 5% of our annual operating budget. Indeed, until just a few years the Council did

not even consider its “operating reserves” to be an endowment or manage them as such. These were just surpluses set aside against a rainy day; the Council has never received a capital grant. It is time for this to change.

Change is possible now partly because of the high valuation of the American stock markets. It is important because it will provide a basis for both the long-term stability and the immediate intellectual vitality of the Council. The link to long-term stability is obvious; while the Council will and should remain grant-dependent, it needs to be able to weather transitions without debilitating disruptions (such as it suffered in the early 1990s). The link to intellectual vitality is related. The Council should continually initiate transitions. It should launch new programs and explore new intellectual directions. That requires being able to support working groups and conferences to figure out which activities make sense and staff to help develop them into fundable projects. It also requires maintaining the internal expertise and external networks that enable the Council to bring exceptional intellectual strength to new undertakings from fellowship programs to research planning. For these reasons, I think the Council should work now to augment its capital base. During the coming year, we should both pursue specific capital grants and inaugurate a program of planned giving.

Making this change now is also important because we are seeing changes in our funders. First, even among the oldest and most established foundations, there is a shift away from long-term renewable program and block grants towards shorter-term projects and interventions. This means writing more proposals and developing more new programs to gain the same amount of support for social science research—and thus a need for more staff effort and indeed more staff leadership. Second, the Council is beginning to diversify its funding base beyond the range of foundations that have long supported it. Many of these have less experience and knowledge of social science. The Council has long prided itself on not merely responding to initiatives inaugurated by funders, but developing a dialogue through which it helps funders understand both how social science research may help them pursue their agendas, and what exciting developments in social science they may wish to further. This requires not only developing new relationships but also building internal capacity.

Setting Directions

Even if it had vastly more money, the Council could not and should not try to be all things to all people (or even all funders or all social scientists). It needs clear intellectual

identity and a sense of direction. The first part of this comes from our commitment to social science research. We exist to advance the capacity of social science to generate new knowledge and new understanding. We are unabashedly elitist in our commitment to quality. While we emphasize the scholarship without which new research is too often repetition, we are committed to originality and innovation. Securing continuity is not mainly our job.

Beyond this, we have three further commitments: to interdisciplinarity, internationalization and the public value of social science. We are not interdisciplinary or international in the sense of representing some defined range of participants. Rather, we seek to transcend the limits of both disciplines and nations in framing questions for social science and identifying those who can help address them. We believe that social science will be better when different perspectives are brought to bear on research, analysis and theory-building. Emphasizing public value does not signal a stress on applied rather than basic research. It signals, rather, the attempt to orient social science research to issues and themes of public importance—which means making social science useful for a broad and diverse public, not only for policymakers—and also the attempt to challenge social science with new problems, and thereby to improve it.

Affirming this broad identity and intellectual niche for the Council is important, and helps to provide a basis for judging where we should focus our resources. It doesn't specify precisely what we should work on at any one time, however, and indeed suggests that foci will necessarily shift over time. Some of these will be generated inside the Council, as we notice lags in social scientists' attention to important issues or need to nurture better integration among dispersed groups of researchers. Many new projects will emerge from conversations among participants in older ones, especially as these highlight important new empirical concerns or methodological and theoretical agendas. Still others will be brought to the Council from our wide-ranging networks of researchers, especially as these notice critical needs or promising new developments. What I want to stress here, however, is that for the Council to work effectively it must limit the range of different projects it pursues, focusing most of its energy at any one time on a smallish number of core thematic concerns—though these are apt to be very broad. Let me outline two that are already major, and more briefly three that may become so. I don't mean that we will work only in these areas, or force programs to fit neatly in one or another, but that they are emphases and priorities.

International Research. This emphasis is longstanding at the Council. But I do not mean simply research that happens to focus on places outside the US. I mean also inquiry into the international as such, or perhaps better, the trans-national and non-national. This includes concern for the preparation of new generations of social scientists ready to conduct such

research. In approaching this, the Council affirms the continuing importance but continual reconfiguring of regions. We need to work in part through regional programs, thus, but also to emphasize both the fluidity and overlaps of their boundaries, and the ways in which we can build intellectual links across them. In this way, we can help complement knowledge of and attention to "the global" with research and theory addressing the unequal distribution of "the global," the production of multiple projects of globalization (or multiple modernities) and the formation and reformation of less than global or indeed anti-global solidarities and identities.

Several regional advisory panels and more specific regional programs are relatively well-established at the Council. Others are in the process of creation or redevelopment. This year, we are launching a new program on the Middle East and North Africa under the direction of Seteney Shami. She is also helping us renew our programs on the former communist regions we have called Eurasia, including on the complex interrelations between these and adjoining regions.

Much of our work attends to global issues and to flows and circuits of people, goods and ideas that transcend regions as they do states.

We are also in the early stages of revitalizing the Council's work in Europe (in the expansive and ambiguous sense, not simply "Western Europe"). Kevin Moore has joined us to direct this effort, among other projects. Our regional programs help nurture international social science, help us maintain diverse networks and focus attention on key intellectual topics. For example, regional integration, questions of collective security, problems of historical memory, new forms of populist politics, the fate of welfare states and a range of other issues make research in Europe important.

Much of our work is not organized regionally, but attends to global issues and to flows and circuits of people, goods and ideas that transcend regions as they do states. We are exploring a new project on global crime and the problems of using state-centered notions of legality and illegality to organize our understanding of processes that cross borders. We continue our work on international migration, and are expanding it in several directions, looking more at issues of forced migration as well as cultural themes such as religion. With support from the MacArthur Foundation, we have launched a new Program on Global Security and Cooperation. This builds on the influential Program in International Peace and Security. It maintains an emphasis on broadening security studies to including researchers from many disciplines and attention to problems like food, environmental security and ethnic conflicts that are poorly grasped in traditional national categories. The GSC Program will seek both to internationalize the field of peace and security studies, and to build

connections between social scientists in academic settings and researchers in international and especially nongovernmental organizations. We hope to complement it with more research on international civil society—the networks of institutions, movements and individual activists that knit together transnational ties that do not reduce to either state action or markets.

A reflexive dimension to this interest in international research concerns the human capital and infrastructures for international social science, topics of a Ford Foundation funded committee at the Council. This is inquiring into the kinds of training and the kinds of institutional and communicational bases that an increasingly international social science will require. The issues concern not just what kinds of research specializations will be in demand, but how social science will be distributed internationally, who—partly as a consequence which issues and what cultures and kinds of knowledge—will be well or poorly integrated into international social science. The committee is also taking up questions of the friction in internationalization. For example, investments in international training create questions about how well returnees fit into their original societies. A dimension of this that has not received enough attention is the extent to which women educated abroad may face special challenges in making research careers in many parts of the world.

The core social sciences have often ceded intellectual terrain to professional schools.

The Council is also engaged practically in supporting various forms of training, of course, with fellowship programs, graduate student workshops and other activities. In this regard, it is an important resource even where it is not the primary operating agency for specific programs. We have been consulted extensively by the Ford Foundation, for example, as it contemplates a major new fellowship initiative on a global scale. This and other new initiatives need to be shaped by new knowledge, we think, and thus by serious research on the ways in which higher education has been organized internationally, and how new social conditions change its context. Such changes hold implications for the Council's own programs.

Institutions. A number of Council programs are organized not by place, or by a direction of change like globalization, but by an analytic emphasis on institutions. We seek to encourage better connection among the several different approaches to institutional analysis current in the social sciences. We are also bringing these to bear on several broad institutional domains in which specific kinds of organizations operate, their forms reproduced on bases of culture, law, power and social relations as well as material incentives and rationality. For example, we have launched a Program on Business Institutions (as distinct from the economy). Its first project is a Sloan Foundation funded inquiry into the corpo-

ration as a social institution.

The study of business exemplifies a theme common to several lines of work on institutions: the core social sciences have often ceded intellectual terrain to professional schools. While high quality work is done in professional schools, the need for fairly immediate application often reduces basic research and especially critical analysis and attention to how particular institutions fit into society. The Council can help to build better bridges between researchers in professional schools and in social science departments in schools of arts and science.

Education is another area in which institutional analysis can help to focus much needed social science research. In addition to the analyses of international higher education mentioned above, I envision two important lines of work for the Council. First, together with the National Academy of Education, the SSRC is launching an inquiry into education research—not an inquiry into educational processes as such, but into the field of research itself. It will address institutional questions about the production and dissemination of knowledge concerning education, focusing on concerns about quality and public usefulness of education research—including both research in education schools and applied settings and social science research into education. Second, we are exploring the transformation of higher education and its relationship to scientific research. Here the emphasis is on a cluster of institutions that deal in the production, preservation and transmission of knowledge. These are traditionally bundled together in the United States, with the research university occupying a central place in the institutional field. However, this field is rapidly changing, along with the relationships among different parts of it, and between these and society at large. The rise of corporate research organizations, transformations in the cost of certain kinds of scientific research, shifts in student populations, changes in the institutional demography of higher education, growth of for-profit providers of higher education and increasing use of the Internet and related information technologies all suggest potentially deep transformations. These are remarkable little studied by social scientists—either as objects of social concern generally, or as objects of reflexive concern as social science itself is affected.

The overlapping domains of philanthropy and nonprofit organizations are an important case for institutional analysis. Secular philanthropy is distinctively prominent in American society but also growing elsewhere; religious philanthropy may have declined as a percentage of the whole but hardly vanished; nonprofit organizations are central to a host of undertakings from the arts to social movements. This dimension of social organization has attracted a good deal of public attention in recent years, including both enthusiasm for a voluntary sector and questions about the legitimacy of tax exemptions. It has been viewed as “a thousand points of light,” able to carry a burden rejected by privatizing governments and as a civic force able to stand up to global capital.

But despite efforts to encourage more work in the field, however, it has not been viewed as a core topic for social science research. Our committee is seeking both to further empirical research on this field and to understand what has impeded its institutionalization as a field of study in social science.

Information Technology. Information technology surely reveals one of the greatest mismatches between the public prominence of a topic and the level (both quality and quantity) of social science research addressing it. There are three dimensions to our possible work on IT, all I think of pressing importance. The first is really administrative within the Council. We need to use information technology better in our work, for example to transmit more material electronically and less by post, and to receive applications electronically. We have already launched a major redesign of our website. But as we improve our capacity, administrative concerns blur into programmatic ones.

We need research on how new information technology affects the practice of social science, and exploration of ways in which we can help social science take full advantage of it. This includes issues of scholarly communication and collaboration, already foci of concern for the Council's human capital committee. It includes a need for research into how electronic publication programs work, what effects they have on scientific communication and on scholarly careers (e.g., when do tenure reviews respond favorably to such publications and when not), what standards might be established for the archiving of electronic material and so forth. We will ourselves become increasingly active in presenting information on the web, and perhaps in helping to organize access to social science information on the Internet.

The Council is also exploring how to advance serious social science inquiry into the social impacts of information technology, the ways in which it is shaping various social institutions, how it affects patterns of inequality, power and productivity. To date, publications on the subject have generally owed more to personal experience than systematic research, and been produced more by technologists and journalists than social scientists. One reason for the dominance of anecdote is simply the paucity of data (or the failure to organize what is available for social science research). Another, though, is the lack of theoretically informed agendas for research. Both contribute to the absence of a really strong literature. Graduate advisors are reluctant to encourage strong students to enter the field in its present underdeveloped state, but the topic is important. A research planning effort may be timely, partly because there is now more of a basis to build on than there was just a few years ago. This year will mark, for example, the first General Social Survey module on information technology use—though this kind of individual user data speaks only to one topic within the larger potential field of inquiry.

Inequality and Development. Both inequality and development have recurrently been core interests of the Council,

though perhaps less in very recent years than at other times. Indeed, development studies has narrowed and shrunk dramatically in recent years, and there is considerable need for renewal and innovation in the ways in which inequality is studied. Not least of all, relating the two and developing stronger research into changing patterns of global inequality is important. One factor may be the decline of a broad interdisciplinary approach to—or at least conversation about—political economy after the 1970s. We are hoping to develop work on political economy and/or development that would bring together economists and other social scientists with attention to themes like shifting patterns of international inequality and growth; changing relations of trade, dependency and collaboration in production; efforts to protect the environment; the relationship of economic change to social and political institutions (including democracy and the rule of law); the significance of illegal trade and the attempt to use criminal law to manage flows of people, ideas and material objects; difficulties in dealing with intellectual property cross-culturally; and addressing the relation of indigenous institutions and knowledge to global economic forces.

Our work in this area will build on existing foundations. The Program in Applied Economics is notable, and is expected to become more interdisciplinary over time. Some of the Council's regional programs have engaged issues of development, especially in Latin America where this work—the focus of a nascent collaborative research network—is supported by a new grant from the Inter-American Development Bank. In addition, the Council has sought to find ways to address intersections between cultural analysis and themes of inequality and development more commonly approached within political economy. This has been prominent in both the task force on the working poor, and the working group on law and culture. We also contemplate similar programs, such as one under discussion on poverty and health. This leads to the next potential focal area I want to mention.

Public Health. The Council has previously sought domains for relating biological and social science. Health research may be an especially effective one because of the demand for the kinds of social science research that are a strength of the Council's work (including field research, cultural analysis and international studies). Explorations are underway with the National Institutes of Health for a program of fellowships designed to enhance the training of biomedical health researchers with opportunities in social science, and social scientists with opportunities in biomedical science. Our existing human sexuality project already achieves something of this within its field of study.

There are a variety of potential lines of research that could fruitfully link social scientists and public health researchers. It would be valuable, for example, to advance social science inquiry into risk, accidents and injury. Likewise, there may be relationships and inquiries to be developed concerning issues of environment, biodiversity, food supply, genetic engineer-

ing and the like. These are touched on in a few of our programs—including Global Security and Cooperation—but have not yet been the basis of coordinated inquiry.

Implications for Council Staff and Organization

Relatively little organizational change is afoot within the Council. The appointment of Mary McDonnell as Executive Director is an important step to enhance our administration. We have added three new professional staff members (see article elsewhere in this issue), reflecting both vacancies in established programs and needs in new programs and program development. We plan modest changes to enhance our publications program and use of information technology. We continue to benefit from—and extend—improvements in our financial management. This includes both our investments and our internal accounting, both of which are now in relatively good order, and our budgetary and financial planning system, which is a focus for improvement. This is important because as the Council both internationalizes and expands its range of funders, its financial management becomes ever more complex. It is also important as we contemplate increasing the endowment of the Council to be able to demonstrate to potential donors that we are good stewards of the resources we have.

The Council's effectiveness depends crucially on its ability to communicate with social scientists and others interested in social issues.

One important shift is a matter of vocabulary as much as structure. This is reducing the division between international and domestic programs. It has been customary to distinguish the two in ways that reflect not so much our actual operations as the older distinction (itself tendentious) between “area” and “thematic” programs. In fact, the Council’s international work greatly exceeds what we have tended to refer to as “the international program,” meaning the program directly based on the Ford core grant and organized through regional subdivisions. There are other substantially—or entirely—international programs including perhaps most notably that on Global Security and Cooperation. More tellingly, perhaps, an increasing number of programs do not fall neatly into either category. A significant example is international migration, which currently focuses mainly on immigrants to the US but hardly could be understood as non-international. Some programs that have been overwhelmingly domestic are expanding into international work, as with the Sexuality Research Program, which is initiating international work with a project in Vietnam.

Another modest change involves more direct engagement in the actual research process. By this I mean moving from “research planning” to research networks and/or shared research projects. This is something the Council has done before, but something I think we need more explicitly to

claim as part of our mission. Relatedly, we need to consider whether the Council has a role in creating common-access data sets, or making them more readily shared.

A future in which the Council must generate more new projects and expect fewer long-term renewals has implications for the Council’s professional staff. First of all, more will have to be effective generalists—or at least capable of working on multiple projects and recurrently developing new lines of work. Specialists will appropriately often be people hired part-time or on short-term contracts—e.g., on leave or released time from academic appointments. Council staff will have to be strong and creative intellectuals actively engaged in interdisciplinary social science so that they can play a leadership role in identifying and developing new directions for our work. Fortunately, this description fits most already, though few currently have the time for the level of intellectual engagement and new program development that I think is required by our changing context. The Council’s professional staff are social scientists concerned with intellectual issues as well as administrators concerned with operational issues; crucially, they must also be communicators able to link diverse constituencies.

Communication is an appropriate point with which to end. The Council’s effectiveness depends crucially on its ability to communicate with and nurture communication among social scientists and others interested in social issues. The “new” *Items & Issues* is, we trust, a step in that direction. We are focusing new attention on books and occasional papers. This fall we will launch a redesigned website with greatly enhanced capabilities. In these and other ways, I hope the Council gains in vitality at the same time that it reaches a broad range of social scientists. Help is welcome. ■

Craig Calhoun

Editor’s Note (second notice):

In order to update the *Items & Issues* mailing list, we are asking US readers to re-subscribe. If you have not already done so, please take a minute to write your address on the prepaid postcard that you will find in the center of this issue and drop it in the mail. If you do not resubscribe, your subscription will be terminated and you will no longer receive *Items & Issues*.

Note, however, that:

Readers outside the US and libraries everywhere will continue to receive *Items & Issues* without resubscribing.

There is still no charge for *Items & Issues*.

Items & Issues will continue to be available on the Council website, www.ssrc.org.

New Staff Appointments



John Tirman will join the Council as director of the new Program on Global Security and Cooperation. Since December 1999, Mr. Tirman has been a Fulbright senior scholar in Cyprus, conducting an historical research and writing project that takes a fresh look at the island's conflict.

Before moving to Cyprus, Mr. Tirman had a long tenure, since 1986, as Executive Director of the Winston Foundation for World Peace. He helped create the grant-making institution that was one of America's largest private donors to work on arms control and conflict. The foundation, which completed a planned phase-out in 1999, supported dozens of nonprofit organizations around the world. Mr. Tirman was also managing consultant to the Henry P. Kendall Foundation, a major environmental funder, from 1990 to 1993, and managed the CarEth Foundation from 1990 to 1994. He currently serves as a trustee of International Alert, a major conflict-prevention NGO in London, and was a trustee and cochair of the Foundation for National Progress, the publisher of *Mother Jones* and the *MoJo Wire*. He consults informally to the US government and other institutions, and speaks and writes often for major news media on international issues.

Previously, Mr. Tirman was a reporter with *Time* (1977-79); senior energy policy analyst with the New England Regional Commission, a governors' council (1980-81); and senior editor and director of communications at the Union of Concerned Scientists, a major public-policy organization in Cambridge, Massachusetts (1982-86). He earned his doctorate in political science at Boston University in 1981. His BA is from Indiana University in political science and history (1972). He is the author, or coauthor and editor, of five books on international security issues, including *The Fallacy of Star Wars* (Vintage, 1984), and *Spoils of War: The Human Cost of America's Arms Trade* (Free Press, 1997). *The Washington Post* said *Spoils of War* was written "with dispassionate resolve and clarity," and *Newsday* called the book "singularly illuminating."

His next book, *Making the Money Sing: Private Wealth & Public Power in the Search for Peace*, will be published this fall by Rowman & Littlefield. Tirman has contributed more than one hundred articles to a wide range of periodicals, including the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Esquire*, *World Policy Journal*, *Chronicle of Philanthropy*, *Boston Globe Magazine*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Village Voice*, *Boston Review*, *Nation* and many others. Mr. Tirman lives

with his wife, Nike Zachmanoglou, and their daughter, Coco, in Nicosia, Cyprus.



Kevin Moore, who started as a program director in March, came to the SSRC from the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Moore was associate director of the University Center for International Studies, where he was responsible for academic programs ranging from Title VI to interdisciplinary graduate training in democracy and democratization. Moore received both his BA and PhD

in political science from the University of California, Berkeley, with a primary focus on western European political theory. He is currently writing a book on Max Weber's relationship to the German social democratic party, which examines Weber's and the SPD's response to the German revolution of 1918-19. He has also worked as a journalist and policy analyst. Moore's first tasks at the SSRC are to develop a new RAP on Europe and a CRN on "politically troubled memories."



Ashley Timmer will join the Council in July. She will direct the Program in Applied Economics and work on developing other economic initiatives. Ms. Timmer is currently assistant professor of public policy studies at Duke University, where she has been teaching political analysis and a course on equity and distributive politics.

Ms. Timmer obtained her BA and PhD in economics from Harvard University. Her dissertation research focused on issues of income distribution and policy, with an emphasis on predicting political instability. Other research interests are in migration and immigration policy and development economics. She has published in the *Population and Development Review* and prepared reports for the National Bureau of Economic Research, USAID and the World Bank. Ms. Timmer has also worked for Associates for International Resources and Development, researching agriculture and livestock production in French-speaking Africa.

Conferences and Workshops

Japan Program Events at the Association of Asian Studies Conference

The Japan Program and the Association of Asian Studies (AAS) jointly sponsored a panel for graduate students at the AAS annual conference in San Diego, California, on March 9, 2000, entitled "Research and Writing Dissertations in Asian Studies." The impetus to organize the panel came from alumni of the SSRC Japan Studies Dissertation Workshop series who wanted to reach other graduate students struggling in the write-up and early postdoctoral stages. The Japan Program enlisted the participation of students who had conducted fieldwork in Asia under SSRC International Dissertation Field Research Fellowships, and worked with executive officers of the AAS who were looking for new ways to reach out to graduate students at their annual conferences. The panel was scheduled in a pre-conference slot on the first day but was attended nonetheless by about 50 students and faculty. Panel participants gave brief presentations on a number of issues and strategies followed by a very lively Q & A. The event will be the subject of an article in the AAS newsletter, and talks have begun about the possibility of making a one-day, pre-conference workshop an annual AAS event.

Participants: Hank Glassman, Stanford University; Sarah Jessup, University of Michigan; Tom Boellstorff, Stanford University; Manu Goswami, International Center for Advanced Studies, New York University; Jennifer Amyx, Australian National University; Mimi Hall Yiengpruksawan, Yale University. Staff: Jennifer Winther.

On March 10, the Japan Program also hosted a reception at the Association of Asian Studies Annual Conference for student and faculty alumni of the first five years of the Council's Japan Studies Dissertation Workshop series funded by the Japan Foundation. The goal of the meeting was to further integrate the fairly cohesive cohorts from each year of the workshop series into a broader network of Japan specialists in the social sciences and humanities. The Japan Program was especially pleased to welcome colleagues from the European Association for Japanese Studies to further broaden the program's reach and introduce new resources for collaboration to the US Japan studies community. Colleagues at EAJS have launched a similar pan-Europe workshop series that will hold its inaugural event in Berlin this summer with funding from the Toyota Foundation.

Workshop on International Cooperation for Cuban Academics

On February 21-25, 2000, the Working Group on Cuba sponsored the first in a series of three workshops on international cooperation in Cayo Coco, Cuba. The workshops, made possible through a grant from the Ford Foundation, are designed to better inform the Cuban academic community about the mechanisms by which international agencies identify priorities, solicit proposals and evaluate projects for support. The initiative was conceived in response to interest on the part of the Cuban academic community, whose members have limited experience working with international funding institutions that typically provide support on a project-specific basis. The workshops seek not only to educate the community, but also to guide participants through the proposal-drafting process.



Although similar in structure and objectives to a series of workshops convened by the Working Group in Havana in 1999, the current cycle incorporates a larger proportion of researchers based outside of Havana (roughly half of the participants were drawn from regional centers). A second workshop is scheduled for early June, and will focus on the more "hands-on" aspects of proposal crafting. A final workshop, envisioned for late summer, will involve select participants from both the 1999 and 2000 cohorts, who will collectively review proposals developed under program auspices.

Speakers: Marie-Odette Colin, Universidad de las Américas, Mexico; Marcia Rivera, Latin American Institute of Education for Development (ILAEDES); Luís Yarzabal, Venezuela Central University. Representative of the Academy of Sciences of Cuba: Sergio Pastrana. Staff: Rachel Price.

Participants: Alexander Acosta, Center for Information and Technological Innovation, Las Tunas; Félix Baltar, Center for Research on Technology and the Environment (CITMA), Ciego de Avila; Ignacia Cantero, Center for Information and Technology, Sancti Spiritus; Ricardo Delgado, CITMA, Guantánamo; Dalia Duarte, Carlos J. Finlay University Hospital, Havana; Caridad Ileana Escalona, Institute of Documentation and Scientific Information, Havana; Nevena Estrada, CITMA, Isle of Youth; Julio César García, CITMA, Villa Clara; Rebecca González, ISP José Martí, Camaguey; Osier Joo, Reference Center for Higher Education, Havana; Juan Carlos López, Center for the Development of Scientific Instruments, Havana; Alain Muñoz, Environmental Radiology Laboratory, Cienfuegos; Orlando Novua, Institute of Tropical Geography, Havana; Juan Alexander Padrón, Cuban Chemical Society, Havana; Marisela Perera, Center for Psychological and Sociological Research, Havana; Abel Pérez, BioKarst, Havana; Fabian Piña, Center for Marine Ecosystems, Cayo Coco; Reynaldo Villalonga, University of Matanzas.

Working Group on Ethnic Customs, Assimilation and American Law

The Working Group on Ethnic Customs, Assimilation and American Law—cochaired by Richard Shweder, Martha Minow and Hazel Markus and funded by the Russell Sage Foundation—held its fourth meeting at the Ranch on Camelback Mountain in Scottsdale, Arizona, on January 13–16, 2000. Unlike previous meetings, where members engaged in wide-ranging exploration of varied facets of the group's overall agenda, this gathering had the more focused form and purpose of an "authors' conference." Since the primary aim of the working group is to publish the product of its deliberations in the form of a series of essays in *Daedalus* (the journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences) and in a related Russell Sage volume, the Camelback conference involved discussion of those papers in initial draft form. (The titles of those drafts are provided below in alphabetical order by author.) Guided by critiques offered by the conference participants, the authors submitted their final versions later in the spring. Approximately 15 of the essays will comprise the *Daedalus* issue (projected for early 2001), while the entire collection will be published soon thereafter by Russell Sage.



- Caroline Bledsoe (Northwestern University), "Cultural Relativism and the Effort to Apprehend Dissonant Practices: A School-girl Pregnancy and a Baby's Death in Sierra Leone"
- David L. Chambers (University of Michigan), "Civilizing the Natives: Marriage in Post-Apartheid South Africa"
- Jane Maslow Cohen (Boston University), "The Toleration of (Strongly) Dissonant Cultural Practices: Some Reasons for Doubt"
- Arthur Eisenberg (New York Civil Liberties Union), "Accommodation and Coherence: Toward a Unified Theory for Adjudicating Claims of Faith, Conscience and Culture"
- Karen Engle (University of Utah), "From Skepticism to Embrace: The American Anthropological Association and Human Rights from 1947-1999"
- Kathy Ewing (Duke University), "Legislating Religious Freedom: Individual and Communitarian 'Rights' among Muslims in Germany"
- Maivan Clech Lam (City University of New York), "Beyond the Shadow of Nation: Indigenous Women and Culture"
- Usha Menon (Drexel University), "Liberal Democracies: the State, Personal Rights and Family Life Practices"
- Dale Miller (Princeton University), "Social Identity and the Psychology of Cultural Tolerance"
- Martha Minow (Harvard University), "Negotiating the Margins"
- Alison Dundes Renteln (University of Southern California), "The Right to Culture as a Human Right"

- Larry Sager (New York University), "Political Justice and Cultural Subgroups: Some Doubts and Distinctions"
- Austin Sarat (Amherst College), "The Micropolitics of Difference: Recognition, Accommodation and Resistance in Everyday Life"
- Bradd Shore (Emory University), "Why 'the Cultural Defense' Is Not Necessarily the Same as the Defense of 'Culture:'"
- Richard Shweder (University of Chicago), "'What About FGM?': The Scope and Limits of Cultural Pluralism"
- Claude Steele and Hazel Markus (Stanford University), "From Diversity to Community: Models of Difference and Inclusion in American Life"
- Nomi Stolzenberg (University of Southern California), "The Property of Culture"
- Marcelo Suarez-Orozco (Harvard University), "Everything You Ever Wanted to Know about Assimilation But Were Afraid To Ask"
- Gerald Torres (University of Texas, Austin), "Heterogeneity in Education"
- Leigh Turner (University of Toronto), "Ethnicity, Ethics and End-of-Life Care: The Anthropological Turn in American Bioethics"
- Unni Wikan (University of Oslo), "Citizenship on Trial: The Case of Nadia"

Contributors unable to attend: Corinne A. Kratz (Emory University), "Through the Looking-glass or Seen Through a Prism: Can We Make Sense of Circumcision Debates and Cases?"; Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph (University of Chicago), "Living With Difference in India: Legal Pluralism and Legal Universalism in Historical Context."

Other participants: Roy d'Andrade (University of California, San Diego, and Russell Sage Foundation), Stephen Graubard (editor, *Daedalus*), Eric Wanner (Russell Sage Foundation). Staff: Frank Kessel and Julie Lake.

Facing the Challenges of the Global Economy: Some Lessons from the Asian Financial Crisis

The Latin America Regional Advisory Panel sponsored a seminar on "Facing the Challenges of the Global Economy: Some Lessons from the Asian Financial Crisis" at the SSRC on March 21, 2000. Chaired by Pedro Monreal of the University of Havana and funded by the Christopher Reynolds Foundation, the seminar provided an occasion for leading Cuban economists to dialogue with economists, political scientists and sociologists from elsewhere in Latin America and from the US. All shared an interest in the implications for development strategies in Latin America—and particularly Cuba—of experiences of economic development in East Asia—particularly Vietnam and China. Much of the discussion was devoted to analysis of recent reforms in Vietnam and China and the relevance of measures pursued in those two socialist countries for Cuba's efforts to successfully engage the global economy, particularly in light of the financial crisis that swept Asia and other developing regions beginning in 1997. Discussions are underway concerning the possibility of organizing further seminars on the topic, and perhaps to preparing a collaborative volume.

Participants: Claes Brundenius, Centre for Development Research, Copenhagen; Julio Carranza, UNESCO-Regional Office for the Caribbean, Havana; David Dapice, Harvard University; Richard Doner, Emory University; Doug Guthrie, SSRC; Ana Julia Jatar, Inter-American Dialogue; Francisco León, CEPAL/ECLAC, Santiago, Chile; Mary McDonnell, SSRC; Mauricio de Miranda, Pontificia Javeriana University of Cali, Colombia; Pedro Monreal, Center for Studies on the International Economy (University of Havana); Andrea Panaritis, Christopher Reynolds Foundation; Lázaro Peña, Center for Studies of the International Economy (University of Havana); Dwight Perkins, Harvard University; Antonio Romero, Center for Studies on the International Economy (University of Havana); David Stark, Columbia University; Tom Vallely, Harvard University. Staff: Eric Hershberg, Ishle Park.

Cultural Agency in the Americas

The Cultural Agency in the Americas Project held its first meeting in Miami on March 16, 2000. This new Council initiative, which is sponsored by the Latin America Regional Advisory Panel and funded by the Ford Foundation, is the result of informal discussions over the past year about the ways regional and global processes have reshaped our approaches to the study of culture in the Americas. We seek to bring together analysts from a wide array of academic disciplines from both United States and Latin America to reflect upon contemporary cultural practices in the context of rapidly shifting boundaries and increasingly unstable processes of identity formation. The objective of the project is to facilitate dialogue across a variety of institutional, disciplinary and geographic divides in order to further the understanding of the complex relationships between identity, culture and power that are currently shaping the hemisphere.

Participants: Marisol de la Cadena, University of North Carolina; Arturo Escobar, University of North Carolina; Charles Hale, University of Texas; Regina Harrison, University of Maryland; Nelly Richard, *Revista de Critica Cultural*/Universidad ARCIS (Santiago, Chile); Doris Sommer, Harvard University; Diana Taylor, Tisch School of the Arts, New York University. Staff: Eric Hershberg, Marcial Godoy, Ishle Park.

A Forum on Clashing Visions of Higher Education

Hunter College in New York City played host on March 17-18 to "Lessons from CUNY: A Forum on Clashing Visions of Higher Education," organized by the Program on Higher Education with support from the Sloan Foundation and the TIAA-CREF Institute. The workshop focused on the issues raised by "The City University of New York: An Institution Adrift," presented last summer by the (New York City) Mayor's Advisory Task Force on CUNY. Sessions addressed the Task Force's diagnosis of the CUNY system and its proposed remedies, and examined fundamental research questions raised by the report that are central to general policy debates on the assessment and reform of educational systems. By situating the CUNY experience within a national context, the forum offered a fresh perspective on the ongoing debate. It also provided an assessment of what we currently know—and what we don't know—about the problems facing the higher education sector. In addition to the paper presenters—some of whose work will be collected as a book—a number of guests chosen for their expertise functioned as participant-observers at the workshop.

Participants: Greg Anderson, Teachers College, Columbia University; Stanley Aronowitz, Graduate Center, CUNY; Thomas Bailey, Teachers College, Columbia University; Julian Betts, University of California, San Diego; Norman Bradburn, National Science Foundation; Craig Calhoun, President, Social Science Research Council; Linda Cohen, University of California, Irvine; Nathan Glazer, Harvard University; George Goethals, Williams College; Charles Goldman; Rand Corporation; Patricia Gumpert, Stanford University; Jeffrey Kittay, *Lingua Franca*; Michael McPherson, Macalester College; Louis Menand, Graduate Center, CUNY;

Roger Noll, Stanford University; Dolores Perin, Teachers College, Columbia University; Morton Owen Schapiro, University of Southern California; David Weiman, Russell Sage Foundation; Gordon Winston, Williams College; Robert Zemsky, Institute for Research on Higher Education, University of Pennsylvania; David Zimmerman, Williams College. Guests: Jesse Ausubel, Alfred P. Sloan Foundation; Ann H. Cohen, Dean, Hunter College; James England, Pew Charitable Trusts; David Lavin, Graduate Center, CUNY; Jennifer Ma, TIAA-CREF Institute; Louise Mirrer, Vice-Chancellor for Academic Affairs, CUNY; Isabelle Katz Pinzler, Commission on the Future of CUNY, American Bar Association; Peter Salins, Provost and Vice-Chancellor for Academic Affairs, State University of New York; Kenneth Sherrill, Hunter College. Staff: Josh DeWind, Elsa Dixler, Ron Kassimir, Thurka Sangaramoorthy.



Latin American Studies Association Panels

The Latin American Regional Advisory Panel sponsored two panels on collective memory at the March 17-19, 2000, Latin American Studies Association Conference in Miami, Florida. The two workshop/panels were chaired by Paul Drake, Elizabeth Jelin and Eric Hershberg. Seven of the 17 fellows from the first year of the fellowship program "Collective Memories of Repression: Comparative Perspectives on Democratization Processes in Latin America's Southern Cone" were invited to participate on these panels. Participants also included several senior researchers from the US and Latin America, including Gerardo Caetano, Line Bareiro, Kimberly Theidon and Steve Stern. Elizabeth Jelin gave a presentation on the ways in which case studies undertaken by program fellows revealed the nature of social struggles over sites and dates of memory/commemoration, and in so doing offered a window into broader processes of political conflict unfolding in the Southern Cone in recent years. The experience of attending a major international meeting provided these junior fellows with an opportunity to present their work to colleagues in an international setting, and to become part of broader international network of researchers working on these and other issues in the Southern Cone and other regions of Latin America.

Participants/Presenters: Laura Mombello, Universidad Nacional del Comahue, Argentina; Claudia Feld, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina; Ludmila da Silva Catela, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; Samarone Lima de Oliveira, Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil; Myrian Angelica Gonzalez, Centro de Estudios y Documentación, Paraguay; Aldo Marchesi, Centro Latinoamericano de Economía Humana, Uruguay; Victoria Langland, Yale University, Connecticut; Paul Drake, University of California, San Diego, California; Elizabeth Jelin, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina; Gerardo Caetano, Centro Latinoamericano de Economía Humana, Uruguay; Line Bareiro, Centro de Documentación y Estudios, Paraguay; Steve Stern, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin; Kimberly Theidon, Stanford University, California; Eric Hershberg, SSRC. Staff: Rebecca Lichtenfeld.

Center for Global Partnership-SSRC Seminar Series

The CGP-SSRC Seminar Series, run in association with the Abe Fellowship Program, involves annual meetings of small groups of researchers from the Abe cohort of fellows, members of the Abe Fellowship Program committee and outside experts on the theme or topic being explored. The series is funded by the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership. Two meetings in the series took place in March.

The SSRC Tokyo Office held several events on March 1-4, 2000, in Washington, DC, related to Japan's North Korea policy. Four Japanese Korea specialists presented short papers on aspects of Tokyo's relations with Pyongyang at a workshop for American policy analysts at the Brookings Institution on March 1. The following day the Congressional Research Service hosted a luncheon workshop, "Dealing with North Korea: A Dialogue with Japanese Experts" for CRS staff and Congressional aides. Professor Masao Okonogi and CRS Asian specialist Larry A. Nicksch spoke on dealing with North Korea. The Q & A session focused on the threat posed by North Korean missiles and the issue of Japanese citizens abducted by the North. In the late afternoon, the Japanese experts participated in a public panel discussion on North Korea cosponsored with the Japan-America Society of Washington, DC. On March 3-4, the Japanese contingent joined a trilateral workshop co-sponsored by George Washington University and Yonsei University on US-ROK-Japan policy toward North Korea attended by many official and academic specialists on Northeast Asia. The papers by American, Korean and Japanese presenters, plus a summary of the discussion, will be published by GWU in its Occasional Papers series.

A meeting on collaboration and comparative frameworks in international social science research took place on March 30, 2000, at Keio University's Mita Campus in Tokyo. This meeting was organized by Abe Fellowship Program staff with the collaboration of Keio University's COE Project on the Social Impacts of Asia's Economic Crisis. The coconvenors were Abe committee chair James White of the University of North Carolina and committee member Noriko Tsuya of Keio University. About 60 individuals from academia and the Japanese foundation world participated.

This event was a follow-up at a Japanese venue to a meeting held last spring at Airlie House, Warrenton, Virginia, that focused on multiple case/single researcher comparative work. The premise of the Tokyo meeting concerned the implications that internationalization holds as a dynamic that is prodding and pushing change in the organization of social science research. The forces at work are familiar though little understood—technological innovation, new sites of research production, new modes of dissemination, increasing amounts of data and pressure to respond to large social, political and economic dilemmas more comprehensively. Collaborative endeavors and com-

parative analysis have been considered two prominent and intersecting frameworks for research in response to internationalization. The organizers wanted to explore both the structure and substance of each as practiced in the US, Japan and other locations in order to move toward the identification of innovations and best practices. Sessions were organized around presentations and panels on the collaboration and comparison with time set aside for substantial participant discussion.

Presenters and panelists: Noriko Tsuya, Keio University; James White, University of North Carolina; Mary Byrne McDonnell, SSRC; Itty Abraham, SSRC; Akira Hayami, Reitaku University; Yasunori Sone, Keio University; Naoyuki Yoshino, Keio University; Masanobu Ido, Ibaraki University; Takashi Inoguchi, Tokyo University; Toshio Yamagishi, Hokkaido University; Richard Samuels, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Staff: Sheri Ranis, Fumika Mori, Frank Baldwin and Takuya Toda.

Japan Studies Dissertation Workshop

On January 9-13, 2000, eleven students and four faculty participants were brought from their various disciplinary and institutional homes across the country to Monterey, California, for the fifth annual SSRC Japan Studies Dissertation Workshop. The workshop series is funded by the Japan Foundation and aims to nurture the development of multidisciplinary networks of advanced graduate students and faculty in the US whose research is on Japan.

Students are selected annually from a nationwide pool of applicants in the social sciences and humanities. Faculty participants select those students whose work is especially promising or ambitious, who seem particularly in need of critical feedback or who are not affiliated with institutions recognized as Japan studies centers. The workshop format has been designed to provide opportunities for students to give and receive critical feedback on designing innovative and insightful research, and in planning, executing and analyzing fieldwork. Various sessions focused on individual projects, broad issues in the field of Japan studies and career planning.

The 2000 workshop participants represented five disciplines from the social sciences and humanities and eleven institutions nationwide. A program alumni event at the Association for Asian Studies annual conference in March further expanded each student's personal and intellectual network by bringing together participants of five years of the workshop series.

The call for applications for the workshop is posted annually in the late spring and summer on the SSRC website and by mailing to social science, humanities and interdisciplinary departments nationwide.

Staff: Mary McDonnell, Jennifer Winther.

Global Security and Cooperation Program Planning Meeting

The Program on Global Security and Cooperation held a planning meeting on February 26-29, 2000, in Cairo, Egypt. Its main purpose was to concentrate on how security knowledge is produced across institutional and geographical boundaries and on how the SSRC can most effectively help shape such production. The meeting was structured as a workshop and it moved along two tracks. One track focused on collaboration across institutional sectors, especially between nongovernmental organizations, international organizations and the academy. The other track focused on collaboration across national and regional boundaries. Participants came together in several plenary sessions to examine areas of complementarity and tension between the two tracks. The Cairo meeting helped outline an agenda for the Program on Global Security and Cooperation as well as the many challenges to cross-institutional and international collaboration.



The program's mission stems from the premise that existing models of state and state-centered international relations are inadequate for understanding contemporary patterns of cooperation and security: Nongovernmental organizations and private corporations have become significant as providers of security, mediators, repositories of relevant knowledge and sometimes as sources of threat. Moreover, the field of security studies remains primarily organized along national lines. The new program seeks to nurture collaboration across institutional and geographic boundaries by bringing together scholars and practitioners from all over the world. Fellowship and grant competitions will be announced in fall 2000.

Participants: Kanti Bajpai, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India; Thomas Biersteker, Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University; Raul Benitez-Manaut, Centro de Investigaciones Interdisciplinarias en Ciencias y Humanidades, Mexico; Ken Booth, University of Wales, Aberystwyth; Radhika Coomaraswamy, International Centre for Ethnic Studies, Sri Lanka; Mark Duffield, University of Birmingham, UK; Akiko Fukushima, National Institute for Research Advancement, Tokyo; Natalie Goldring, University of Maryland; Charles Hale, University of Texas; Monica Hirst, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University; Jibrin Ibrahim, Center for Research and Documentation, Nigeria; Francis Loh, Universiti Sains, Malaysia; Ferenc Miszlivetz, Center for European Studies, Hungarian Academy of Sciences; Thandika Mkandawire, UNRISD, Switzerland; Thomas Princen, School of Natural Resources and Environment, University of Michigan; Herman Rosa, PRISMA, San Salvador; Seyed Kazem Sajjadpour,

Institute for Political and International Studies, Iran; Yezid Sayigh, Centre for International Studies, Cambridge University; Bereket Selassie, University of North Carolina; Shiv Visvanathan, Center for the Study of Developing Countries, India; Susan Woodward, Centre for Defence Studies, King's College, UK; Wang Yizhou, Institute of World Economics and Politics, China; Elena Zdarovomyslova, Center for Independent Social Research, Russia. Staff: Robert Latham, Jessica Olsen, Chloe Teasdale.

German-American Frontiers of the Social and Behavioral Sciences

The German-American Program hosted the second annual German-American Frontiers of the Social and Behavioral Sciences (GAFOSS) Symposium on March 23-26, 2000, at the Evergreen Conference Center in Stone Mountain, Georgia. The conference brought together 50 recent PhDs (since 1990) from Germany and the United States to present papers on a set of interdisciplinary topics with the intent of building cross-national collaborations between young scholars. This year's session titles included "Trauma and Memory: Between the Personal and Political," "Queering the Globe," "Predicting and Experiencing Happiness," "Anthropology and Demography: Publics and Populations," "Social Inequalities in the Next Century," "Combating the Hostile Forces of Nature: Risk Assessment Psychology in Evolutionary Perspective" and "State Sovereignty and the Globalization of People and Production." Troy Duster of New York University presented a keynote address on the Human Genome Project. The symposium was funded by a grant from the German-American Academic Council Foundation, and was organized in conjunction with the Max Planck Society for the Advancement of Science, Berlin. Ulrike Strasser, University of California, Irvine, and Bernhard Ebbinghaus, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies (Cologne), cochaired.



Staff: Craig Calhoun, Christian Fuersich and Lauren Shweder.

Networks and African Universities

The Association of African Universities (AAU) and the SSRC Africa Regional Advisory Panel held a workshop titled "Networks and African Universities: Toward Cooperation in Research and Training" in Accra, Ghana, on February 24-26, 2000. The workshop, with support provided by the Rockefeller Foundation and the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), is the latest in a series of events devoted to the analysis of African research networks. It focused on the relationship between research networks and African universities at a moment when many universities in Africa are undergoing major reform and renewed attention from the donor community. The workshop reviewed the history of this relationship and explored how networks can not only complement but also strengthen university research capacity on the continent. It also considered the ways in which the sites of knowledge production have grown and diversified in Africa. In addition to networks and public national universities, participants considered the role of other institutions involved in knowledge production on the continent—government ministries, national research councils, thinktanks, NGOs, private universities, private firms—within a broader "system" of research and training. It is in this new context that African universities are revitalizing. While participants saw this diversification as salutary and all agreed that public national universities should not be "monopolizers" of knowledge production, there was a strong sense that universities were the indispensable institutions in the system—especially in the areas of capacity-building and fundamental research. Some imagined that as African universities strengthen, networks will still have a vital role to play in forging cross-institutional and cross-disciplinary connections. However, many of them may move to bases within universities or transform themselves in other ways.



Participants: W.S. Alhassan, Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, Ghana; George Alibaruho, United Nations Economic Commission on Africa; Ethiopia; Richard Anao, University of Benin, Nigeria; Craig Calhoun, Social Science Research Council, US; David Court, World Bank and Rockefeller Foundation, US; M.L. Luhanga, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; Takyiwa Manuh, Association of African Women for Research and Development and University of Ghana; Narciso Matos, Carnegie Corporation of New York, US; Norman Mlambo, Southern African Regional Institute for Policy Studies, Zimbabwe; M.S. Mukras, African Economic Research Consortium and University of Botswana; Yaw Nyarko,

Social Science Research Council and New York University, US; Eunice Okeke, Gender and Science and Technology Association and University of Nigeria, Nsukka; Anthony Akoto Osei, Center for Policy Analysis, Ghana; Ebrima Sall, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, Senegal; Akilagpa Sawyerr, Association of African Universities, Ghana; Dieynaba Tandian, Secretariat for Institutional Support for Economic Research in Africa, Senegal; Martin West, University Science, Engineering and Humanities Partnerships in Africa and University of Cape Town, South Africa; Godfrey Woelk, Social Science and Medicine Africa Network and University of Zimbabwe. Staff: Ronald Kassim, Thurka Sangaramoorthy.

Weighing the Balance: The State of Southeast Asian Studies in the United States

Ten years ago, the Southeast Asia program sponsored a meeting to assess the condition of the field of Southeast Asian studies. That effort led to the production of a volume, "Southeast Asian Studies in the Balance," published by the Association of Asian Studies (1992). Ten years later, with a host of economic, political and institutional changes transforming the region, area studies in the United States and the field itself, a similar meeting to reflect on the scope and scale of change seemed both useful and important. Therefore, the Southeast Asia Program of the Social Science Research Council, with funding from the Ford Foundation, hosted two roundtable discussions on "The State of Southeast Asian Studies in the United States" at the Council on November 15 and December 10, 1999. The meetings brought together a range of scholars from different fields and universities, as well as representatives of donor organizations interested in Southeast Asia, to assess the current state of the field and to evaluate and discuss programmatic features and conceptual innovations related to Southeast Asian studies that have been tried over the last decade. This was a chance for scholars in the same field to talk to each other about common concerns—an opportunity, we hoped, that might lead to new collaborations and joint initiatives.



Topics of discussion included the considerable changes that had taken place in Southeast Asia from a renewed sense of self-confidence, Southeast Asian humanities and literatures, university administrators and their understanding of area studies, and the possibilities raised by the new emphasis on building international programs. A vibrant debate on the future of area studies recurred, including issues like the relationship with disciplines, concentration on particular countries or the region, indigenous traditions and new ways of writing history. A consistent theme that ran through both discussions was recruitment and the need to get students into the region early in their careers.

Participants were asked to prepare short notes that

expressed participants' ideas about the state of the field, reported on useful programs and projects and identified innovative research topics or areas that needed support. These notes have been collected and edited into a small volume, "Weighing the Balance: Southeast Asian Studies Ten Years After," which is currently being disseminated to the Southeast Asian studies community to allow these conversations to be shared with a wider audience.

Mediating the Experience of Art

On January 31, 2000, the committee of the Council's Program on the Arts was joined by Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (Department of Performance Studies, New York University), Jeffrey Smith (Graduate School of Education, Rutgers University) and Fred Wilson (visual artist, Metro Pictures) for a discussion of art museums as mediators of art. Michael Janeway (director, National Arts Journalism Program, Columbia University) was also invited to bring to the discussions the perspective of journalism as a mediating device. The group met at the Council office in New York City.



While the presentations revealed a need for research on the nature of the processes mediating between the art "consumer" and the art, they provided rich context for the committee's work. Discussions identified a number of relevant issues. One was the role of the context of a work of art and the effect of detaching art works from their sources—decontextualizing them—begging the question: does the context for a work of art exist solely in the physical environment or also in the imagination? The issue of where to find truth in a work of art displayed in a museum

and whose truth it is raised questions about whether and how the identity of the person or organization making decision about what is made available for viewing or listening might affect the experience of the work. The discussions raised more questions than they answered about people's motivations for visiting museums and whether they choose to bring the real world into the museum with them or to leave it outside. They also raised questions about the claim that art can be unmediated and about the relation between art and authority/power and about the extent to which the viewer sees/hears pieces of him/herself in the work of art.

Research Training Workshop on Collective Memory of Repression

The first of two training workshops for the year 2000 fellows in the program on Collective Memory of Repression in the Southern Cone took place from February 27-March 11 in La Lucila del Mar, a small town 4 hours south of Buenos Aires, Argentina. Participants include senior researchers from throughout the region and the US, as well as 23 program fellows from the US, the Southern Cone and Peru. Training sessions were devoted to methodological exercises related to the social scientific study of societal memory, to reviewing comparative and analytical literature on the topic in Latin America and elsewhere, and to the elaboration of collaborative research projects in which fellows will conduct field work as part of a team coordinated by program directors Elizabeth Jelin and Carlos Ivan Degregori (both of the Latin American Regional Advisory Panel). Research this year will focus on the role of actors and institutions in shaping patterns of conflict over memory, as well as the uses of memories of repression in the aftermath of dictatorship.

Faculty: Eric Hershberg, SSRC, NYC; Carlos Ivan Degregori, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Peru; Elizabeth Jelin, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina; Susana Kaufman, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina; Gerardo Caetano, Centro Latinoamericana de Economia Humana, Uruguay; Line Bareiro, Centro de Documentacion y Estudios, Paraguay; Catalina Smulovitz, Universidad Torcuato Di Tella, Buenos Aires, Argentina; Kenneth Serbin, University of San Diego, California; Alberto Adrianzen, (DESCO, Lima, Peru); Santiago Lopez, Universidad de San Marcos, Lima, Peru; Monica Perez, Biblioteca de Memoria, Buenos Aires, Argentina. Staff: Rebecca Lichtenfeld.



Recent Council Publications

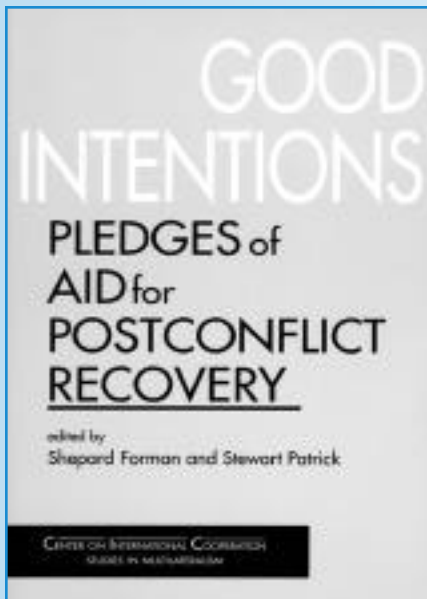
G **GOOD INTENTIONS: PLEDGES OF AID FOR POSTCOLONIAL RECOVERY**, edited by Shepard Forman and Stewart Patrick. Sponsored by the Pledges of Aid Project (joint with the Center on International Cooperation, New York University). Boulder, CO: Lynn Rienner Publishers, 2000. 432 pp.

During the 1990s, the international donor community pledged more than \$100 billion in aid to three dozen countries recovering from violent conflict. From Cambodia to

Bosnia, El Salvador to Rwanda, and Tajikistan to Lebanon, multilateral and bilateral donors have supported postconflict peace building with generous packages of grants, debt forgiveness and technical assistance. Providing a bridge between emergency humanitarian relief and long-term development, these resources are designed to persuade formerly warring parties to

resolve conflicts peacefully and to lay the foundation for a transition to economic growth and participatory governance. It is thus disturbing to discover that in many situations a significant proportion of the pledged assistance has either never materialized or done so very slowly.

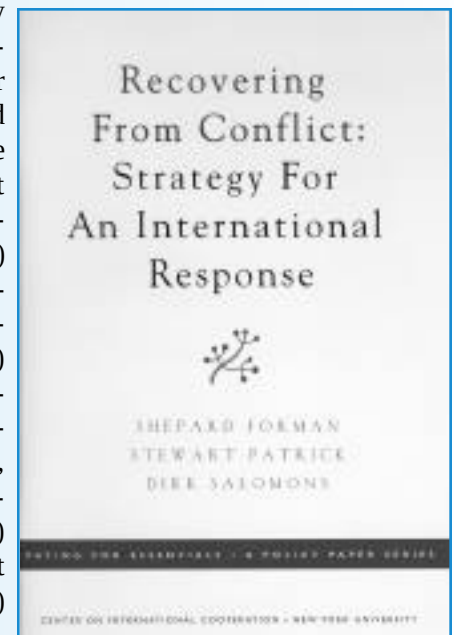
This comparative study is concerned with the causes—and consequences—of failure to fulfill pledges of aid to postconflict societies. In each of six case studies—Bosnia, Cambodia, El Salvador, Mozambique, Palestine and South Africa—the coauthors (including one scholar from a donor state and one from a recipient) first establish the sources, composition, and objectives of pledged aid and examine aid conditionality, delivery and coordination. They then trace aid absorption, benefits and impacts on peace building and economic recovery. Finally, they assess the causes, consequences and lessons of pledge gaps: What explains shortfalls in aid delivery? What social, economic and political difficulties have ensued? And what does the experience suggest for future multilateral efforts at transition assistance? Good intentions notwithstanding, it is clear that recurrent delays and failures in aid follow-through can threaten vulnerable polities whose collapse would endanger regional peace and security.



R **RECOVERING FROM CONFLICT: STRATEGY FOR AN INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE**, by Shepard Forman, Stewart Patrick and Dirk Salomons. Joint with the Center on International Cooperation, New York University. New York: Center on International Cooperation, New York University, 2000. 68 pp.

“Recovering from Conflict” is part of the Center on International Conflict’s periodic policy paper series, *Paying for Essentials*. Papers in this series contain recommendations for improvements in the management and financing of multilateral commitments. This report concentrates on concrete policy recommendations for members of the donor community, based on the insights emanating from the six country studies published as *Good Intentions: Pledges of Aid for Postconflict Recovery* (see above).

The paper identifies seven challenges that the international aid community must address to maximize its support for sustainable peace and reconstruction in the wake of conflict. It calls for stricter collaboration in (1) designing aid interventions, (2) mobilizing resources, (3) deepening institutional reform, (4) harmonizing aid conditions, (5) coordinating assistance locally, (6) enhancing recipient capacities and (7) ensuring accountability in aid delivery and implementation. The authors recommend institutionalizing these efforts in a new Strategic Recovery Facility that would ensure the timely disbursement of aid in a more coherent and equitable manner.



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