

ITEMS AND ISSUES

VOL.5 NO.4 2006



- 1 **An Imperfect Storm:
Narratives of Calamity in a
Liberal-Technocratic Age**
Alex de Waal
- 8 **Postcolonial Urban Apartheid**
Paul A. Silverstein and Chantal Tetreault
- 16 **The Privatization of Risk and the
Growing Economic Insecurity of
Americans**
Jacob S. Hacker
- 24 **The SSRC and the Making of
Social Security**
Yasmine Ergas
- 26 **Reconceptualizing Public Spheres
in the Middle East and North Africa**
Seteney Shami, et al.
- 41 **Items**
- 59 **Publications**
- 62 **New Staff and Board Members**



Macor/San Francisco Chronicle

AN IMPERFECT STORM: NARRATIVES OF CALAMITY IN A LIBERAL-TECHNOCRATIC AGE

Alex de Waal

Left Speechless

Hurricane Katrina was a distressing experience for America, not just because of the loss of life and physical destruction, but because it burst the bounds of the nation's political imagination. For more than a week after the storm struck Louisiana and Mississippi, Americans and their governing institutions were bewildered, unable to make sense of the catastrophe. Visiting displaced people, President George W. Bush looked as bewildered as they were, unable to find meaningful words. This wasn't scripted. Months on, there is still no consensus on the moral of the story.

Natural catastrophe is inherently meaningless: a hurricane has neither ethics nor purpose. But political life demands that it is given a narrative structure with moral included. The absence of heroes in the storm story, as it unfolded under the gaze of the media, was also deeply distressing to America. Individual acts of courage and selflessness by people facing the deluge were not matched by any heroes of officialdom: no one in authority bestrode the stage to offer, let alone bring, salvation.

Historically, disasters have often challenged governments or even brought them down. Katrina may yet be to 21st century America what the Lisbon earthquake was to the Enlightenment, a moment for profound self-examination. Public leaders who are able to craft a meaningful narrative should be well-placed to shape America's social and environmental policies and even its leadership over the next few years. But the capacity

Published quarterly, *Items and Issues* updates readers on SSRC program activities and presents essays and occasional interviews on issues of public concern.

of powerful authorities to shrug off well-founded accusations of negligence and incompetence and generate political capital from human calamity should not be underestimated. There is a simple and salutary lesson from the comparative history of catastrophe: disasters most often exacerbate social inequality and benefit those in power.

Frames of Denial

Modern western societies invest heavily in denying the inevitability of disaster. Denial demands much more than not thinking about something; it demands the construction of an entire apparatus dedicated to shielding society from the magnitude of what it does not want to face. There is a rich literature on denial of atrocities including, most notably, the Nazi Holocaust of European Jewry.¹ Our denial of the inevitability of natural disaster also demands considerable effort. This is aided by the fact that most environmental calamities unfold over generations, and sudden onset disasters arise because of decades of neglect and denial. As Jared Diamond notes in his book *Collapse*—which deals largely with environmental change—societies *choose* not to respond.² Diamond insists that complex modern societies are just as prone to this failing as their historic predecessors, which had far more limited scientific knowledge and technologies. Complex societies just fail in more complicated ways. The story of this begins with how we frame our geographies and timescales, and how we divide the social labor of responsibility for contemplating calamity.

Many societies routinely contemplate the deep past and consider a century merely a short step into the future. China's rulers consider their country's political eclipse of the last two centuries to be merely a blip; members of the living generation in a lineage-based society have responsibilities to both forebears and descendants; the Vatican doesn't blink



Dworzak

at launching a project of Biblical scholarship that will take more than a hundred years to complete. Scientific western societies have a far greater capacity to examine the past and anticipate the future, but it doesn't follow that their political decision-making is informed by that time depth. To the

There is a simple and salutary lesson from the comparative history of catastrophe: disasters most often exacerbate social inequality and benefit those in power.

contrary, as part of the individualization in western liberal-technocratic societies, our time horizons have been massively foreshortened, to an individual lifespan and even less. Since the advent of antibiotics and car safety regulation, we have been able to reduce the real risks we face. With actuarial tables and fire insurance, we can pool the reduced risks against a statistical normalcy. That normalcy is defined by the period of history, and anticipated future, that financial service companies are ready to put at the service of the present.³ Typically, insurance and home equity loan companies set their denominators at half a century and impel us to make our personal decisions over a horizon of twenty or thirty years maximum. This is the fictional stability that underpins our life decisions. It may be interrupted at any time. It is fair to say that our financial system is designed on the principle of "après nous le deluge."

In *Orthodoxy*, G.K. Chesterton fingered our misplaced confidence in regularity:

The real trouble with this world of ours is not that it is an unreasonable world, nor even that it is a reasonable one. The commonest kind of trouble is that it is nearly reasonable, but not quite. Life is not an illogicality; yet it is a trap for logicians. It looks just a little more mathematical and regular than it is; its exactitude is obvious, but its inexactitude is hidden; its wildness lies in wait.⁴

Spurred by the analyses of geophysicists and the intellectually curious, there are attempts to calculate the probabilities of apocalypse due to meteoric impacts, volcanic eruptions, climate change or pandemics of new diseases.⁵ But these are speculative enterprises, whose purpose is to awaken governmental interest (and funds) rather than to impel individuals to change their lifestyles. They are not systematically rewarded. As Bill McGuire comments, one of the drawbacks of being a prophet of doom is that you are unlikely to be around to

relish the satisfaction of being proven right. Local apocalypse leaves its surviving Cassandras but it takes rare grace, on both sides, for such people to be given their due, let alone for them to be tasked with making amends.

Landscapes are more graphic than time horizons, and the inquiries into Katrina have already focused on measuring the height of flood defenses, mapping the hydrology of the lower Mississippi floodplain and examining evacuation plans. It is clear that two immense planning mistakes were made: one was to rule out the possibility of a storm bigger than category three when heightening Louisiana's levees after a near-miss by a hurricane in 1969, and the other was to stick to the status quo as the maximum option in recent years. But what is most striking about the official inquiries—especially the White House-led effort by Frances Fragos Townsend, a homeland security adviser—is how narrowly they are focusing on the technicalities of the disaster response.

The geography of our cities is deliberately forgetful of disaster. Neapolitan real estate investors and town planners repeat the gamble of their Roman ancestors who built Pompeii on the slopes of Vesuvius. We are already hearing about the folly of massive building in floodplains and sheer scale of human habitation of high-risk coastal areas. Perhaps less conspicuous are the perils of building large and thirsty cities in the arid lands of the southwest. Our ecological planning baseline is the middle years of the 20th century, decades that were in retrospect unusually benign. Jared Diamond speaks of “creeping normalcy” and “landscape amnesia”⁶: we don't notice the incremental changes to our environment as they occur, year on year, and forget how our landscapes looked fifty years ago. Studying old photographs, or the memory of an elderly person returning after decades away, could in principle be a moment of “landscape recall.” Katrina may prove to be that moment of landscape recall for America. Similarly, both the Kashmir earthquake and the Guatemalan mudslides may prove conspicuous reminders of the perils of building towns on vulnerable mountain slopes.

Citadels and Expertise

There is a social matrix to denial also. We divide our social labor so that specialized others have the responsibility for thinking about catastrophe. Surveying the repetition of disaster throughout human history, Kenneth Hewitt concluded that natural extremes are, in a human ecological sense, more knowable than many of the current social developments that pervade everyday life.⁷ Nonetheless, he said, we seek to “quarantine” disaster, seeing its recurrence as “an archipelago of isolated misfortunes.” In response, western societies have invested the tasks of disaster preparedness and prevention in “citadels of expertise” remote from the lives of ordinary people. It follows that “most natural and technological hazards are not articulated as social problems—until they happen.”⁸ The creation of some kind of technological-bureaucratic elite is inevitable: disaster preparedness and prevention demands a rare mix of specialized skills. How-

ever, this citadel is unlike other technical elites because the premise of its existence, if taken to its logical conclusion, challenges all others. Even when preparing for a catastrophe is a political priority (for example in the case of nuclear war), the plans are almost comically inadequate. In the case

The geography of our cities is deliberately forgetful of disaster.

of more mundane emergencies, those within the citadel are acutely aware of their scant information and resources—and commonly their meager authority.

Hewitt was writing in the early 1980s just as the authority of the civil servant-expert was in eclipse. Contemporary disasters strike in a deregulated and reliberalized world in which calamity must demonstrate its financial clout in the marketplace. Disasters in poor and faraway places must advertise, or to be precise, win the attention of the international NGO sector and its publicists.

Perhaps more significant is the assumption that a market economy with a free press and competitive electoral system is itself an inoculation against disaster. Amartya Sen's remarks on this subject have been beatified: “The diverse political freedoms that are available in a democratic state, including regular elections, free newspapers and freedom of speech, must be seen as the real force behind the elimination of famines.”⁹ Such has been the liberal applause for these comments that Sen has been tempted to suspend his critical faculties and repeat the claim, out of its original context, which was that although democratic India had a good record in preventing famine, its performance on overcoming chronic poverty and



Faidley

malnutrition was quite awful, whereas the record of Mao's China was the precise reverse. Sen's point is better read as the claim that a highly visible crisis, which develops rapidly but with enough lead time for effective prevention measures to be workable, which has long been the focus for political contestation, is unlikely to occur in a country with institutions for free expression and free political mobilization. Such is the case with famine in India, the crux of the Indian Congress's

challenge to the British Raj from the late 19th century and to this day the subject of fierce scrutiny by Indian journalists and parliamentarians. Sen's recent book *The Argumentative Indian* clarifies this.¹⁰

However, contra Sen's caution, his remarks are celebrated as proof from authority that liberal democracy can prevent all disasters. In extremis, the argument is even heard that a free press and an informed citizenry make technical early warning systems redundant. Transferred to the economic sphere, international assistance analysts have investigated how a private insurance market could supplement and even supplant state provision of famine relief and other emergency logistics. The default option becomes blithely optimistic neglect. What need for mass evacuation plans when most people have cars, can buy bus tickets and are kept informed by commercial television news?

In India, the combination of political freedoms and a state with much salutary experience with disasters means that the citadel of expertise is responsive to the citizenry. In fact, it is arguable that the country's civil service functions best in times of crisis, as it gives otherwise-anonymous government employees a chance to shine. In the United States, the reverse has occurred: the institutions of government have been abused and eviscerated. Responsibility now falls on the citizen. Emblematic is the Bush Administration's insistence on sexual abstinence and faithfulness as the means to prevent HIV/AIDS, jettisoning the accumulated wisdom of public health professionals and a long-matured apparatus for epidemiological surveillance and control. Laurie Garrett's *Betrayal of Trust* tells this story.¹¹ Peter Baldwin's *Disease and Democracy* allows for a more contoured understanding of how and why the social contract

The disaster is consigned to its place in the political-cultural archive, memorialized and deployed to legitimize new institutions. There is, it seems, a recurrent need for a citadel of expertise, or at least a citadel.

over public health has shifted the burden of responsibility to the individual.¹² Infectious disease has re-entered the domain of public policy through the door of national security. In order for the Administration to take notice of threats to human well-being such as avian flu, multi-drug resistant tuberculosis, or HIV/AIDS, activists must first convince the Pentagon that they are a threat to U.S. national security. Garrett and several other advocates for taking infectious diseases seriously have done a remarkably effective job in this respect, although it has taken

some remarkable intellectual contortionism, and the implications of the Department of Defense having a leading role in national health are as yet unclear.



Gay/AP

Under the Bush Administration and its "Global War on Terror," the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) was an early victim of "securitization" when it was folded under the Department of Homeland Security. This decision has been sharply criticized by a press corps acutely aware of FEMA's reduced capacity. Restoring FEMA's independence, budget and expertise is an obvious reform. But it is more probable that the reverse will occur. Power politics is not suspended during humanitarian emergency, and the very weakness of FEMA creates space for the Pentagon to muscle in. One of the most powerful narratives at the height of the Katrina emergency was that law and order in New Orleans had collapsed. This justified the dispatch of combat troops to the city to stop looting as well as shore up flood defenses. Although the descriptions of social collapse turned out to be wildly exaggerated, the script of post-disaster lawlessness has such powerful resonance that the rationale for a military-style response has not been effectively discredited. It is likely that the remit of the Defense Secretary will reach still wider in Katrina's aftermath, and the Department of Homeland Security will continue to control FEMA.

Exposing Fissures

One of the abiding lessons of the sociology of disaster is that short-term responses, undertaken for the most ad hoc reasons, quickly become the pattern for long-term adaptation. Just as the ways in which rocks shatter, melt and re-form in the seconds after a meteoric impact is the way in which they stay for millions of years, so too is the impact of human disaster imprinted on social forms. Whether it is Palestinian villagers fleeing in 1948, Zambian villagers resettled because of the rising waters of the Kariba Dam¹³ or the United Nation's on-the-hoof compromise over its agencies' mandates,¹⁴ quite contingent patterns of social behavior and institutional authority rapidly become inescapable grids. A new normality quickly asserts itself and the moment of flux, when structures

of authority are briefly subsumed by an egalitarianism of bewilderment,¹⁵ is replaced by a new hierarchy and allocation of responsibility. The disaster is consigned to its place in the political-cultural archive, memorialized and deployed to legitimize new institutions. There is, it seems, a recurrent need for a citadel of expertise, or at least a citadel.

A million Americans' experience of internal exile may become as formative as the storm that precipitated their displacement. Actual and perceived race and class distinctions in the treatment of the displaced, promises made and broken about when and how people can return home, are likely to become divisive issues. Myriad acts of generosity, from spontaneous hospitality in neighboring towns to the nation's colleges taking on uprooted students for a semester, may create new solidarities. But there will be a formidable number—without doubt the most disadvantaged—that remain in the care of the Federal Government. Another general lesson from the sociology of disaster is that it amplifies the extremes of human behavior. Famines and refugee flights have elicited acts of conspicuous generosity, and have also stripped away the layers of civilized conduct, ultimately leaving the human being, as the Russian sociologist Pitrim Sorokin wrote, “a naked animal on the naked earth.”¹⁶

While many individual acts, either of kindness or selfishness, may be unexpected, the overall rule is that calamity reveals the pre-existing workings of society in a dramatic fashion. Visible starvation or homelessness shows up the “silent violence” that preceded it and made it possible.¹⁷ A stricken society fractures along the fault lines that were there all along. A longitudinal study of Guatemalan communities affected by the 1976 earthquake found that existing patterns of inequalities were accentuated both in the immediate response and in the reconstruction phase.¹⁸ In El Salvador, disaster prevention and mitigation actions put in place after Hurricane Mitch in 1998 failed to address the social inequalities that underpinned differential vulnerability to disaster, leaving the poorest just as exposed to the impact of the 2001 earthquake as beforehand.¹⁹ It is likely that the social profile of vulnerability to the 2005 mudslides is unchanged. Tom Drabek's comparative studies of the impacts of U.S. disasters found that black, elderly and low-income victims were less likely to receive official assistance.²⁰ The Indian Ocean tsunami and its aftermath appear to have accelerated the peace process in Aceh, Indonesia, but to have driven the Sri Lankan government and the Tamil Tigers deeper into mutual acrimony.

Disasters afflict men and women differently, and alter the relations between them. Some of the divergence is archetypal: men often disperse while women cluster with children. Women's experiences have typically been neglected in society's narrative of historic disasters, and those who have examined them have found not only that they are very different from men's, but that the reconstitution of gender relations can be the defining element of a calamitous event for the women who lived through it.²¹ Women and children usually constitute the majority of people affected and in receipt of assistance. More

surprising to the lay observer, but utterly consistent in the demographics of disaster, is that females *survive* better than males, even in populations (such as northern India) which have a male survival advantage in normal times.²² A study of thirteen flood disasters in Europe and the U.S. finds the same gender disparity in deaths from drowning, mainly on account of unnecessary risk-taking by men.²³

Interpretations of calamity can diverge sharply. As with an individual near-death experience, a community confronting a disaster confronts its deepest beliefs in the most compelling form. Religious leaders commonly attribute disasters to “Acts of God”—an exemplar being Jerry Falwell who managed to attribute both the HIV/AIDS epidemic and September 11 to divine retribution. Hurricane Katrina is already being pressed into service for all manner of causes, with environmentalists' concerns over global warming and African-Americans' anger over the disproportionately black racial identity of the people left behind in New Orleans at the top of the list. Social scientists must beware of their own tendency to regard “natural disaster” as misnomer rather than mischance²⁴: in an event such as this the natural and the social abut one another, and much as the storm lays bare social structures and processes, it is also a chance occurrence of a natural extreme. In some disasters, the mainstream news media's “hierarchy of credibility” remains intact—i.e., it trusts governmental and high-prestige sources—whereas in others it is challenged or reversed. Interestingly, Penelope Ploughman's comparative study of this found that flood disasters were prone to subvert this hierarchy, in part because their sudden onset does not give the authorities time enough to obfuscate and prepare a script.²⁵ Katrina seems to bear out her observation.

What is still denied is the ubiquity of the unpredicted.

Rare are the instances in which the social energies of a disaster response are channeled into a political challenge to the government that has presided over the disaster. The Indian Congress, well-advised by Irish nationalists, was exceptional in its ability to use popular outrage over mass hunger to fire the political debate. Argumentative voluntarism is a characteristic of India. In Britain, relief work is empirical, amateur and intermittently radical; French humanitarianism is principled and theatrical. The tradition of American voluntarism is Wilsonian, naturally aligning with government. The American Red Cross is run by eminent establishment figures such as Elizabeth Dole. Americans' generosity to the victims of Katrina has registered new highs on the Richter scale of monetary compassion. It has also spilled over into the sharpest political critique in decades: New Orleans' unholy week dramatized the social and racial divisions of the country, rattling the consensus that America is well advanced on the path of social harmony.

After the tsunami, vast sums are being spent on setting up an early warning system. It is needed, even though the

next Indian Ocean tsunami may be more than a hundred years away. Far larger amounts will be spent trying to beat back the waters of the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi. Those too are needed. What is still denied is the ubiquity of the unpredicted.

Shelter from the Storm

Denial of the real chance of major disaster goes hand-in-hand with a fascination with calamity, ranging from particularly gruesome crimes to apocalypse. Crime channels make popular television and the bestseller list has been topped by the *Left Behind* series, which describes itself as “a novel of the earth’s last days,” which mixes Christian eschatology and revulsion-fascination with the disorder consequent on the ending of civilization as we know it.²⁶ In between, we are absorbed by events such as the Indian Ocean tsunami and the atrocities of African civil wars. The tsunami gripped our imagination with peculiar intensity, a wave with both the speed and length of a freight train coming out of the blue and drowning affluent tourist and poor fisherman alike. Robert Kaplan’s reportage from the war zones of west Africa, describing the youth of Liberia and Sierra Leone as “loose molecules in a very unstable social fluid, a fluid that was clearly on the verge of igniting,”²⁷ is best read as allegory on American society. His title, *The Coming Anarchy: How scarcity, crime, overpopulation, tribalism and disease are rapidly destroying the social fabric of our planet*, and the imagery of black youth rampaging through a shattered tropical city are already rich sources of metaphor for New Orleans. Other disasters—such as the Kashmir earthquake, significantly greater in terms of loss of life and physical destruction—seem to have a lighter, more transient grip on the public imagination.

Disaster is a stage for heroism. This is clear in the media coverage of foreign famines, floods and wars, which are simplified into fairy-tale narratives with aid worker or peacekeeper as savior.²⁸ Much of the debate on contemporary genocide has become displaced into a discussion of how America can save faraway victims by dispatching American troops, a preoccupation that reflects the country’s need for moral agency in its international policy. It helps that these disasters are far away and truncated in time (we don’t hear about them until they hit an unpredictable threshold of media concern). The more the journalist and editor need to simplify, the more they rely on a standard moral narrative. The more remote the country, the larger the hero can figure, and the more the scenery and extras can be molded to fit the plot.

September 11, 2001, struck with suddenness and simplicity, its heroes emerged organically from the tragedy, and its villains were so obvious (and conveniently, foreign and loathsome) that the failings of the CIA and National Security Council became quite ancillary.

Not so with Katrina and New Orleans: no stripped down heroic narrative will do for the grand sweep of the storm. Instead it is a genuine and truly complicated story of how policies are poorly designed and go wrong. Numerous neighborhood heroes are known about and others will emerge, but they cannot pro-

vide the salvation that the story seems to need. The challenges of September 12 look reassuringly straightforward in retrospect.

The science of Katrina’s inevitability demands that we look to the *longue duree*. The briefest historical moment—a week of gazing transfixed at collective oblivion—focused the nation’s mind on what it already knew, but what it may not have cared to admit. The list of these is long and complicated, nothing less than the accumulated social, economic, environmental and political ills of a hugely complicated society. The closet was opened: every secret of poverty, race, municipal and federal mismanagement, unsustainable economic policies and real estate speculation, and blind faith in nature’s ultimate beneficence, spilled out. Another secret was that America’s national security apparatus is so powerful that it can even rise above the destruction of a large American city and use the tragedy to further empower itself. And over the following months, the inquiries into Katrina have descended into partisan discord and whitewash: exactly the hope of those with most to lose.

Months on, the moral of the hurricane is still unclaimed. One possible silver lining to this large and messy storm might be that it compels the Administration to bring some cautious and empirical experts into its citadel, and recognize that social and environmental policies need an open-minded and fact-based national debate. So far, this hope is still unmet, and the political storm is dissipating its remaining energy. This may not be enough for American citizens.

Endnotes

- 1 Stan Cohen, *States of Denial: Knowing about Atrocities and Suffering* (London: Polity, 2001).
- 2 Jared Diamond, *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed* (New York: Viking, 2005).
- 3 Peter Bernstein, *Against the Gods: The Remarkable Story of Risk* (London: Wiley, 1996).
- 4 G. K. Chesterton, *Orthodoxy* (New York: Lane Press, 1909).
- 5 Bill McGuire, *A Guide to the End of the World: Everything You Never Wanted to Know* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), Martin Rees, *Our Final Century: Will the Human Race Survive the 21st Century?* (London: Heinemann, 2003).
- 6 Jared Diamond, *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed* (New York: Viking, 2005).
- 7 Kenneth Hewitt, “The Idea of Calamity in a Technocratic Age,” in Kenneth Hewitt (ed.) *Interpretations of Calamity, from the Viewpoint of Human Ecology* (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1983).
- 8 G. A. Kreps, “Sociological Inquiry and Disaster Research,” *Annual Review of Sociology*, 1984, 10, 309-30, p. 321.
- 9 Amartya K. Sen, “Individual freedom as a social commitment,” *New York Review of Books*, 14 June 1990.
- 10 A. K. Sen, *The Argumentative Indian: Writings on Indian History, Culture and Identity* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005).
- 11 Laurie Garrett, *Betrayal of Trust: The Collapse of Global Public Health* (New York: Hyperion Press, 2000).
- 12 Peter Baldwin, *Disease and Democracy: The Industrialized World Faces AIDS* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

- 13 Elizabeth Colson, *The Social Consequences of Resettlement: the impact of the Kariba Resettlement on the Gwembe Tonga* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971).
- 14 For example, the innovation of peacekeeping forces in the Suez crisis of 1956 or “persons of concern to UNHCR” in Sudan in 1984.
- 15 Cf. Victor Tanner’s concept of “communitas.”
- 16 Pitirim Sorokin, *Hunger as a Factor in Human Affairs* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1975).
- 17 Cf. Michael Watts, *Silent Violence: Food and famine in northern Nigeria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).
- 18 F. L. Bates et al., cited in G. A. Kreps, “Sociological Inquiry and Disaster Research,” *Annual Review of Sociology*, 1984, 10, 309-30.
- 19 Ben Wisner, “Risk and the Neoliberal State: Why Post-Mitch Lessons Didn’t Reduce El Salvador’s Earthquake Losses,” *Disasters*, 25, 2001, 151-68.
- 20 T. E. Drabek and W. H. Key, *Conquering Disaster: Family Recovery and Long-Term Consequence* (New York: Irvington, 1983).
- 21 An example is the 1948 famine in Malawi, as studied by Megan Vaughan, *The Story of an African Famine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
- 22 Kate Macintyre, “Famine and the Female Mortality Advantage,” in T. Dyson and C. Ó Gráda (eds.) *Famine Demography: Perspectives from Past and Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- 23 Sebastiaan Jonkman and Ilan Kelman, “An Analysis of the Causes and Circumstances of Flood Disaster Deaths,” *Disasters* 29, 2005, 75-97.
- 24 Cf. Hewitt, 1983.
- 25 Penelope Ploughman, “Disasters, the Media and Social Structures: A Typology of Credibility Hierarchy Persistence Based on Newspaper Coverage of the Love Canal and Six Other Disasters,” *Disasters*, 21, 1997, 118-37.
- 26 Tim LaHaye and Jerry B. Jenkins, *Left Behind* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House, 1995 et seq.).
- 27 Robert Kaplan, “The Coming Anarchy,” *Atlantic Monthly*, February 1994.
- 28 Cf. Jonathan Benthall, *Disasters, Relief and the Media* (London: IB Tauris, 1994).

Alex de Waal is program director at the Social Science Research Council for projects on Emergencies and Humanitarian Action and on HIV/AIDS and Social Transformation. He is author of *Famine that Kills: Darfur, Sudan* (revised edition, Oxford University Press, 2005) and, jointly with Julie Flint, *Darfur: A Short History of a Long War* (Zed Press, 2005).

UNDERSTANDING KATRINA: PERSPECTIVES FROM THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Please go to <http://understandingkatrina.ssrc.org> to read the essays listed below from the SSRC Forum *Understanding Katrina: Perspectives from the Social Sciences*. Also see page 49 below for a description of the SSRC’s Task Force on Hurricane Katrina and Rebuilding the Gulf Coast.

- “Symbolic and Practical Interpretations of the Hurricane Katrina Disaster in New Orleans,” David Alexander, University of Florence
- “The Tale of the Three Pigs,” Greg Bankoff, University of Auckland
- “Worst Case Katrina,” Lee Clarke, Rutgers University
- “The Geography of Social Vulnerability: Race, Class, and Catastrophe,” Susan L. Cutter, University of South Carolina
- “Seeing and Not Seeing: Complicity in Surprise,” Virginia R. Dominguez, University of Iowa
- “Finding and Framing Katrina: The Social Construction of Disaster,” Russell R. Dynes, University of Delaware; Havidán Rodríguez, University of Delaware
- “Women and Girls Last? Averting the Second Post-Katrina Disaster,” Elaine Enarson, Brandon University
- “Our Toxic Gumbo: Recipe for a Politics of Environmental Knowledge,” Scott Frickel, Tulane University
- “Katrina’s Political Roots and Divisions: Race, Class, and Federalism in American Politics,” Paul Frymer, University of California, Santa Cruz; Dara Z. Strolowitch, University of Minnesota; Dorian T. Warren, University of Chicago
- “Leaving New Orleans: Social Stratification, Networks, and Hurricane Evacuation,” Elizabeth Fussell, Tulane University
- “What Katrina Teaches about the Meaning of Racism,” Nils Gilman
- “Cities Under Siege: Katrina and the Politics of Metropolitan America,” Stephen Graham, Durham University
- “Bridges Over Troubled Waters: What are the Optimal Networks for Katrina’s Victims?” Jeanne S. Hurlbert, Louisiana State University; John J. Beggs, Louisiana State University; Valerie A. Haines, University of Calgary
- “Un/natural Disasters, Here and There,” Stephen Jackson, SSRC
- “Political Floodwaters,” James M. Jasper, *Contexts* magazine
- “The Criminalization of New Orleanians in Katrina’s Wake,” Sarah Kaufman, New York University
- “New Orleans: The Public Sphere of the Disaster,” Monika Krause, New York University
- “From Disaster to Catastrophe: The Limits of Preparedness,” Andrew Lakoff, University of California, San Diego
- “Questions About Power: Lessons from the Louisiana Hurricane,” Steven Lukes, New York University
- “Empowering knowledge: A modest proposal for a broader social science research agenda in the wake of Katrina,” James K. Mitchell, Rutgers University
- “Death on the Roof: Race and Bureaucratic Failure,” Harvey Molotch, New York University
- “Hurricanes, Poverty, and Vulnerability: An Historical Perspective,” Matthew Mulcahy, Loyola College in Maryland
- “Disasters and Forced Migration in the 21st Century,” Anthony Oliver-Smith, University of Florida
- “Play it again, FEMA,” Charles Perrow, Yale University
- “Catastrophes are Different from Disasters: Some Implications for Crisis Planning and Managing Drawn from Katrina,” E. L. Quarantelli, University of Delaware
- “Two Cities, Two Evacuations: Some Thoughts on Moving People Out,” Joseph Scanlon, Carleton University
- “There’s No Such Thing as a Natural Disaster,” Neil Smith, CUNY Graduate Center
- “Weather Media and Homeland Security: Selling Preparedness in a Volatile World,” Marita Sturken, New York University
- “Toxic Soup Redux: Why Environmental Racism and Environmental Justice Matter after Katrina,” Julie Sze, University of California, Davis
- “The Red Pill,” Kathleen Tierney, University of Colorado, Boulder
- “Improvising Disaster in the City of Jazz: Organizational Response to Hurricane Katrina,” Tricia Wachtendorf, University of Delaware; James M. Kendra, University of North Texas

POSTCOLONIAL URBAN APARTHEID

Paul A. Silverstein and Chantal Tetreault

*Les années passent, pourtant tout est toujours à sa place
Plus de bitume donc encore moins d'espace
Vital et nécessaire à l'équilibre de l'homme
Non personne n'est séquestré, mais c'est tout comme
C'est comme de nous dire que la France alors qu'elle pense
Par la répression stopper net la délinquance
S'il vous plaît, un peu de bon sens
Les coups ne régleront pas l'état d'urgence
A coup sûr...
Ce qui m'amène à me demander
Combien de temps tout ceci va encore durer
Ca fait déjà des années que tout aurait dû péter
Dommage que l'unité n'ait été de notre côté
Mais vous savez que ça va finir mal, tout ça
La guerre des mondes vous l'avez voulu, la voilà
Dorénavant la rue ne pardonne plus
Nous n'avons rien à perdre car nous n'avons jamais rien eu
A votre place je ne dormirais pas tranquille
La bourgeoisie peut trembler, les cailleras sont dans la ville
Pas pour faire la fête, mais pour foutre le feu
Mais qu'est-ce, mais qu'est-ce qu'on attend pour foutre le feu*

The years pass, but all remains the same
More asphalt, less space
Necessary and vital for life
Nobody is imprisoned, but it's as if
It's as if France is moving forward, thinking
That by force alone it can end delinquency
Please, use your head
Blows will not solve the state of emergency
Surely...
Which makes me ask myself
How much longer will all of this last
For years everything should have already exploded
Too bad our side has never been united
But you know it's all going to end up badly
World war, you wanted it, here it is...
From now on the street will not forgive
We've nothing to lose for we've never had anything to begin with
In your place I would not sleep well
The bourgeoisie should tremble, the gangstas are in town
Not to party, but to burn the place down...
But why, why are we waiting to set the fire
—Suprême NTM, "Qu'est-ce qu'on attend" (1995)



de la Mauvinière/AP

NTM would still have a decade to wait before their hip hop fantasies of marginalized suburban housing project (*cité*) youth taking the fight back to the French “system” would be realized.¹ The rap group hailing from the northeastern Parisian suburb of Saint-Denis knew too well about the everyday police aggression that shapes life in the *cités* across France, and anyone who had paid attention to them, or the many young men and women whose voices they claimed they were only amplifying, would not be terribly surprised by the violence that struck France in the early weeks of November 2005. Like NTM, many of them had been simply asking themselves, “Why are we waiting?”

If NTM’s hip hop warning points to a trans-Atlantic dimension to urban exclusion and violence, the French state’s response harkens to an older, trans-Mediterranean colonial logic. On November 7, 2005, after nearly two weeks of ongoing confrontations that had spread across much of France’s marginalized urban periphery, French Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin announced a “state of emergency” across over a quarter of the national territory. The measure—which for an initial period of twelve days granted prefects the right to establish curfews within their regions and the interior minister the possibility of effectuating the closure of public spaces, search-and-seizures, house arrests, and the censorship of the press—derives from a 1955 law crafted to curtail support for the nascent Algerian war of national liberation. Originally applied for a period of more than six months in Algeria proper,

the law has been put into effect on only three other occasions: twice in metropolitan France during the Algerian war and once in 1984–85 in the French colony of New Caledonia to suppress an uprising of the indigenous movement for independence. On November 15, the National Assembly—with strong support from Prime Minister Villepin, Interior Minister Sarkozy, President Jacques Chirac, and a large percentage of the French electorate—voted nearly three to one in favor of extending the state of emergency for an additional three months.

Colonial Logics

The colonial law's deployment in response to the present crisis points to an enduring logic of colonial rule within postcolonial metropolitan France. Like settler cities of the colonial period, contemporary French urban centers function in opposition to their impoverished peripheries, the latter being consistently presented in the media, state policy, and popular talk as culturally, if not racially, different from mainstream France. The application of a last-ditch instrument of colonial governance indicates a set of structural tensions within, if not the ultimate failure of, the French state's self-congratulatory colonial "civilizing mission" turned postcolonial "integrating mission" which for the last fifty years has sought to transform the children of immigrants and other members of the suburban underclass into productive Frenchmen, all the while projecting them as suspect and potentially violent citizens.

In spite of these pre-existing metropolitan anxieties of its racialized poor rising up in revolt, and in spite of a history of confrontations between police and *cité* residents that stretches back to the early 1980s, the spread and intensity of the recent violence—which, as of November 17, resulted in almost 9000 torched vehicles and nearly 3000 arrests in nearly 100 municipalities across France—took most observers by surprise. Initial reports sought to link the sudden upsurge in violence to a larger "clash of civilizations," reading the events through the lens of the Palestinian *intifada* and the Iraqi insurgency, and searching for the fingerprint of some terrorist organization in them. However, social life in the housing projects in question is marked precisely by a *lack* of effective organizational bodies or unifying ethnic or religious ideologies. The "rage" expressed by young men from the *cités* does not spring from either anti-imperialist Arab nationalism or some sort of anti-Western jihadism as Fouad Ajami, Alain Finkielkraut, Charles Krauthamer, and Daniel Pipes among others would have it,² but rather from lifetimes of rampant unemployment, school failure, police harassment, and everyday racist discrimination that tends to treat them generally as the *racaille* (scum) of Interior Minister Sarkozy's widely quoted insult—regardless of race, ethnicity, or religion.

Such conditions of marginalization have been exacerbated by France's recent fiscal reforms necessitated by its participation in the European Monetary Union, reforms that have slashed the social welfare budget and the funding for neighborhood associations, after-school programs, community policing, and internships. In the meantime, the Interior Ministry's hard-line

policies towards urban crime and more recent "war on terror" have, since the mid-1990s, resulted in the de facto militarization of the housing projects, with national riot police and military gendarmes conducting repeated sweeps for suspected terrorists, closing down basement prayer rooms, detaining and deporting undocumented immigrants, performing millions of "random" identity checks on local youth occupying public spaces, and even arresting residents for congregating in the entryways of their own buildings. As a result, the French state has come to be equated with repression in the minds of many *cité* inhabitants, an equation which has magnified their "hatred" (*la haine*) of the system. The current violence reflects this unity of social marginalization and anti-police ire, and the conditions that give rise to it will only intensify as long as the government treats youth unrest in the *cités* as a security problem, rather than as a reflection of a larger structural predicament.

The "rage" expressed by young men from the *cités* does not spring from either anti-imperialist Arab nationalism or some sort of anti-Western jihadism.

Dual Cities

Housing projects (*les cités*) are preeminently multiracial sites, with local bases of solidarity conditioned by common social class rather than ethnic or religious similarity. Housing project construction, begun in earnest in the mid-1950s during the Algerian war, followed inter-related imperatives of social uplift and public security, of circulation and containment.³ On the one hand, urban planners sought to de-concentrate white urban poverty from city centers, providing for the possibility of physical and social mobility literally to the greener pastures of the suburbs, and resulting in the emergence of a lower middle class. Built with a minimum of 500 units in a combination of high-rise towers and low-rise blocks, the projects were constructed as utopian modernist experiments in social life, centralizing housing, commerce, education, and recreation in the immediate proximity to the factories in which residents were assumed to work. On the other hand, the *cités* responded to security concerns, providing for the re-housing of North African immigrant workers and their families from the large shantytowns which had become effective organizational sites for the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN). In the years that followed, residence in suburban housing projects continued to exhibit this mixed character, with newly-arrived African, Caribbean, and Southeast Asian immigrants adding to the racial and cultural complexity of these areas.⁴

After the economic downturn of the 1970s and the de-industrialization of the urban peripheries of Paris and Lyon, dreams of social mobility quickly transformed into nightmares of physical and economic immobility. The percentage of industrial jobs has diminished by 50 percent since 1954 to a mere 20 percent of the total, with the vast majority of jobs currently being offered in the tertiary (service) sector and requiring a certain level of formal education. Nationwide, youth unemployment reached figures as high as 20 percent by the early 1990s, or twice that of the national average. In certain *cités*, the figures have been even higher, with unemployment among young residents on average above 30 percent, and as high as 85 percent.⁵

Moreover, the *cités* have been marked by significant physical dilapidation and the flight of local commerce, creating an atmosphere of depressed sterility and an experience of social exile and “distress” (*galère*). The lack of local capital, alongside occasional petty crime and property violence, have brought about the closure of most of the shopping centers built at the center of housing projects, and smaller stores near the complexes have a high turnover rate. Structurally, the concrete and pre-fabricated materials used in the construction of the *cités* have not weathered well, with, as of the early 1990s, an estimated 80 percent of the buildings suffering from some combination of water damage, insulation problems, broken elevators, or worse. A number of other structures have been considered beyond repair and have been torn down in the interim. Not only have these not been replaced with new structures, but there have actually been over 300,000 more apartments phased out than built since 1989. The result has been a situation of increasing overcrowding and squatting.⁶ Since April 2005, the lack of safe public housing has turned deadly for 48 poor immigrants who died in three separate fires in makeshift municipal housing and abandoned buildings in Paris.

In suburban *cités* this socioeconomic marginalization has been paired with spatial isolation. The development of the urban transportation network that was the condition of possibility for the construction of peripheral housing projects has failed to keep pace with the growth of the suburban population. For instance, while Parisian subway and commuter rail



Turnley



Bisson

lines extend into the proximate suburbs, they represent only about 120 stops for several thousand communes in the region, with the farther suburbs served, if at all, by local train service. Indeed, according to a 1990 report from the French National Institute for Statistics and Economic Research (INSEE), nearly 60 percent of these suburban municipalities lack their own train station, and little has changed in the intervening 15 years. Radially laid out, the commuter and train lines connect the suburbs directly to Paris, leaving only bus service and the occasional tramway to link suburb to suburb. Those that do connect the suburbs to Paris are heavily surveilled, with fixed cameras and roving patrols of police, military gendarmes, and conductors empowered to make arrests. The result is the relative physical and symbolic separation of *cités* from each other and from Paris proper. The concomitant stigmatizing effects of this isolation, alongside the physical dilapidation and economic impoverishment of the housing projects have made residence in certain *cités* an impediment to being hired for a job, thus reproducing the unemployment that underwrites much of the social stigmatization of the housing projects in the first place.

Given these structural conditions, it is not surprising that French housing projects have developed a well-developed informal economy—including a series of gray-market institutions revolving around the drug trade or the fencing of stolen consumer items—for the provision of employment as well as goods and services not otherwise locally available or affordable. Daily open-air markets operate in the shadow of boarded-up shopping centers, providing the quotidian requirements of food, clothing, and school supplies. Those residents with vehicles have created an informal taxi service to carry neighbors to and from transportation centers or places of work, commerce, or entertainment. Through after-school tutoring programs, cultural and religious associations in the *cités* constitute a parallel, if severely underfunded, education system that attempts to compensate for the depressed conditions in French schools, including poor facilities, overcrowded classrooms, teachers unknowledgeable of or inflexible to the students’ multicultural needs, and the tracking of

many children to vocational diplomas from an early age. The same associations also provide day-care for working mothers and legal advice for local residents, particularly regarding the regularization of their immigration documentation. Indeed, such a parallel structure operates with the tacit knowledge and minimal funding of the French state, which has largely devolved the provision of many such social, educational, and legal services to local associations.⁷

Violent Spirals

Alternative economic ventures generate increased state scrutiny and generate a large police presence in the *cités*. This police presence ironically increases tensions with inhabitants, tensions that often have escalated since the early 1980s into full-scale incidents of violent popular unrest—termed “riots” (*émeutes*) by the national media—particularly when security forces have arrested or killed young residents. The violence associated with these clashes with police often exceeds the inter-personal, targeting those state and economic institutions (notably police stations, shopping malls, and municipal centers) symbolically associated by residents with their “exclu-

The *cités* have been marked by significant physical dilapidation and the flight of local commerce, creating an atmosphere of depressed sterility and an experience of social exile and “distress.”

sion.” In the summer of 1981, following a police raid in the Cité de la Cayolle in Marseilles in which a number of women, children, and elderly residents were injured, young male residents fire-bombed the shopping centers and police stations throughout the area. During the same period, the Lyon suburb of Les Minguettes exploded in a series of violent confrontations between young men and the police. In an estimated 250 separate incidents generally referred to as “rodeos” by their participants, groups of young men would steal a car, engage police in a chase, and then abandon and burn the vehicle.

Although most of the property damage in recent urban violence has been concentrated in low-income neighborhoods, teens have tended to attack the property of their middle-class neighbors. Housing projects are adjacent to owners of individual homes who pursue the suburban dream of affordable real estate in semi-rural settings. Among the inhabitants of collective housing projects who are predominantly working class, it is generally a small percentage of male teenagers that engage in property damage and acts of civil disobedience. In



De Sakutin/AFP

this way, those who have engaged in violent struggle with the police do not necessarily represent the majority of inhabitants in French *cités*, many of whom are frustrated by extensive property damage in their neighborhoods. However, for many male teens, burning cars constitutes a masculine rite of passage to mark one's social affiliation with peers and one's spatial affiliation with the *cité*, in opposition to the urban center and its police forces. Although the American media have mistakenly referred to such violence as involving “gangs,” these groups are not organized into larger economic or political units. Rather, loosely structured fictive kinship of “older” and “younger brothers” (*les grands et les petits frères*) gives shape to community-wide networks of economic exchange and social reciprocity.⁸ In some instances, *grands frères* censor violence in *cités* by condemning, and thus preventing, vandalism and graffiti. At other times, as is now the case in France, urban violence and property damage is considered by many young *cité* dwellers to be a logical response to the latest instance of police brutality in a long history of it.

So while clearly having a pleasurable, if not sporting, quality, these rodeos were often (though certainly not always) understood as a direct response to police violence. Referring to the 1981 incidents in Les Minguettes, one local resident and community activist commented, “It was from the moment of police provocations that the youth began to become aggressive . . . The rodeos were to respond to everything they had undergone, they and their parents . . . The rage they had in themselves was directed at the cars.”⁹ Two years later, similar confrontations occurred in neighboring Venissieux (Lyon), leading to the week-long occupation of the housing project by a regiment of 4000 police officers. During the same year, young men of the Monmousseau *cité* of Les Minguettes engaged police in a violent struggle after the latter had broken into an apartment suspected of harboring stolen goods.

By the 1990s, such confrontations began to take on a regular, if generally contained, character. Among many other incidents, clashes between youth and riot police (CRS) occurred in November 1990 in the Mas-du-Taureau *cité* of the Lyon-nais suburb of Vaulx-en-Velin after the death of one resident,

Thomas Claudio, 21, in a motorcycle chase with police; in March 1991 in Sartrouville (Paris) after the killing of Djamel Chettouh, 18, by a Euromarché supermarket security guard; in May 1991 in Val-Fourré after the death of Aïssa Ihich, 18, who asphyxiated after being denied his asthma medicine while in police custody; and in June 1995 in the Paris suburb of Noisy-le-Grand after the police killing of local youth Kacem Belhabib in a motorcycle chase. These confrontations generally involved the destruction of cars, gymnasiums, schools, and shopping centers. Such violence and property destruction, when portrayed by the media as “riots” (*émeutes*), have tended to underwrite the negative stereotypes of these areas and contribute to the infernal spiral of social marginalization and the racialization of their residents as “other.” To a great extent, the current violence needs to be understood as the logical extension of such earlier, localized incidents.

In addition to drawing on this previous history of violent confrontations, the November 2005 disturbances responded to the symbolic violence perpetrated by politicians and journalists against young French citizens in *cités* who are repeatedly and mistakenly described as “foreigners” (*étrangers*) and pathologized and demonized for their purported unwillingness to “integrate” into French society. Sadly, the expected “integration” for *cité* youth is measured by a punishing formula of loss of culture—through loss of their parents’ native language, loss of religious faith, and loss of cultural traditions—as well as unreasonable expectations that they should succeed, despite racial and spatial discrimination, in school and work. Since the 1980s right-wing and centrist politicians have deliberately blamed French children of immigrants for their purported failure to integrate as a means of mobilizing conservative voters and deflecting responsibility for social inequities. This tactic was illustrated most recently on November 15 and 16 by Gérard Larcher, Acting Minister of Employment, and by Bernard Accoyer, President of the UMP (Union for a Popular Movement) National Assembly Group, when both political leaders claimed that polygamy, although illegal in France, was a central cause of urban violence and a significant factor in job discrimination experienced by descendents of African immigrants.¹⁰ Similarly, the March 2005 ban on Muslim headscarves and other “ostensible” religious symbols in public schools was passed



Turpin

in the name of strengthening citizens’ equal access to *laïcité* (secularism). However, this legislation unfairly targets Muslim religious practices as the root cause for the failure of integration and does nothing to correct a clear bias toward Catholic schools, which educate two million children and receive 80 percent of their budget from the government. There is currently only one Muslim school in France, which was opened after eight years of negotiation. Thus, the *laïcité* law, when coupled with the state’s refusal to recognize the ‘*id al-adha*’ alongside Catholic festivals as a national holiday, and Chirac’s history of excusing racism as a justified response to the “noise and smell” of immigrants, is taken by many residents of the *cités* as yet another example of French society’s rejection of cultural and religious diversity and the hypocrisy of a Republic that would claim to treat all of its citizens equally.

When paired with the economic and spatial marginalization of the *cités*, this symbolic marginalization has led to a powerful, if stigmatized, subculture that bridges low-income housing projects across France through new styles of speech, dress, and music. The term *racaille* used by Sarkozy to mean “scum” has long been used in the *cités* to mean “gangsta.” French urban youth talk, as captured in hip hop discourse, like its American analogue, plays semantically and morphologically with standard French terms, so that in NTM’s line “*les cailleras sont dans la ville*” (the gangstas are in town), *racaille* is converted to *caillera* according to vernacular linguistic practices of syllabic inversion (*verlan*). In the semiotic struggle over how to interpret the social and cultural changes in French society, the figure of *la racaille* (or *caillera*) has emerged as the alternately stigmatized and valorized anti-hero of *cité* subculture. Within *cités*, those who might be labeled *la racaille* due to their activity in drug dealing are viewed with a mixture of reverence and moral ambivalence. For many young people growing up in *cités*, the entrepreneurial skill of *la racaille* is admired as they establish *le business* (illicit commerce) in areas where other commercial enterprise is severely lacking.

And yet rather than viewing the illegal parallel economies in *cités* as evidence of their residents’ social and economic exclusion, many politicians such as Sarkozy prefer to place blame for the current problems exclusively on the shoulders of *cité* youth. In his bid for President in the 2007 elections, Sarkozy has directed French public attention away from collective responsibility for the current violence toward actively scapegoating *la racaille*. On November 19, at a political rally for the UMP, Sarkozy increased the violent tenor of his rhetoric by repeating his threat “to pressure wash *la racaille*” (*nettoyer à Kärcher*) from the *cités* and went on to claim, “The central cause of unemployment, of despair, of violence in the suburbs, is not discrimination or the failure of schools . . . it is drug traffic, the law of bands, the dictatorship of fear and the resignation of the Republic.”¹¹

State Intervention

Political rhetoric aside, the government’s tactical response to this urban unrest and underlying socio-economic crisis has

historically and presently been twofold: neo-liberal economic policy and militarization. In the first place, it unleashed a series of urban renewal plans—leading to the creation of a complex network of national commissions, urbanization laws, educational priority zones (ZEPs), and funding programs—designed to re-integrate the *cités* in question into national and global economies and transform their inhabitants into productive citizens. These plans reached perhaps their most elaborated form in Gaullist Prime Minister Alain Juppé's 1995-6 "Marshall Plan" (which included the "National Urban Integration Plan" and the "Urban-Revival Pact"). With the goal of luring young residents from the street economy into the formal economy, the plan delimited 744 "sensitive urban zones" (*zones urbaines sensibles*) in which local associations would receive state subsidies to hire young residents to work in paid internships. At the same time, the plans established 44 "enterprise zones" (*zones franches*) in especially "hot areas" (*quartiers chauds*) throughout the country in order to provide tax incentives to encourage the return of commercial ventures scared away by the rise in suburban violence. As such, like the original Marshall Plan designed to reconstruct war-torn Europe, Juppé's plan depended on an insertion of capital into decapitalized areas, though this time, with a neo-liberal twist, with local associations and multinational corporations acting as the prime agents of change.

In the time that has passed, and particularly after 2002 under the management of the Minister of Urbanism, Jean-Louis Borloo, the neo-liberal corporate character of these reforms has been extended, while funding to associations and social

The government's tactical response has been neo-liberal economic policy and militarization.

services has been cut as part of a more general fiscal belt-tightening necessitated by France's entrance that year into the European Monetary Union. While attempts at austerity reforms to other parts of the public sector (such as public workers' retirement benefits) were met with national strikes that effectively shut down the country, the slashing of the funding to the *cités* had encountered little resistance until the current violence. With salaries for local social mediators eliminated, municipal governments became further distanced from their younger residents. The cutting of official after-school tutoring programs has only increased the ineffectiveness of a school system that has been historically prone to orient *cité* residents (and particularly children of immigrants) to virtually useless vocational diplomas. Increasingly, lower middle class residents of these areas are sending their children to the burgeoning private schools, leaving the ZEPs as warehouses for the truly disadvantaged. Even local associations have found their already tenuous ties to



De Sakutin/AFP

the younger generation—who tend to regard association leaders as having "sold out" to the state—even further attenuated, with their funding restricted and their internship programs cut. While there has been a rise in religious (and particularly Islamic) associations in the *cités*, even these have remained largely marginal and ineffective at organizing local youth. Indeed, the repeated public cries for calm by these associations and their corresponding mosques during the recent violence—and even a *fatwa* issued by the umbrella Union of Islamic Organizations of France forbidding all those "who seek divine grace from taking part in any action that blindly strikes private or public property or can harm others"—went largely unheeded.

Alongside this neo-liberal economic policy, the French government has since the 1990s responded to the "crisis" of the *cités* with increased police intervention, predating urban renewal on social and political quiescence. The portrayal of the *cités* as sites of potential violent unrest was coupled with a growing media and popular fear that the housing projects had become recruitment zones for soldiers of *jihād*, an alarmism that politicians on the French right and far right have repeatedly mobilized to gain electoral support and argue for heavy-handed security measures, if not the deportation of Muslim immigrants. Newspaper reports decried the growth of "Islamist summer camps" and described the suburbs as part of a global terrorist network stretching from Paris to Algiers to Kabul to Chechnya and beyond.¹² Police certified these fears with the shooting of Khaled Kelkal, a Beur from Vaulx-en-Velin accused of playing a role in the summer 1995 Parisian subway bombings attributed to the Algerian Armed Islamic Group. Such concerns were only magnified by the September 11, 2001 attacks, the arrest of French-born Moroccan Zacarias Moussaoui as the "twentieth hijacker" and the discovery of French citizens among the Taliban forces in Afghanistan. Indeed, the very day before the violence began in Clichy-sous-Bois, President Chirac had invoked the "real terrorist risk" to justify a proposed increase in surveillance measures of television and internet media.¹³

Responding to a perceived growth of such "lawless zones" (*zones de non-droit*) in which the law of the Republic is totally absent,¹⁴ the 1995-6 plans added 200 plainclothes inspectors to the already expanded suburban security forces to eliminate what were effectively no-go areas for the municipal

police. In 1999, Socialist Prime Minister Lionel Jospin took these surveillance measures one step further, mobilizing 13,000 additional riot police and 17,000 military gendarmes to patrol these same “sensitive urban zones.” In 2003, Sarkozy further increased these numbers as part of his post-September 11 war on terror. These policing measures—which amount to the effective militarization of the *cités*—have resulted in the criminalization of certain everyday practices (such as assembly in the entryways or basements of public housing buildings where many prayer rooms had been established), the detention of countless suspected terrorists, the deportation of hundreds of undocumented immigrants, and the quotidian harassment of young *cité* residents. Given the dismantling of other state institutional bodies as effective social actors in the *cités*, this prioritization of security over social reform has resulted in the police becoming the sole agents of the French state with whom many residents of the housing projects have any sustained contact. In this respect, it is clear how an historical antagonism between *cité* youth

Colonial dual cities have been effectively re-created in the postcolonial present, with contemporary urban policy and policing maintaining suburban *cités* and their residents in a state of immobile apartheid.

and the police can translate into an outright hatred for the French “system” as a whole.

In this sense, France’s neo-liberal approach to the social “integration” of its impoverished urban periphery has been necessarily ambivalent. Nearly every euro it has saved by “tightening the belt” on the public sector—and for which it has incurred severe electoral wrath, including periodic general strikes by public servants—has been redeployed into the forces of security. Every attempt at “integrating” (or “civilizing”) underclass residents of the *cités* to national political, economic, and social norms is balanced by heavy-handed urbanization practices that continue to demarcate these populations as racially and spatially “other,” as structurally distant from the metropolis and its mechanics of class reproduction. As such, the colonial dual cities described by North African urban theorists Janet Abu-Lughod, Zeynep Çelik, Paul Rabinow, and Gwendolyn Wright—in which native *medinas* were kept isolated from European settler neighborhoods out of competing concerns of historical preservation, public hygiene, and security—have been effectively re-created

in the postcolonial present, with contemporary urban policy and policing maintaining suburban *cités* and their residents in a state of immobile apartheid, at a perpetual distance from urban, bourgeois centers.¹⁵

Suspect Citizens

The functioning of such de facto policies of urban apartheid broke down in the November 2005 violence, as the French state’s worst nightmare of—and NTM’s revolutionary call for—an entire *cité* generation in revolt seemed to come to pass. Such a nightmare had been envisioned, not only in austerity and policing measures that have created the condition of its possibility, but also in the fantasies of xenophobic politicians like Jean-Marie Le Pen who, in a speech delivered on November 15 in Paris, deployed the violence to mount his 2007 presidential campaign: “For years, if not for decades, we’ve been repeating our alarm of a massive immigration from outside Europe that will result in the submergence and ruin of France.”¹⁶ Whereas previous confrontations were largely containable within a given housing project, the initial violence in Clichy-sous-Bois spread within a few days to neighboring municipalities within the northeastern Parisian suburbs of Seine-St-Denis, shortly thereafter to neighboring regional departments, and by the end of a week’s time across all of France and even into neighboring countries. The mimetic quality of the confrontations and attacks on material property belied less an underlying organizational structure than a commonality of life under a set of social and economic conditions which had, after years of budget cuts and heavy-handed policing in the *cités*, reached a breaking point. While one should not underestimate the role of new media—from the consumption of televised images of police-youth confrontations at home and abroad (e.g., Palestine), to the utilization of web blogs and cellular SMS messages to encourage and coordinate the violence—such means do not constitute motive.

In this sense, the immediate triggering event of the electrocution of the three adolescents, followed by Sarkozy’s inflammatory promise to “pressure-wash” the *racaille* out of the housing projects, mattered less than the structural conditions set in place by the simultaneous cutting of public funding to the *cités* and a protracted “war on terror” applied to an internal, postcolonial, marginalized, and racially-othered population. Enacting a colonial era state of emergency law, pursuing the deportations of permanent residents, and generally violating the civil liberties of its suburban citizens can only exacerbate these long-term tensions. In the end, the French state’s prolonged treating of a segment of its own citizenry as racially suspect and intrinsically prone to violence—as potential enemies within—has proven to be a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Endnotes

1 An earlier version of this essay appeared as “Urban Violence in France” in *Middle East Report Online*, November 2005, http://www.merip.org/mero/interventions/silverstein_tetreault_interv.htm.

2 Fouad Ajami, "The Boys of Nowhere," *US News and World Report*, 21 November 2005; Alain Finkielkraut, Interview in *Ha'aretz*, 21 November 2005; Charles Krauthamer, "What the Uprising Wants," *Time Magazine*, 13 November 2005; Daniel Pipes, "Reflections on the Revolution in France," *New York Sun*, 8 November 2005.

3 The construction was facilitated by the institution of two legal mechanisms: first, the creation of a National Corporation for the Construction of Housing for Algerian Workers (SONACOTRA) in 1952 that earmarked funds for the relocation of shantytown residents; second, the establishment of a category, Urban Priority Zone (ZUP), that would target urban renewal projects to specific suburban localities.

4 In the process, racial and ethnic "minorities" are, for a variety of historical and structural reasons, relatively over-represented in comparison to other urban areas. Indeed, the construction of this public Low Rent Housing (HLM) was significantly financed through the sale of apartments to manufacturing concerns, who utilized them to house their workers, many of whom were immigrants. In the heyday of the Trente Glorieuses economic boom, buses from Renault, Talbot, and other companies would shuttle workers from housing projects like Val-Fourré in Mantes-la-Jolie (50 km outside of Paris) to the factories in question.

5 Catherine Wihtol de Wenden and Zakya Daoud, "Banlieues . . . intégration ou explosion?" special edition of *Panoramiques II* (12), p. 75.

6 Ibid., p. 78.

7 Riva Kastoryano, *Negotiating Identities: States and Immigrants in France and Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), pp. 101-2.

8 Pascal Duret, *Anthropologie de la fraternité dans les cités* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de Paris, 1996).

9 Cited in Adil Jazouli, *Les Années banlieues* (Paris: Seuil, 1992), pp. 21-22.

10 Luc Bronner, "M. Larcher fait le lien entre polygamie et violences urbaines," *Le Monde*, 17 November 2005.

11 Philippe Ridet, "M. Sarkozy durcit son discours sur les banlieues," *Le Monde*, 21 November 2005.

12 *Le Figaro*, 16 August 1995.

13 "Pour Chirac, 'lerisque terroriste est réel,'" *Les Echos: Leweb del' économie*, 27 October 2005, http://www.lesechos.fr/info/rew_france?4335830.htm.

14 *Le Monde*, 7 September 1995.

15 Janet Abu-Lughod, *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); Zeynep Çelik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers under French Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989); Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

16 Elizabeth Bryant, "French riots boost far right," *United Press International*, <http://www.upi.com/Internationalintelligence/view.php?StoryID=20051115-122736-7692r>. The speech was welcomed by the gathered crowd of supporters with calls for "Le Pen, President."

Paul A. Silverstein is associate professor of anthropology at Reed College. He is author of *Algeria in France: Transpolitics, Race, and Nation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004).

Chantal Tetreault is assistant professor of anthropology at University of North Carolina, Charlotte. She has researched and written extensively on language, gender, and social exclusion in French suburban housing projects.

RIOTS IN FRANCE

The recent riots in French cities and banlieues invoke important and troubling issues. The SSRC has invited a number of distinguished social scientists to contribute to a forum on the implications of the riots. Please go to <http://riotsfrance.ssrc.org> to read the following essays:

"Ethnicity, Islam, and les banlieues: Confusing the Issues," Jocelyne Cesari, CNRS-French National Center for Scientific Research and Harvard University

"More Than Riots: A Question of Spheres," Stéphane Dufoix, Université de Paris X - Nanterre

"An Emperor with No Clothes?" Alec G. Hargreaves, Florida State University
"Territories of Identities in France," Riva Kastoryano, CNRS-French National Center for Scientific Research and the Center for International Research at Sciences-Po

"French Sociology Under Fire: A preliminary diagnosis of the November 2005 'urban riots,'" Franck Poupeau, Centre de sociologie européenne
"The Nature of the French Riots," Olivier Roy, CNRS-French National Center for Scientific Research

"An Economist's View," Bernard Salanié, Columbia University and Ecole Polytechnique

"Postcolonial Urban Apartheid," Paul A. Silverstein, Reed College; Chantal Tetreault, University of North Carolina, Charlotte

"France: One and Divisible," Ezra Suleiman, Princeton University
"Violence in France," Michel Wieviorka, EHESS-Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales

"Reflections 'À Chaud' on the French Suburban Crisis," Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, CNRS-French National Center for Scientific Research

SSRC forums bring social scientific analyses of contemporary issues to the public in "real time." Please visit <http://www.ssrc.org/publications/essays> for forums on Hurricane Katrina, the North Korean nuclear crisis, youth activism and globalization, race and genomics, the riots in France, the politics of open source adoption, and the privatization of risk.

THE PRIVATIZATION OF RISK AND THE GROWING ECONOMIC INSECURITY OF AMERICANS

Jacob S. Hacker

When Hurricane Katrina ripped through the Gulf Coast in September 2005, leaving death, wreckage, and grief in its wake, Americans were reminded that risk is an integral element of everyday life. Natural disasters are a magnifying glass into popular perceptions of fate and responsibility, and in the aftermath of Katrina, it became clear that most Americans—for all their faith in individualism and personal responsibility—believe that some risks should be viewed as a common problem that can only be effectively addressed through broad cooperative policies of insurance and assistance.

As Hurricane Katrina vividly suggests, risk can bring people together, creating communities of shared fate. Yet risk can also split people apart. Societies have dealt with risk in many ways, and not all of these responses involve public solutions or broad insurance protections. Personal misfortune can be blamed on improvidence and irresponsibility. It can be chalked up to the workings of mystical forces beyond human control. It can be dealt with through private market institutions or through communal frameworks, through localized government action or through the immense powers of the nation state, or through some combination of all these. And, of course, risk does not have to be “dealt with” at all. It can simply be left to individuals and families to cope with, as best they can, on their own.

There is, however, one constant: whether the result of nature or man, whether affecting pocketbooks or personal safety, risk is a social condition. We cannot have risk—the probability of outcomes, good or bad—without variety in the human experience. Risk makes some fortunate and others unfortunate—some rich and others poor, some well and others sick, some able-bodied and others disabled. And because risk creates variety, it also creates the opportunity for social institutions of risk pooling that spread the costs of these unfortunate consequences broadly across affected populations, lessening the burden borne by individuals alone.

Such institutions are by no means foreordained, much less perfectly tailored to circumstances. They are the product of market institutions and political organizations that refract—and sometimes distort—individual preferences and social demands. And ultimately these institutions emerge out of the interpretive meanings that risk-bearers give to their situations. This process of interpretation—how victims of risk see themselves and how others see them—goes a long way toward explaining why some risks are seen as common problems and others as private misfortune, or even as proper comeuppance.

The Social Science Research Council project on the Privatization of Risk (see page 23) is concerned with all these vital issues. Its particular subject, however, is the *economic* risks facing Americans in the early twenty-first century: where they come from, whether and how they differ from those faced in

the past, how people think about them, how governments and the private sector deal with them, and how they can better deal with them in the future.

The title of the project (Hacker 2004) is meant to capture two linked trends in the management of economic risk in the United States. The first is the contemporary celebration of the private sector as the first and best means of dealing with problems of all kinds. This enthusiasm for private-sector solutions is nothing new. In the United States, the belief that private commercial institutions should deal with economic risks goes way back, and is deeply rooted in our political culture and in the framework of social policies that have arisen in our nation (Hacker 2002). Yet today the enthusiasm for the private sector is joined with a sometimes unbridled faith that new technologies and new attitudes have finally “solved” the problems of risk management that once bedeviled private insurers and financial institutions. In this ascendant credo, not only should the private sector manage major risks; it can do it better than it ever has—and, needless to say, better than government ever could.

Just as risk can be a unifying idea in social life, it can be a unifying idea in the social sciences, calling to a single problem the thoughts and inquiries of diverse and distinguished scholars.

This brings us to the second trend: the shift of responsibility for managing economic risk from government and employers onto individuals and their families. I have elsewhere called this “The Great Risk Shift” (Hacker 2006), and it is, in my view, the defining economic transformation of our times. The individual management of the economic risks of modern capitalism, whether through private retirement accounts or through personal investments in education and housing, has never been as widespread or as widely celebrated as it is today. Yet with this responsibility has come pressing new questions about the ability of individuals to perceive, plan for, and secure themselves against the most threatening risks to their financial welfare.

The participants in the working group on the Privatization of Risk do not present a single view on these questions. Nor are they of one mind about what should be done. What unites them is a commitment to grapple with a multi-part question at the center of any consideration of America’s economic future: how far has the privatization of risk progressed, why has it taken the direction that it has, and what does it mean for American families?

Just as risk can be a unifying idea in social life, it can be a unifying idea in the social sciences, calling to a single problem the thoughts and inquiries of diverse and distinguished scholars. Already, a growing number of researchers and theorists in a wide range of fields have turned to the concept of risk to illuminate important corners of social, economic, and political life. As chair of the Social Science Research Council's project on risk privatization, I have worked with Craig Calhoun, president of the Council, to bring together some of the best of these social scientists, legal scholars, and historians to consider and write about their overlapping but distinct concerns. Their work stands on its own. But they share a common conviction: that careful scholarship can and should speak to society directly and clearly on questions about which non-scholars truly care. The privatization of risk could not be a more appropriate topic for such a discussion.

Growing Economic Insecurity for American Families

Over the past generation, the economic risks faced by American families have increased dramatically, due to linked changes in the workplace and family (Hacker 2004). Yet public programs have largely failed to adapt to these new and newly intensified risks, and private workplace benefits have substantially eroded. As a result, Americans increasingly find themselves on an economic tightrope, without an adequate safety net if—as is ever more likely—they lose their footing. This tightrope does not simply create anxiety about the future and hardship when families lose their fragile balance. It also threatens economic opportunity by making it harder for families to feel sufficiently secure to make the risky investments—in education, housing, retirement savings, and the like—to prosper in a highly dynamic and uncertain economy.

The signs of increased economic insecurity are everywhere. Personal bankruptcy rates have risen fivefold in the last quarter century (Warren 2005; Jacoby 2005). The mortgage foreclosure rate has increased threefold since the early 1980s (and *ninefold* since the early 1950s). Rates of job loss are up (Farber 2005), job tenure for men and older workers is down, and skills seem to obsolesce with a speed that defies recent memory. Levels of personal debt are at record levels. And the main forms of household wealth that families now hold—namely, housing and corporate equities—themselves embody substantial (and, arguably, increasing) risk. Meanwhile, employers have shifted from so-called defined-benefit pensions that promise a fixed payment in retirement toward “defined-contribution” pensions, like 401(k) plans, that greatly increase the degree of risk and responsibility placed on individual workers in retirement planning.

For more than a decade, moreover, the number and share of Americans without health insurance have risen with little interruption. Over a two-year period, roughly one in three non-elderly Americans go without coverage at some point (Families USA 2003). Yet not only the uninsured are at financial risk. In 2004, more than 14 million nonelderly Americans paid more than 25 percent of their earnings on out-of-pocket medical

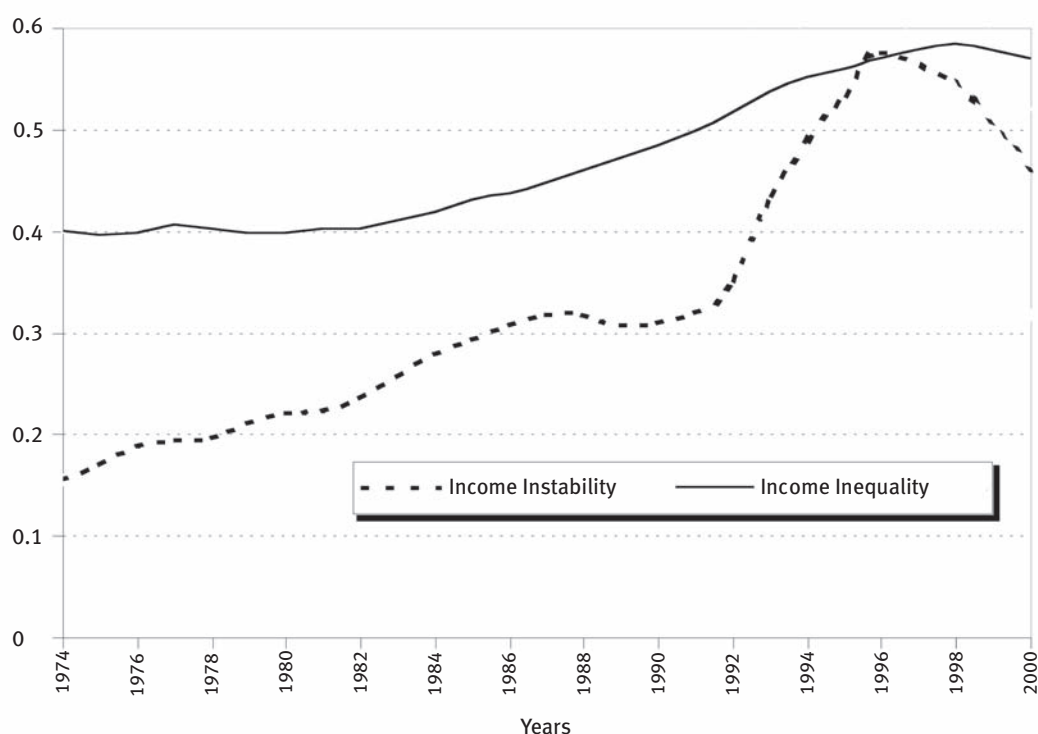
costs and health premiums; 10 million of them were *insured* (Families USA 2004). Medical costs and crises are a factor in nearly half of all personal bankruptcies in the United States, and 80 percent of families bankrupt for medical reasons have health insurance (Himmelstein et al. 2005). Perhaps not surprisingly, poll after poll shows that large majorities of Americans today are pessimistic about the economy and concerned that economic security is slipping away (Newport 2005).

Perhaps the most telling evidence of increased economic insecurity is the growing *volatility* of family incomes. Along with Nigar Nargis of the University of Dhaka, I have examined the variability of family incomes using the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID), a dataset managed by the University of Michigan that has been tracking a nationally representative group of households since the late 1960s. The PSID data is valuable because most government statistics—such as the unemployment rate, the poverty level, and the distribution of annual income—are “snapshots” that tell us what people are experiencing at a given time, rather than “moving pictures” that reveal what happens to people over a period of several years (Pierson 2004). Because the PSID tracks families over time, it allows us to gain a true dynamic portrait of the up and down trajectory of Americans on the economic ladder over the course of their lives.

What this picture shows is that families are not merely pulling apart economically—as the well-documented rise in inequality shows. They are also experiencing greater income instability *over time*. Since the early 1970s, as Figure 1 shows, family incomes in the United States have become much more volatile. Volatility is higher for women than for men, higher for blacks and Hispanics than for whites, and higher for less educated Americans than for more educated Americans. (In all these estimates, family income is adjusted for family size and then distributed equally to adult family members.) Yet volatility has risen across all these groups and, indeed, has risen virtually as quickly among the educated as among the less educated. It has also risen faster than economic inequality over the past generation.

Family income volatility is not itself a measure of economic hardship, just as the volatility of a stock is not itself a measure of economic return. Greater volatility could reflect increased social mobility, or it could represent a largely benign side-effect of rapid increases in family incomes. Unfortunately, neither of these sunny interpretations of rising income volatility is warranted. The extent of social mobility in American society remains a subject of heated dispute, but analysts generally agree that social mobility—whether intergenerational, or over the course of the working life—is no higher today than it was a generation ago, and perhaps lower. Nor does it appear markedly higher in the United States than it does in other advanced industrial nations. Princeton economist Alan Krueger has recently gone so far as to declare: “If the United States stands out in comparison with other countries, it is in having a more static distribution of income across generations with fewer opportunities for advancement.”

FIGURE 1
Inequality and Instability of Post-Tax and -Transfer Family Income, 1974-2000
(Five-Year Moving Averages)



Source: Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID), University of Michigan; Cross-National Equivalent File (CNEF), Cornell University
 Notes: Moffitt and Gottschalk's (2002) permanent-transitory model has been used.

On the other hand, family incomes *have* certainly increased in the United States since the late 1970s—particularly at the top of the economic ladder. Yet in the middle of the economic ladder, the average rise has been surprisingly modest: median family incomes increased by around 15 percent between 1979 and 2000. Furthermore, about three-quarters of the rise in median family incomes, according to Jared Bernstein and Karen Kornbluh, can be accounted for by the increasing work hours of women. Median families are richer, albeit modestly so. But they are richer not principally because employees are earning more, but because they are working more hours than they used to.

Rising economic volatility, in short, is not the result of massively improved social mobility or runaway prosperity for the middle class. Instead, it appears to result from the complex interaction of two profound changes in the economic environment of middle-class families: rising job instability and the transformation of the American family.

Job and Family Risks

One probable reason for greater volatility of incomes is that the nature of unemployment has changed. The conventional view of unemployment sees it as cyclical: workers are laid off or lose

jobs when the economy sours, but are able to return to work at a similar job in the same industry, and sometimes even with the same employer, when the economy improves. Today, however, job loss is increasingly likely to be persistent. Workers are less often able to return to a similar job in a similar industry, and so unemployment frequently ends only when workers accept a new job that requires major cuts in pay, hours, or both.

This trend shows up in a number of places. Although the unemployment rate has remained historically low in recent years, the rate of involuntary job loss (defined as “worker terminations as a result of business decisions unrelated to the performance of the particular employee” (Farber 2005, 13) has actually been rising. In the 2001 recession, the rate of involuntary job loss exceeded the levels reached during the deep downturn of the early 1980s.

The last two recessions of 1990-91 and 2001 have also featured historically high levels of unemployment that exceeds six months. Traditionally, long-term unemployment has peaked six to eight months after a recession ends. In the recession of the early 1990s, however, long-term unemployment peaked 19 months into the recovery. After the 2001 recession, long-term unemployment peaked 29 months in (Schreft and Singh 2003). More than a third of workers involuntarily dis-

placed between 2001 and 2004 (notably, a period of economic recovery) failed to find employment, and 13 percent found only part-time work. And even full-time workers who found full-time jobs—the best-case scenario, if you will—ended up earning around 17 percent less than they would have had they not been displaced (Farber 2005).

A major reason for the divorce between the unemployment and job-loss figures is that many of those displaced from the labor market are not “actively seeking work” and, hence, not formally unemployed. Yet there is good evidence that many of these potential workers would be in the labor force were the opportunities for them greater. In 2005, according to Katharine Bradbury of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, the total labor force “shortfall”—compared with similar points in the business cycle in the past—was as high as 5.1 million men and women. This amount would raise the official unemployment rate to 8.7 percent, a level not seen since the steep recession of the early 1980s.

The second major shift that appears responsible for increasing family economic volatility is the transformation of the family—most notably, the dramatic movement of women into the workforce (Warren and Tyagi 2003). This may come as a surprise. Popular commentary portrays two-earner families as islands of stability amid a sea of social uncertainty. Similarly, much of what economists write about the family assumes that the two-earner family serves as a form of private risk-sharing, allowing families to better deal with shocks to income. The analogy is a stock portfolio. Rather than holding a single stock (the husband’s earnings), the two-earner family holds two (the husband’s and wife’s earnings). To paraphrase the old adage of investment, two-earner couples don’t put all their eggs in one basket.

But while two-earner families enjoy special advantages when it comes to private risk-sharing, they can scarcely eliminate economic risk—and in some important ways, two-earner families face special risks of their own. Recall, first of all, that Figure 1 shows that family incomes have grown more variable even as women have entered the workforce in record numbers. Clearly, private risk-sharing has not been sufficient to counter the dramatic increase in family income volatility over the past thirty years.

This is partly because the world has not stood still as women have entered the workforce. In the idealized view of two-earner families, couples “diversify” risk by deciding to jointly enter the workforce and then purchase private substitutes for the previously unpaid labor provided by stay-at-home moms. In reality, the choices of two-earner families have not been as unconstrained as this idealized picture suggests. To most families today, as Elizabeth Warren’s essay drives home, a second income is not a luxury, but a necessity in an era in which wages have been relatively flat and the cost of basic expenses has been rapidly rising. In time-use surveys, both men and women who work long hours indicate they would like to work fewer hours and spend more time with their families—which strongly suggests they are not able to choose the exact mix of work and family they would prefer.

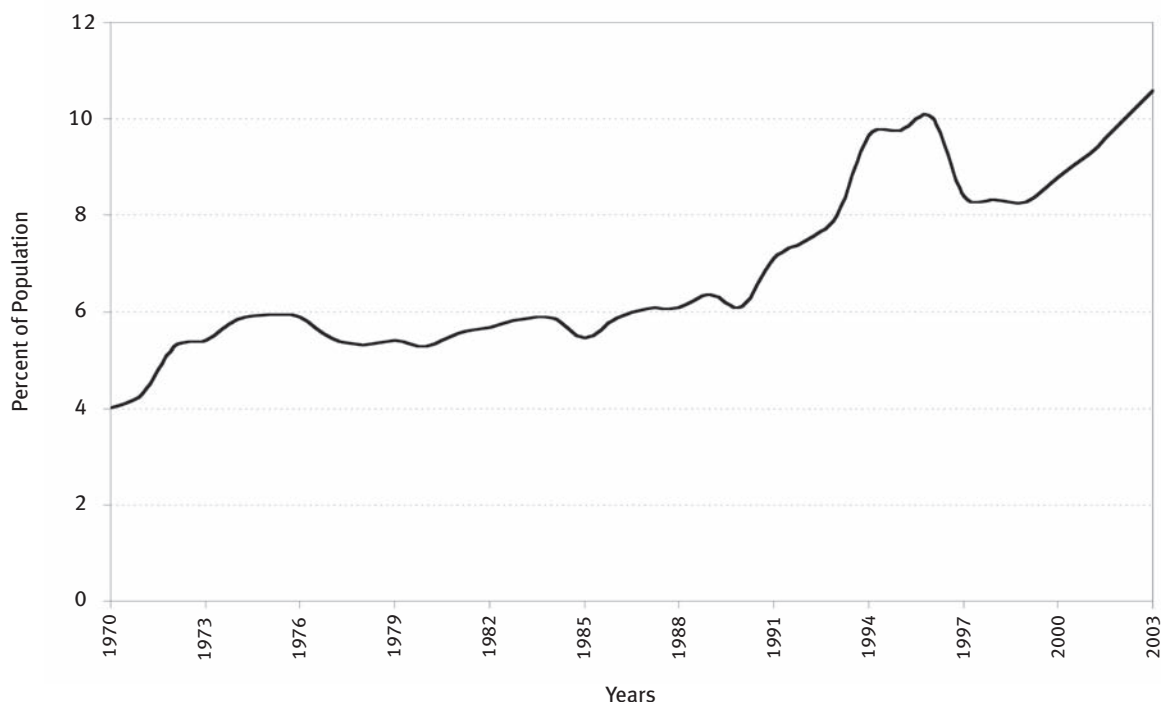
Moreover, although two-earner families are less likely to experience a catastrophic income drop, they are more likely to experience smaller fluctuations in income. After all, if every worker has an equal chance of experiencing a drop in their income, a family with two workers has a substantially greater chance of experiencing an income shock. To be sure, the drop in family income is smaller than it would be if the worker experiencing it were the sole breadwinner. But it is still a more likely occurrence. You may never lose all the eggs when they are in more than one basket, but the likelihood of losing at least some of them is greater.

And all this is to treat these married partners simply as workers, not as parents. Yet because most two-earner partners are raising kids, the tradeoffs posed by work are starker. If both parents work, who stays home when a kid gets sick? If both parents work, what happens to family finances when one leaves the workforce to raise a new baby or care for young children or elderly parents? The standard assumption is that all of these services can be purchased privately—that a sick kid can be cared for by a babysitter, an elderly parent by a nursing home. But the love of a parent or child is not something that can be bought in the marketplace, and in many cases it is nearly impossible to arrange private substitutes for family care. When both parents work, events within the family that require the love and care of family members produce special demands and strains that traditional one-earner families simply did not face.

Finally, women’s movement into the workforce has not just changed the character of parenting; it has also altered the economic relationship between spouses, encouraging greater equality within the household, but also increasing the ability of women to support themselves and children outside of marriage (despite the endurance of a substantial gender gap in earnings). Across the western world, divorce has become more common precisely when and where women’s participation in the labor force has expanded. This is not to suggest that law and culture are immaterial, only that the increased instability of American families has important roots in the expansion of female economic autonomy.

We can get a sense of the serious risks that these twin changes have wrought by looking more specifically at *drops* in family income. About half of all families in the PSID experience a drop in real income over a two-year period, and the number has remained fairly steady. Yet the median drop—larger than half of drops and smaller than half—has risen from a low of around 25 percent in the 1970s to more than 40 percent. To track the trend more precisely, Professor Nargis and I ran a multivariate regression estimating the probability of at least a 20 percent drop in family income. Based on the time trend in the model, we can predict the probability of a 20 percent family income drop when all other variables are held at their means for each year. As Figure 2 shows, the predicted probability of a 20 percent or greater income drop among such “average” families was 4 percent at the beginning of the 1970s. By the early 2000s, it had more than doubled to 10.6 percent.

FIGURE 2
Predicted Probability of Family Income Drop of 20% or Greater, 1970-2003



Source: Panel Study of Income Dynamics, University of Michigan

Notes: Predicted probabilities are based on the time trend from a logistic regression using individual-level fixed effects, with all other variables set at their annual means. Other variables in the model include age, education, race, gender, income level (average of five prior years), and a series of events (such as unemployment and illness) that potentially affect family income. The time trend is highly statistically significant ($p < 0.000$); all standard errors are robust and adjusted for clustering.

Public Inaction—and Private Retreat—in the Face of Rising Economic Risks

What can be said with certainty is that existing public and private policies are not adequately protecting families against economic instability in a new era of work and family. One revealing piece of evidence is provided by the PSID data discussed earlier: whereas family income drops were substantially cushioned by government taxes and transfers in the 1970s, the cushioning effect of these interventions has declined dramatically. The median drop in family income in the early 1970s was roughly a third smaller than it would have been without taxes and transfers. By the early 2000s, taxes and transfers hardly made a dent in the median drop in family income. To be sure, this may partially reflect the growing role of in-kind benefits, such as health care, which are not included in the PSID. But it seems clear that, at least when it comes to income protection, government is not doing as much as it once did to help families that experience economic shocks.

In part, this may be because U.S. social programs are increasingly focused on workers' retirement years, rather than on their youth or working lives. In comparative perspective, only Greece and Japan have a greater skew in their public

social policies toward cash and services for the aged (Lynch 2000). Though protections for retirees are vital, the growing economic insecurity of younger Americans suggests that there are major gaps in protection for economic risks that affect families during the working years.

At the same time, public programs of social insurance have come under increasing strain. Most notably, unemployment insurance has contracted in reach and generosity during a period when job insecurity has risen. Between 1947 and 1995, the share of workers in covered employment who actually received benefits fell from 80 percent to less than 40 percent (Graetz and Mashaw 1999, 76). The GAO recently reported, in a brief entitled "Unemployment Insurance: Role as a Safety Net for Low-Wage Workers is Limited," that low-wage workers are particularly unlikely to receive unemployment benefits. In 1995, only about 18 percent of unemployed low-wage workers were collecting benefits (GAO 2000).

Not only is government less involved in risk protection; employers have also cut back many of the generous benefits they once provided as a matter of course. The United States is unique in the extent to which workers rely on employers for basic benefits, like health care and retirement pensions—ben-

efits that in other advanced industrial democracies are provided mostly by government. Indeed, I have shown elsewhere (Hacker 2002) that the American welfare state, with its heavy reliance on tax-subsidized private benefits, is as large as many European welfare states when such benefits and comparative tax burdens are taken into account.

Yet these private forms of risk pooling are in broad decline. Between 1979 and 1998, the share of workers with health insurance coverage from their own employers fell from 66 to 54 percent; among the lowest-paid fifth of workers, the proportion fell from 46 to 26 percent. Retirement pensions, the other major workplace benefit, have likewise declined in reach among lower-paid workers. Yet the major change in pensions is the dramatic shift away from defined-benefit pensions that promise a fixed payment in retirement toward defined-contribution retirement accounts. As recently as twenty years ago, nearly half of workers were covered by a defined-benefit plan. Today, only 20 percent are, and the share continues to fall as the generation covered by such plans retires or dies. Meanwhile, 401(k)s and other defined-contribution plans have gone from nothing to a national obsession. By 2001, nearly 60 percent of families nearing retirement had some money in a defined-contribution pension plan in 1998, up from 11 percent in 1983.

Because defined-contribution plans are essentially private investment accounts sponsored by employers, they greatly increase the degree of risk and responsibility placed on individual workers in retirement planning. Traditional defined-benefit plans are generally mandatory and paid for largely by employers (in lieu of cash wages). They thus represented a form of forced savings. Defined-benefit plans are also insured by the federal government and heavily regulated to protect participants against mismanagement. Perhaps most important, their fixed benefits protect workers against the risk of stock market downturns and the possibility of living longer than expected.

None of this is true of defined-contribution plans. Participation is voluntary, and due to the lack of generous employer contributions, many workers choose not to participate or contribute inadequate sums. Plans are not aggressively regulated to protect against poor asset allocations or corporate or personal mismanagement. The federal government does not insure defined-contribution plans. And defined-contribution accounts provide no inherent protection against asset or longevity risks. Indeed, some features of defined-contribution plans—namely, the ability to borrow against their assets, and the distribution of their accumulated savings as lump-sum payments that must be rolled over into new accounts when workers change jobs—exacerbate the risk that workers will prematurely use retirement savings, leaving inadequate income upon retirement. And, perversely, this risk falls most heavily on younger and less highly paid workers, the very workers most in need of secure retirement protection.

Recent research by Edward Wolff suggests just how serious these shortcomings are. Examining Federal Reserve Board

data, Wolff finds that median retirement savings actually *declined* between 1983 and 1998, despite the massive run-up of the stock market during this period. One cause of the decline was the Social Security reforms of 1983, which lowered guaranteed benefits under the government system. Additionally, however, the value of defined-benefit plans also declined dramatically, as defined-contribution plans became more common. The net effect was not only to lower net retirement wealth, but also to make the distribution of retirement wealth, always relatively unequal, even more skewed in favor of the well off. In 1983, a family with enough wealth to place it at the 99th percentile of the wealth distribution held just over four times as much pension wealth as families in the middle of the wealth distribution. By 1998, they held almost *eleven* times as much. These trends are likely to be exacerbated as defined-benefit plans, like sediment from a previous era, slowly disappear from the pension landscape.

Though protections for retirees are vital, the growing economic insecurity of younger Americans suggests that there are major gaps in protection for economic risks that affect families during the working years.

The problem is not just that older forms of guaranteed insurance in the public and private sectors are slipping away. Perhaps more important, it is that few of America's strained social programs have been retooled to deal with the new and newly intensified risks to income of the post-industrial, two-earner economy. The current framework of social insurance was constructed in an era in which the key economic risks were seen as a temporary interruption of male wages and inadequate income in retirement. Today, even well-educated workers face a heightened risk of being displaced from employment without prospects for rapid reemployment at comparable levels of earnings, and women are much more likely to be breadwinners than to stay home to care for children. The distinctive risks to family finances created by these shifts are not well insured by present policies.

[Acting to Preserve Opportunity as well as Security](#)

Americans, in short, are more economically insecure. And this insecurity not only creates unnecessary hardship for individual workers and their families, it also has serious social costs. The most obvious of these costs are the growing expenses that are picked up by our bankruptcy and social assistance

systems and by private relief—none of which are well designed to handle the basic functions of social insurance. Yet there are much larger costs that fall on our economy and our society when families are burdened by excessive economic risk. These include the well-documented psychological dislocations associated with large drops in families' standards of living—from the blows to mental health caused by job loss to the tensions for families created by downward economic mobility. Importantly, these larger costs also include the reduction of families' incentives to invest in work, education, parenting, and other foundations of economic advancement when the risks of these investments are not adequately insured against.

Researchers and policymakers have long recognized that policies that encourage risk-taking can benefit society as a whole, because a sufficient number of these risky investments may well pay off. Yet individuals may be unwilling to undertake the investments that involve this level of risk. First, from an individual point of view, the risks of failure may be too high. Second, behavioral research indicates that individuals are highly “loss averse,” meaning they fear losing what they

Few of America's strained social programs have been retooled to deal with the new and newly intensified risks to income of the post-industrial, two-earner economy.

have more than they welcome even substantially larger gains (Kahneman and Tversky 1984). Third, the gains of risky investment may entail positive externalities—that is, benefits that are not exclusive to the individual making the investment, but accrue to others outside the transaction—and thus individuals may not have as much incentive to invest in achieving these gains as they otherwise would.

Many economic investments made by families have this character. And unlike high-rolling investors, who may be used to dealing with large losses and to seeing their present holdings as merely means to further ends, families are likely to see many of their investments or their payoffs as intrinsically valuable components of their basic endowments—and, hence, as something they acutely fear losing.

Owning a home, for example, is beneficial to families and society. But it entails substantial financial risk (Shiller 2005). As families have bid up home prices in areas with good schools and strong communities (Warren and Tyagi 2003), more and more of family finances are tied up in risky home investments. Similarly, education—and particularly education of children—is an investment that pays off handsomely. But the

returns to education are highly variable, and there is evidence they are becoming more so (Bernhardt et al. 1999; Farber 2005). Moreover, parents who invest in raising productive children do not reap many direct economic benefits, as they once did when children contributed to household production. The costs of investing in children are immediate and direct, the gains are long-term and societal. In short, the wellsprings of economic opportunity assets, education, good parenting—are high-risk investments, often with positive externalities

Unique among social institutions, government can encourage such investments. It has the means—and, often, the incentive—to require participation in broader risk pools and to foster positive externalities that no private actor sufficiently gains from to encourage individually. This is a major reason why government has long played a central role in managing risk in the private sector (Moss 2002). Corporate law has long recognized the need to limit the downside of risk-taking as a way of encouraging firms to take a socially appropriate amount of risk. The law of bankruptcy and the principle of limited liability—the notion that those who run a firm are not personally liable if the firm fails—allow entrepreneurs to engage in risky investments knowing that they will not be forced into penury or debt servitude if their risky bets fail. Deposit insurance increases the likelihood of savings and decreases the possibility of devastating bank runs, by allowing depositors to feel secure that they can obtain their money when they need it.

A similar logic holds for ordinary Americans. When workers and families are faced with fateful economic choices that place them at grave risk—about, for instance, the level of education to get or whether to retrain for new jobs—they may be unwilling to take the socially desired level of risk. As a result, more people choose the safe option, rather than the option that represents a socially desirable level of risk-taking. By providing basic security for families faced with these decisions—not complete protection, but a floor below which they are prevented from falling—government improves not only their own standing and opportunities, but also social welfare more generally.

This argument is not merely analogical. A growing body of evidence backs it up. Comparative statistics indicate, for example, that generous personal bankruptcy laws are associated with higher levels of venture capital (Armour and Cumming 2004). Research on labor markets shows that workers who are highly fearful of losing their job invest less in their jobs and job skills than those who are more secure (Osberg 1998). And cross-national studies suggest that investment in education and job skills is higher when workers have key risk protections (Esteves-Abe, Iversen, and Soskice 2001; Mocetti 2004).

This last finding, which may surprise those weaned on the view of social insurance as an inevitable drag on the economy, is perhaps the most telling. Workers, it seems, invest in highly specific assets—such as skills that do not transfer easily from one firm or occupation to another—only when the risk of losing the potential returns of those assets are mitigated by basic insurance protections that are not job-specific. When insurance is not present, workers under-invest in the most crucial

asset in most families' portfolio—namely, the value of family members' human capital (see also Neal 1995).

In short, a foundation of social insurance is not merely critical to providing economic security. It is also critical to ensuring economic opportunity and advancement in a dynamic economy.

Social Insurance protects families when they “fall from grace” (Newman 1999), and for this it should be welcomed. But it also encourages families that do not experience misfortune to make investments that benefit them and society, and for this it should be celebrated. Social insurance is about efficiency and growth as well as equality and justice (Barr 1998).

References

- Armour, John and Douglas Cumming (2004), “The Legal Road to Replicating Silicon Valley,” paper read at Babson Entrepreneurship Conference, Glasgow, Scotland.
- Barr, Nicholas (1998), *The Economics of the Welfare State*, 3rd ed, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Bernhardt, Annette, Martina Morris, Mark S. Handcock and Mark A. Scott (1999), “Trends in Job Instability and Wages for Young Adult Men,” *Journal of Labor Economics* 17 (4).
- Esteves-Abe, Margarita, Torben Iversen and David Soskice (2001), “Social Protection and the Formation of Skills: A Reinterpretation of the Welfare State,” in P. Pierson (ed.), *The New Politics of the Welfare State*, New York, Oxford University Press.
- Families USA (2003), “Going without Health Insurance,” Washington, D.C., Families USA Foundation.
- Families USA (2004), “Health Care: Are You Better Off Today Than You Were Four Years Ago?” Washington, D.C., Families USA Foundation.
- Farber, Henry (2005), “What Do We Know about Job Loss in the United States?” *Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago* 2Q: 13-28.
- GAO (2000), “Unemployment Insurance: Role as Safety Net for Low Wage Workers is Limited,” United States General Accounting Office.
- Graetz, Michael J. and Jerry L. Mashaw (1999), *True Security: Rethinking American Social Insurance*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press.
- Hacker, Jacob S. (2002), *The Divided Welfare State: The Battle over Public and Private Social Benefits in the United States*, New York, Cambridge University Press.
- ____ (2004), “Privatizing Risk without Privatizing the Welfare State: The Hidden Politics of Social Policy Retrenchment in the United States,” *American Political Science Review* 98 (2).
- ____ (2006), *The Great Risk Shift: The New Economic Insecurity—And What Can Be Done About It*, New York, Oxford University Press.
- Himmelstein, David U., Elizabeth Warren, Deborah Thorne and Steffie Woolhandler (2005), “MarketWatch: Illness And Injury As Contributors To Bankruptcy,” *Health Affairs* Web Exclusive.
- Jacoby, Melissa B. (2005), “Identifying and Managing Household Risk: Lessons from Bankruptcy,” <http://privatizationofrisk.ssrc.org/Jacoby/>.
- Kahneman, Daniel and Amos Tversky (1984), “Choices, Values, and Frames,” *American Psychologist* 39.
- Lynch, Julia (2000), “The Age Orientation of Social Policy Regimes in OECD Countries,” *Journal of Social Policy* 30 (2).
- Mocetti, Sauro (2004), “Social Protection and Human Capital: Test of a Hypothesis,” Department of Economics, University of Siena.
- Moffitt, Robert and Peter Gottschalk (2002), “Trends in the Transitory Variance of Earnings in the United States,” *Economic Journal*, March.
- Moss, David A. (2002), *When All Else Fails: Government as the Ultimate Risk Manager*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.
- Neal, Derek (1995), “Industry-Specific Human Capital: Evidence from Displaced Workers,” *Journal of Labor Economics* 13 (4).
- Newman, Katherine S. (1999), *Falling from Grace: Downward Mobility in an Age of Affluence*, 2nd ed, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press.
- Newport, Frank (2005), “Americans’ Dour Economic Attitudes Little Affected by Katrina; Americans very negative on economy both before and after hurricane,” in *Gallup Report*.
- Osberg, Lars (1998), “Economic Insecurity,” discussion paper, Sydney, Australia, Social Policy Research Centre.
- Pierson, Paul (2004), *Politics in Time*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Schreft, Stacey and Aarti Singh (2003), “A Closer Look at Jobless Recoveries,” *Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City* 2Q.
- Shiller, Robert J. (2005), *Irrational Exuberance*, 2nd ed, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press.
- Warren, Elizabeth (2005), “Families, Money and Risk,” <http://privatization-ofrisk.ssrc.org/Warren/>.
- Warren, Elizabeth and Amelia Warren Tyagi (2003), *The Two-Income Trap: Why Middle-Class Mothers and Fathers Are Going Broke (With Surprising Solutions That Will Change Our Children’s Futures)*, New York, Basic Books.

Jacob S. Hacker is Peter Strauss Family Associate Professor of Political Science at Yale University. His latest work is *The Great Risk Shift: The New Economic Insecurity—And What Can Be Done About It*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2006.

THE PRIVATIZATION OF RISK

The SSRC is responding to the challenge of the privatization of risk by creating a Working Group chaired by Yale’s Jacob S. Hacker. The members of this group have helped organize a forum on the issues raised by the privatization of risk—including especially their distributive consequences. Please go to <http://privatizationofrisk.ssrc.org> to read the following essays:

- “Catastrophic Risks: The need for new tools, financial instruments and institutions,” Graciela Chichilnisky, Columbia University
- “The Privatization of Risk and the Growing Economic Insecurity of Americans,” Jacob S. Hacker, Yale University
- “Rising Angst? Change and Stability in Perceptions of Economic Insecurity,” Elisabeth Jacobs, Harvard University; Katherine Newman, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University
- “Identifying and Managing Household Risk: Lessons from Bankruptcy,” Melissa B. Jacoby, University of North Carolina
- “Risk versus Uncertainty: Frank Knight’s ‘Brute’ Facts of Economic Life,” William H. Janeway, Vice Chairman, Warburg Pincus
- “The Rising Risks of Rising Economic Inequality: Do Americans Care?” Leslie McCall, Northwestern University
- “Rewriting the Rules: Families, Money and Risk,” Elizabeth Warren, Harvard Law School

THE SSRC AND THE MAKING OF SOCIAL SECURITY

Yasmine Ergas

On April 27, 1933, the Rockefeller Foundation approached the staff of the Social Science Research Council requesting that it submit, “within 48 hours,” “suggestions for immediate research relating to urgent problems confronting the Federal Administration in the current national emergency.”¹ The urgency of the request was such that Council staff responded “[U]pon its own responsibility,” without waiting for the normal approvals. Its proposals ranged from “The Release of Impounded Deposits of Closed Banks” to “An Integrated Program for the Fact-Finding and Technical Services of the Federal Government”; from “National Self-Sufficiency *versus* International Economy” to “An Examination of Proposals for the Stimulation of Business Re-

The Report explicitly articulated the paradigmatic shift that characterized the New Deal: from an individualistic, culpabilizing view of economic hardship to a societal perspective; from piece-meal responses to general programs; from private initiatives to governmental responsibility.

vival.”² As the work proceeded, the Council established a special temporary committee,³ held at least two conferences—whose attendees were primarily policymakers—and prepared a “Report on a Tentative Plan for a Proposed Investigation” on the subject “Planned Protection Against Unemployment and Dependency.”⁴ An initial draft of the Report was informally provided to the FDR Administration in June 1934, just prior to the establishment of the government’s Committee on Economic Security.⁵ In April 1935, when a revised version of the Report was included with the Agenda of the SSRC’s Policy and Planning Committee meeting, it was labelled “confidential.” That text still represented an interim draft, a definite proposal being deferred until the Administration had clarified its own program. Nonetheless, two points appear to have been clear. The first was that the Council—backed by the Rockefeller Foundation—would undertake a major role in promoting and conducting the research required to inform the Administration’s policies and, in so doing, mobilize (and also inform) the very policy networks that were establishing the Administration’s programs. The second point was that the Council would stress the importance of a unified approach

to “the Emergency” (as the economic crisis was often referred to) and, specifically, social insurance and relief.⁶

The Report explicitly articulated the paradigmatic shift that characterized the New Deal: from an individualistic, culpabilizing view of economic hardship to a societal perspective; from piece-meal responses to general programs; from private initiatives to governmental responsibility. Bryce Stewart and Meredith Givens, the Report’s authors, stressed the emergence of a “new point of view,” citing Woodrow Wilson’s inaugural speech of two decades earlier: “There can be no equality of opportunity, the first essential in the body of politics, if men and women and children are not shielded . . . from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they cannot alter, control, or singly cope with.” The Report maintained that society’s need to protect its members was no longer “only” a humanitarian exigency but a systemic imperative, required “to insure its own survival.”⁷

“Relief” could no longer serve as a guide to policy. The word “relief” itself was “loaded with the connotations traditionally associated with the old type of aid for defective and dependent persons . . .”⁸ The “social” perspective that the Depression had engendered was not, in fact, required only by the Depression: it “would have been equally justified for an attack upon the continuous hazards of unemployment or dependency attributable to accidents, sickness, advanced age, technological change, or disorganization in the labor market . . . [For] the social consequences of these risks are less serious only by reason of their dispersion in time.”⁹ While “to the wage-earner all types of unemployment or dependency are identical in that they mean cessation of income and depletion of savings . . . the various forms of unemployment and dependency have an essential unity from the social as well as from the individual viewpoint.”¹⁰

If a unified response was required, the current situation provided just the opposite: a patchwork of struggling community initiatives and government agencies with fragmented responsibilities and stretched resources too caught up in coping with the crisis on a daily basis to be able to work out the “more integrated and rational system” that appeared essential.¹¹ For this, “a careful, scientific and dispassionate survey of the entire relief situation in the United States must, sooner or later, be provided.” Even more, “an intensive, independent research effort” was required, “unhampered by immediate responsibilities to administration but fully *en rapport* with its problems.”¹²

The Council’s Board concurred with the fundamental elements of this analysis: in July, 1935, it appointed a Committee on Social Security and directed it to examine “the problems involved in social insurance and relief, in the relations of the various social insurances to each other and to relief, and in the effects of insurance and relief on economic stability, *keeping constantly in sight the problem of social security in its entirety* . . .”¹³ The Committee was also charged with “maintaining contact with public officials and private agencies . . . orienting research into socially useful channels . . . assembling and stating the results of research in comprehensible terms . . . [and] bringing these results to the attention of officials and others in position to utilize their potential value to society.” But the Committee’s instructions specifi-

cally excluded providing “advice or pronouncements on matters of policy or action.”¹⁴

For the seven years of its existence, the Committee provided a space in which pressing and frequently contentious issues could be discussed and rearticulated into (or, at least, around) research questions. The discussants themselves were drawn from the policy networks the New Deal mobilized. Frank Bane, for instance, who had chaired the Council’s special temporary committee during which time the Report was written and served as the Director of the American Public Welfare Association, was appointed Executive Director of the Social Security Board upon its establishment in 1935. Joseph H. Willits, the first chair of the Council’s actual Committee on Social Security, had been the Executive Director of the federal Committee on Economic Security that preceded the passage of the Social Security Act and to whom the draft materials of the Council’s temporary committee had been provided. Princeton economist J. Douglas Brown, a member of the Council’s committee from 1937 to 1942, had staffed that same federal Committee on Economic Security, as had Eveline M. Burns who became an active member of the staff to the Council’s Committee.¹⁵

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the Council’s Committee felt a continuous pull towards the politics of the moment. Reporting on its first two years of activity, the Committee noted:

The hazards which surround the operation of an independent research organization with primary attention to current and near-term problems, or indeed in attempting anything but the orthodox kind of academic research, in such a highly controversial field should never be lost sight of however. In one direction, there is the danger of exhausting its energies in performing for government agencies a multitude of purely routine tasks . . . In another direction, there is the greater danger that the staff will be “used” by interested groups, official or other, to pull very hot chestnuts out of very hot fires. And nobody who has not been a close observer of the controversies raging in this field can conceive of the almost fanatical zeal and bitterness with which (what might appear to the innocent bystander as) minor differences of doctrine or procedure are disputed . . . What it [the Committee] has attempted to do is to undertake, and still more to promote, research which illuminates areas in which a maximum of heat and minimum of light now exist, and thus to widen the area in which conclusions can be drawn from fact rather than prejudice.¹⁶

Among the areas of maximum heat to which the Committee sought to bring light was the issue of old-age insurance and the effects of federal provisions on private plans. In particular, a study of the potential effects of the Social Security Act on industrial pension plans examined the implications of, and support for, the Clark Amendment,¹⁷ which sought to exempt from Social Security taxes companies providing plans that met specified criteria. The Amendment was shelved soon after the passage of the Social Security Act, *inter alia*, because its pro-

ponents in the insurance industry had discovered that Social Security had enhanced, rather than reduced, their business.¹⁸

The allocation of risk has once again become a matter of pressing concern on the public agenda. The paradigmatic shift that Bryce Steward and Meredith Givens, writing as precursors of the Council’s Committee, had noted—from an emphasis on individual responsibility and private initiative to a stress on societal dynamics and public obligation—has come under steadfast criticism for at least two decades. That governmental entities are best positioned and/or normatively called upon to ensure that certain costs associated with ordinary as well as extraordinary, private as well as public, issues—from aging to deindustrialization—not be borne by individuals and families alone may be more strongly contested in the United States today than ever since the passage of the Social Security Act. Attention to individual autonomy and choice, markets for risk, competition among

For the seven years of its existence, the Committee on Social Security provided a space in which pressing and frequently contentious issues could be discussed and rearticulated into (or, at least, around) research questions.

risk-managers, and efficiency has grown commensurately. Proposals to introduce private accounts into Social Security echo strains heard elsewhere among policymakers: in calls to increase the reliance of Medicare on risk-bearing private plans or introduce health savings accounts on a generalized basis in the workplace, in legislation that effectively reduces individual bankruptcy protections and in resistance to the regulation of certain financial instruments intended to manage risk.

Seventy years ago, the Council appointed the Committee on Social Security to bring social science to bear on the reallocation of risks impelled by the economic dislocations of the Depression. In July 2005, the Council established a working group on the Privatization of Risk to explore current trends in risk allocation. Its analysis provides a lens through which to read the shifting bases of citizenship in the contemporary regulatory state.

Endnotes

- 1 Social Science Research Council, Committee on Problems and Policy, Minutes of the meeting of November 25, 1933, Appendix 11. See also, David L.

Sills, "Council Marks the 50th Anniversary of Its Committee on Social Security," *Items*, 39-3 (September, 1985).

2 Social Science Research Council, Committee on Problems and Policy, Minutes of the meeting of November 25, 1933, Appendix 11.

3 Excerpt from Social Science Research Council, *Annual Report*, 1934-35.

4 Social Science Research Council, "Planned Protection Against Unemployment and Dependency: Report on a Tentative Plan for a Proposed Investigation," November, 1934. The revised Report was prepared in November 1934 and circulated to the Council's Board and Committee on Programs and Policy in December of that year but features as Appendix 1 of the Council Agenda for April 6, 1935.

5 "Prefatory Statement," *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.*, p. 1.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 1.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 8-9.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

13 Report of the Committee on Social Security of the Social Science Research Council for the period from July 1, 1935 to June 30, 1937, appendix 10, p. 1. Emphasis added. The Committee was discharged in 1942 for a variety of reasons, but principally because so much of its personnel was being drafted into the war effort. See Sills, *op cit.*

14 Report of the Committee on Social Security of the Social Science Research Council for the period from July 1, 1935 to June 30, 1937, appendix 10, s.1.

15 Other examples of the interpenetration of Council and Administration networks include Council Committee members Louis M. Brownlow and Winfield W. Riefler. Brownlow led FDR's Committee on Administrative Management (the "Brownlow Committee"); Riefler, (one-time) member of the Federal Reserve, (who had been Chief Economic Advisor of FDR's Emergency Council) was Executive Director of the Central Statistical Board, served on the Technical Board of the Committee on Economic Security and later became secretary of the Federal Open Market Committee.

16 Report of the Committee on Social Security of the Social Science Research Council for the period from July 1, 1935 to June 30, 1937, appendix 10, s.8.

17 Rainard B. Robbins, Preliminary Report on the Status of Industrial Pension Plans As Affected by Old Age Benefit Sections of the Social Security Act (March 21, 1936) and Supplementary Report on the Proposed Substitute for the Clark Amendment (May 27, 1936) to the Committee on Social Security of the Social Science Research Council. For a brief description of the Clark Amendment see Social Security Administration, Research Note #9, The Clark Amendment to the Social Security Act at <http://www.ssa.gov/history/clarkamend.html>.

18 *Ibid.*

Yasmine Ergas is a consultant to the Social Science Research Council for program development and external relations. She is a founding editor of *Memoria: rivista di storia delle donne* and has written a number of articles on the subject of women.

Bruce Byers, SSRC director of institutional research and information technology, conducted the research for this article at the Rockefeller Archive Center.

RECONCEPTUALIZING PUBLIC SPHERES IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

Seteney Shami

Introduction

The SSRC project "Reconceptualizing Public Spheres in the Middle East and Africa," funded by the Ford Foundation, has recently drawn to a close. A capstone conference in Beirut on October 22-24, 2004, brought together participants in the project together with researchers from around the world, and several publications emerging from the project and the conference are currently under preparation. The project involved promoting new approaches to the study of public spheres in the MENA region, designing and administering a research awards program to fund collaborative research (for group projects carried out by researchers residing in different countries), and organizing a series of workshops, conference panels and discussion forums.

Most of the research on public spheres has so far been conducted in the context of liberal democratic states.

A. Public Spheres as a project framework—premises and promises

The choice of "public spheres" as the rubric and framing concept of the project emerged from discussions with the Regional Advisory Panel of the Middle East and North Africa Program and with the steering committee convened for the purpose of designing the research awards program. It was important to foster a research area that would encourage new directions and new thinking while building upon existing research strengths in and on the region. The notion of public spheres fulfilled these criteria: it could provide an analytical space that integrates research fields currently fragmented and variously labeled as civil society, private/public domains, urban social movements, gender identities, youth cultures, the welfare state, new media and cultural production. It could provide ways of thinking about societal transformations in the MENA region that would not compartmentalize or homogenize the units of analysis, especially through helping unpack the terms and concepts of "nation" and "nation-state" as well as focusing on transnational and virtual spaces and processes. Finally, empirical research on the production of public spheres in different settings of the MENA region could help revise theoretical and historical assumptions in the literature on the public sphere. Most of the research on public spheres has so far been conducted in the context of liberal democratic states and while there is critical discussion concerning the po-

tential and limits of the concept, there is little comparative research available to help us in this task.

Till the onset of the project, much of the research on the MENA region that directly employed the concept had focused on the development of a transcultural notion of the public sphere that can be applied to the transformation and conscious reform of religious traditions. Within this there was particular attention paid to the emergence of socio-religious movements that challenge and/or intersect with nation-state projects on identity, justice, welfare (Eickelman 1999; Salvatore 2000; Hamzawy 1995) and secular modernist notions of body, self and gender (Gole 1997, 2002). Other work explored the ways in which rationality and debate may be constructed and oppositional discourses maintained in Muslim societies (Asad 1993; Mehdi and Fischer 1993). These works showed that the Habermasian notion of the public sphere was too narrow to capture the ways in which “Public Islam” operates (Salvatore <http://www.isim.nl/newsletter/8/salvatore.htm>).

Yet the public sphere debates concerning the MENA region need to be further expanded in order to recognize dynamics beyond, and in addition to, the spaces captured by Islamist politics and discourses. A promise of the concept of public spheres was that it helps in understanding the diversity of civil society, of resistance practices and democratization processes, as well as opening up the notion of politics to capture broader terrains of human thought and practice. Much of the writings on democratization and civil society in the MENA region have been ahistorical as well as technicist and prescriptive. The notion of public spheres promised a more synthetic and inclusive analysis that could bring in realms of social life that the concept of civil society tended to exclude.

The discussions at the Beirut conference confirmed this, sometimes in unexpected ways. It was interesting to note, for example, the generally positive attitude to the term itself. Several of the participants stated that the term “civil society” suffered from having been “tainted” due to its close association with various kinds of political and development projects popularly seen as imposed on the countries of the region. Thus it was difficult to employ it as an analytical category since it tended to label and position the researcher in particular ways. “Public spheres” on the other hand had the benefit of freshness and even unfamiliarity. In addition, “civil society” research tended to narrowly focus on certain forms of association and types of mobilization and action, thus ignoring social arenas where dynamic change and innovation may be taking place, as well as long-standing historical forms of association and mobilization that did not fit the definition of civil society.

B. Collaborative research and constructing public spheres

As the list of the nine research groups funded over two award cycles shows, the network created through the project includes 41 researchers located in 20 countries covering most parts of the MENA region as well as Japan, Europe and the U.S. The 80

proposals received and the nine awarded research groups exhibited a diversity of understandings of the concept of “public spheres.” Still, certain issues did appear with some regularity: democratization as a process, authoritarianism and subaltern publics, the city and urban public spheres, and the impact of new media and communications technologies. The research competition process helped in understanding the strengths and gaps of the international community of scholars working on these sets of topics in the Middle East and North Africa region and thus shaped the content of the activities of the project, including the final conference.

The grants that were provided to the teams were relatively modest and were meant to fund collaboration rather than extensive research, and thus were to be used for meetings of a research team, exchange of information, public dissemination and collective output. The grant stipulated that there had to be a workshop or a public event of some sort to be held in the MENA region. Each team thus first

The Beirut Conference on Public Spheres showcased the nine research projects but also included papers selected from a large pool solicited through an open call for papers from all parts of the world.

created their own discussion space and then shared this with other constituencies of their choice. This meant that each group had to wrestle with how their specific research topic played or did not play in public sphere discussions in particular settings of a country or a region. They also had to think about the ways in which academic discourse does or does not figure in public sphere discussions. Thus, whatever the topic, two issues had to be dealt with by all groups: the role of the media and the role of academia in the public realm.

In this way, the theme of “public spheres” intertwined with the practice of research collaboration in different ways. An important and interesting aspect of this initiative has been the extent to which the researchers began to interact with different publics in their research localities and the ways through which their findings began to circulate in public discussions. For example, the project on “Migrant Domestic Workers” held a series of research workshops in Lebanon, Jordan, Dubai and Istanbul, each one of which was followed by a public panel widely attended by the local media in which the problems and silences concerning the

abuse of domestic migrant workers were debated. The project on “Domains of Heritage” gathered their data through a “traveling workshop” that went around to various tourism and heritage sites in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon and organized discussions between the researchers, tourism officials and local communities. The “Al-Jazeera” team participated in a series of workshops and panels in the Arab Gulf states, in Lebanon and in the UK assessing the impact of the “new Arab media” on public and political discussion globally and in the region. Several of the projects developed websites and listservs to broaden discussion of their projects including the teams working on “Comparative Urban Landscapes” (<http://www.shehr.org>), “Authority and Public Space” (<http://www.badjens.com/rediscovery.html>) and “Domains of Heritage.”

Even those projects which remained within more traditional academic spheres have created networks of collaboration that are highly unusual: extremely rare are the projects that bring together Turkish and Iranian scholars or Turkish and North African scholars or Arab and Indian researchers. Thus the project has created new discursive communities which may go some way in changing the well worn grooves of scholarship on this region. Furthermore, since the grant did

not require traditional research output, while insisting on the collaborative nature of the output, the projects have had diverse outcomes, from exhibitions, to the creation of new associations and research networks, in addition to books and articles. Among the results of the project, the research teams are currently preparing short essays on the tribulations and rewards of research collaboration.

One of the best results of the project has been the ways in which the nine teams began to network with one another, inviting each other to their meetings and sharing data and results. Collaboration between researchers in countries that normally do not look to each other for ideas and comparisons is very encouraging for the future of scholarship on the region. This core network of project fellows was extended through various activities of the project, including workshops in Amman (2002) and Cairo (2003), two workshops in Florence in collaboration with the European University Institute’s Mediterranean Programme annual meeting (2003, 2004), one panel at the World Congress of Middle East Studies in Mainz (2002) and one panel at the Middle East Studies Association meeting in Anchorage (2003). The October 2004 conference at the American University of Beirut showcased the nine research projects

INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH GRANTS ON RECONCEPTUALIZING PUBLIC SPHERES IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

Al-Jazeera Phenomenon: A Study of Alternative Media in the Arab World

Research Countries: Qatar, Arab countries, Arab diaspora
Location of Researchers: Qatar and UAE

Authority and Public Space in Iran

Research Countries: Iran
Location of Researchers: Iran, Japan, Turkey

Domains of Heritage: Shifting Boundaries and the Emergence of a ‘Transformed Public Consciousness’: The politics of place and identity construction, contested pasts, and investment rights in Bilad al Sham

Research Countries: Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, former
Ottoman states
Location of Researchers: Jordan, Lebanon, UK

Public Spheres and Democratic Transitions in North Africa and the Middle East: Comparative Study Tunisia-Algeria-Turkey

Research Countries: Algeria, Tunisia, Turkey
Location of Researchers: France, Tunisia, Turkey

The City and the Public Sphere in the Middle East

Research Countries: Egypt, Lebanon, the Persian Gulf
Location of Researchers: Bahrain, Egypt, France, Lebanon, UK

Comparative Modern Islamic Urban Landscapes and Their Subaltern Citizen Subjects

Research Countries: Egypt, India, other Middle Eastern and
North African countries
Location of Researchers: Egypt, Palestine, U.S.

Icons, Images and Ideologies of Religion and Nation: Secularism, Religious Nationalism and the Public Sphere in Comparative Perspective

Research Countries: India, Lebanon, Turkey
Location of Researchers: Turkey, Lebanon, U.S.

Migrant Domestic Workers in the Middle East: Becoming Visible in the Public Sphere?

Research Countries: Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey, UAE
Location of Researchers: Lebanon, Turkey, the
Netherlands, UAE

Socio-Religious Movements and the Transformation of Political Community: Israel, Palestine and Beyond

Research Countries: Israel and Palestine
Location of Researchers: Germany, Israel, Palestine, U.S.

but also included papers selected from a large pool solicited through an open call for papers. Importantly, the conference was open to papers on all regions, and thus the conference, while providing a solid core of research on the Middle East and North Africa, placed this region in conversation with other parts of the world, something which unfortunately happens only rarely.

The conference was organized in collaboration with the Center for Behavioral Research at the American University of Beirut and its director Professor Samir Khalaf, with advice and guidance from Professors Fawwaz Traboulsi (Lebanese American University and SSRC RAP member) and Ray Jureidini (American University of Beirut). In a series of 16 panels and 5 roundtable sessions, the presentations provoked numerous discussions and debates about the concept of the public sphere, and its contemporary relevance during this fraught historical moment, in the region and globally. Papers included topics such as the public sphere in zones of conflict, whether a public sphere can exist in non-democratic societies, new media and the public sphere, torture and resistance in the public sphere, as well as many other relevant issues. Three keynote addresses also set the tone for the conference. The first, by Talal Asad of the City University of New York, reflected on “French Secularism and the Public Sphere.” (See <http://www.ssrc.org/publications/items/v5n3/>.) Michael Burawoy of the University of California, Berkeley gave an energetic address about “Provincializing the Social Sciences.” The last keynote address by Craig Calhoun, president of the SSRC, focused on “The Problematic Public,” and provided a synopsis of the evolution of the term “public sphere” and its contemporary political relevance.

Two plenary presentations by Hashim Sarkis (Harvard University) and Mai Ghassoub (Artist and Writer) focused on the city of Beirut, its past, its built environment and its cultural dynamism, thus emphasizing to the participants the ways in which the location and context of the conference spoke to its content. Subsequent events in Beirut, including the assassination of the former prime minister, Rafiq Hariri, and other prominent media and public personalities, the “cedar revolution” and the withdrawal of Syrian troops from Lebanon, remind us that the conference was held at a turning point in Lebanese history, significantly marking the potential transformation of Lebanon’s political communities as well as modes of claims-making and public protest.

C. Conclusion

In the best traditions of the SSRC, the project has had multiple purposes and impacts: in addition to funding good social science, it has helped create new networks, has impacted public discussions and will produce important publications and outputs. Equally importantly, it is an innovative exercise in distributing research grants monies to reward collaboration and communication between researchers as opposed to the more familiar celebration of the lone, if brilliant, scholar.

References

- Asad, Talal (1993), “The Limits of Religious Criticism in the Middle East: Notes on Islamic Public Argument,” in *Genealogies of Religion*, Baltimore and London, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Eickelman, Dale and Jon Anderson (eds.) (1999), *New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press.
- Fischer, Michael M.J. and Mehdi Abedi (1990), *Debating Muslims: Cultural Dialogues in Postmodernity and Tradition*, Madison, WI, University of Wisconsin Press.
- Gole, Nilufer (1997), “The Gendered Nature of the Public Sphere,” *Public Culture*, 10 (1).
- (2002), “Islam in Public: New Visibilities and New Imaginaries,” *Public Culture*, 14 (1).
- Hamzawy, ‘Amr (1995), “Mulahazhat awwaliyya hawla al-istinara wa l’hadatha wa ma ba’da l’hadatha” (Notes on Enlightenment, Modernity and Postmodernity) in ‘Abd al-Wahhab al-Masiri (ed.), *Ishkaliyyat at-tahayyuz* (The Problematic of Subjectivism), Cairo, International Institute for Islamic Thought.
- Salvatore, Armando (2000), “The Islamic Reform Project in the Emerging Public Sphere: The (Meta)normative Redefinition of shari’a,” in Almut Höfert and Armando Salvatore (eds.), *Between Europe and Islam: Shaping Modernity in a Transcultural Space*, Brussels, Berlin, and Oxford, P.I.E. (Presses Interuniversitaires Européennes)-Peter Lang.

Seteney Shami directs both the Program on the Middle East and North Africa and the Eurasia Program at the Social Science Research Council. Her research interests include ethnicity, nationalism and transnationalism, urban politics, the Middle East and the North Caucasus.

THE BEIRUT CONFERENCE ON PUBLIC SPHERES

Included below are summaries of the roundtables for the Beirut Conference on Public Spheres as well as abstracts of a number of papers that were presented.

ROUNDTABLE: GENDERING THE PUBLIC SPHERE

HODA ELSADDA

Professor of the Contemporary Arab World, University of Manchester

The roundtable discussion on gendering the public sphere interrogated and critiqued Habermas’ notion of the public sphere as a democratic liberal arena where private citizens come together to discuss, debate and achieve consensus on public issues. Firstly, and drawing upon Nancy Fraser’s work in redefining the Habermasian notion from a gender-sensitive perspective, participants concurred that his assumption that inequalities of status can be bracketed is not possible and disregards exclusions based on race, class and gender. Fraser had drawn attention to the perils of insisting on one public sphere as it could potentially be an “instrument of domination” rather than a liberating ideal. With particular

reference to women's marginalization in liberal societies, she argued that we need to recognize the existence of multiple spheres, or "competing counterpublics" or "subaltern counterpublics" as more egalitarian conditions of multicultural societies. Fraser talked about the presence of weak publics and strong publics, highlighting the challenges and the stakes. (Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," in *Social Text*, No. 25/26 (1990), 56-80.) Her work raises important questions of voice, authority and representation that need to be addressed by women activists, groups and researchers in general, and in the Middle East in particular. Fraser has identified women's activities and concerns in western societies as examples of subaltern or weak publics, even though the general perception is that western women have unlimited access to public spaces. In the Middle East, there is a powerful and pervasive stereotype of women as victims of their societies who are forcefully and unfairly excluded from the public. Women, the assumption goes, inhabit the

Religious salons in the private space of the home have certainly been instrumental in the Islamisation of middle class Egyptian women, and then in the last 5 years in the Islamisation of young teenagers.

private sphere and are denied entry into the public sphere that is dominated by men. These stereotypes that are produced locally and internationally have serious ramifications on the lives of Middle Eastern women. Theorizing "public spheres" in the Middle East will need to find new paradigms for addressing gender constraints and/or potential in different geopolitical locales.

Secondly, and as many critics have noted, Habermas' emphasis on rational debate as a guiding principle in the organization of the public sphere has resulted in a failure to acknowledge other forms of participation and expression. Annelies Moors, for example, has suggested a "politics of presence" as a way of participating in the public sphere and has focused on the "politics of dress and appearance," namely taking off the veil in the early twentieth century and then wearing it again in the 1970s. This form or act of participation in public debates is particularly relevant to an understanding of contemporary Middle Eastern societies and opens up novel possibilities for perceiving and acknowledging "difference."

Thirdly, many questions were raised that encouraged a rethinking of basic assumptions surrounding the notion of public spheres as it is used in western literature. If Habermas' notion is premised on the existence of liberal democracies as a form of government, what would happen if we move to a discussion of societies that are not liberal democracies, which is the case in the majority of Middle Eastern countries. So bearing in mind different contexts and social structures, who/what sets the boundaries between public and private and why? How is the public constituted? What kinds of debates take place in public spheres? Do definitions of public change in different historical moments? How is the private interpreted in the public? When is the private a sensitive topic and why? Is torture public or private? What factors contribute to the increase of the state's policing of the public and the private?

While raising theoretical and conceptual questions, participants also focused on giving examples of forms of expression and practices that expanded and redefined the notion of "public spheres." First, one form of expression that needs further attention to understand the workings and extent of actually existing counterpublics is artistic expression: arts, literature and folk culture. It might be worth noting that Bourdieu does not separate art from politics. If public spheres are intricately linked with public identities, and individual identities are constructed within a larger public process, we cannot disregard the power of the arts, of narrative, of stories in directing and shaping our identities. Many questions come to mind: to what extent are these counterpublics open and accessible to a larger audience? And, to what extent does literary expression in the form of the novel, for example, challenge or reinstate the status quo? Can literature by women be designated as a site of resistance, or a counterpublic that challenges dominant publics?

Second, intellectual projects, particularly revisionist histories were mentioned in the roundtable as novel sites for creating spaces for counterpublics by producing alternate knowledge that challenges dominant stereotypes and ideas. Referring to stereotypes of women in the Middle East that confine them to the private sphere, research in the history of Islamic and Middle Eastern societies disproves these stereotypes by demonstrating the multiplicity of women's roles and their active participation in "public" life in specific historical moments. Research further revises the public/private dichotomy by tracing its cultural ideological roots in western history and thought. It also rethinks modernist theories of progress, and challenges the assumption of linear development that traps Middle Eastern societies in "backward" stages compared to western societies. They furthermore deconstruct the pseudo-dichotomy between traditional (read: eastern, underdeveloped and irrational) and modern (read: western, rational, developed) societies and argue that the status of women in Middle Eastern societies can only be conceptualized within a framework that contests dominant paradigms and that is vigilant toward the manipulation of gender issues in global power struggles.

Third, the above directions are particularly relevant to an issue that received a great deal of attention and emphasis in the discussion, namely religious expression and practices as constituting counterpublics in the contemporary world. If we consider the private/public divide assumed in the concept of “public spheres,” how do we conceptualize the surging phenomenon in the 1990s in Egypt, for example, of middle class religious salons where women meet around a teacher who gives instruction on religious life and thought? These salons have certainly been instrumental in the Islamisation of middle class women, and then in the last 5 years in the Islamisation of young teenagers. The private space of the home is politicized and functions as a public space where debates around politics, religion and culture are held. How would these religious salons for women redefine the assumed private/public dichotomy in the life of Middle Eastern women? Also, how would they urge us to rethink the modernist assumption regarding the role and practice of religious belief as a private matter that has no legitimate place in the rational space of public life? Leaving aside this highly political practice that is conducted within the private sphere of the home, how do we rethink the role and impact of women’s participation in religious festivals, visiting shrines or taking part in various religious occasions? Two papers presented in the conference made valuable contributions to this line of thought. In “Gender Piety, and the Reconstruction of the Public Sphere in a Lebanese Shi’i Community,” Lara Deeb examined Muslim women’s participation in Islamic community organizations and argued that their actions disrupt “masculine inscription of the public sphere and assumptions about a gendered public/private dichotomy in the Muslim world.” Similarly, Zakia Salime, in “Before Entering the Public Sphere: Islamist Women, Public Spaces, and Debates about Women’s Rights in Morocco,” posited that Islamist women involved in da’wah (missionary Islam) are “engendering the shari’a” and “feminizing da’wa” in different settings—such as homes and family meetings—that are not necessarily acknowledged as possible sites for public debates to happen. All of this is intricately linked with the global movement amongst women researchers who are interpreting Islamic texts from a gender sensitive perspective. They are currently forming transnational alliances bringing together Muslim women located in the Arab world, in South East Asia, in Europe and in the U.S. They are getting together with a common purpose of constructing alternate forms of knowledge to counter the dominant ideas about the position of women in Islam. In one sense, they are engaged in the reformulation of notions of private and public.

In his keynote address, Talal Asad pointed out that public space, certainly in France, is designated as secular space. Religious practices and expressions are allocated to the private sphere. In this sense, religion has no place in rational debates. This partly explains why the head scarves affair created such heated debates in French society. Yet, the above directions in

thinking and research that challenge modernist binary oppositions between the traditional and the modern, the secular and the religious, the rational and the irrational, can potentially open up alternate theoretical spaces for understanding the specific practices and expressions of gendered roles in different social structures.

GENDERING THE PUBLIC SPHERE: ABSTRACTS

Lara Deeb

Women’s Studies, University of California, Irvine

Gender, piety, and the reconstruction of the public sphere in a Lebanese Shi’i community

Over the past two decades in the southern suburbs of Beirut, pious Shi’i women have been participating actively and visibly in the public arena in unprecedented numbers. Their most prominent form of participation is in the area of public welfare, through volunteering in Islamic community organizations. The increased visibility of women in the public sphere in the southern suburbs has accompanied the growth of these Islamic organizations, and can be understood as an aspect of a Shi’i Islamist socio-political-religious movement in Lebanon. For many women, commitment to public welfare is linked to the religious and political groundings of this movement. Pious Shi’i women’s embrace of values of outspokenness and active participation in the public can be seen as disrupting a masculine inscription of the public sphere and assumptions about a gendered public/private dichotomy in the Muslim world. At the same time, they espouse a gender ideology that emphasizes equity over equality, and essentializes the differences between men and women in ways that seem to re-map those differences back onto the public/private dichotomy. In this paper, based upon two years of ethnographic field research in four neighborhoods in the southern suburbs of Beirut, I look at two aspects of women’s participation: their community service activities and their discourses about those activities. I examine what happens to notions of the public sphere when Islamist women’s activities are written into it, and revisit the usefulness of the public/private dichotomy to our understandings of gender roles.

Michaëlle Browers

Political Science, Wake Forest University

The theorization of gender and its absence in Arab debates over civil society

This paper examines Arab intellectual debates from the 1990s over the meaning, extent and function of civil society in an attempt to assess the implications of what constitutes democratic theorizing largely absent from conscious theorizations of especially gender difference. It also considers early exceptions to this rule of gender-blindness, as well as a few more recent attempts by Arab feminists to critically analyze issues of gender, difference, citizenship, civil society and democracy. Such critiques not only point to the problems with contemporary conceptions of public spheres—

whether based on a universalizing liberal discourse or Arab attempts to authenticate such a discourse—but also indicate locations of the resistance to such conceptions and possibilities for more inclusive re-conceptualizations.

Zakia Salime

Sociology, University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign

Before entering the public sphere: Islamist women, publics, spaces, and debates about women's rights in Morocco

The public sphere is defined as the arena where open and rational-critical deliberation takes place. As a site for debate, the public sphere constitutes the main discursive basis of Bourgeois democracy. Feminist theorizations challenge, however, the dichotomy implied between the public and the private sphere. This dichotomy is said to reflect rather a gendered politics of space, and the exclusion of women from the public realm. Thus, a growing literature explores more inclusive definitions of democracy that encompass marginalized political communities and publics, explore communication and debate in various spaces, and emphasize the non-rational aspects of discourse. I build on these critiques to define the intermediary spaces created by Islamist women in order to learn and talk about religion. I argue that the rise of Islamist women's leadership and public voices during the controversy about reforming family law was the ultimate stage in this process of creation of transitional spaces within the privacy of the women's homes, in familial meetings and the schooling system. These different settings have been reconfigured and redefined as the interface between the private and the public sphere. My paper investigates the meanings and the politics involved in the reconfiguration of these intermediary channels that have helped Islamist women to bridge the gap between the private, commonly defined as the women's sphere—the sphere of the harem—and the public, defined as the sphere of da'wah (missionary Islam). The first part of the paper defines this "politics of space" by highlighting the various tactics through which the Islamist leadership has reconfigured different types of settings in order to answer to the need for developing safe and intimate structures for interactive learning and debates. I describe this politics by using the terms irruption, extension and fragmentation. The second part of the paper describes the way this politics of space relates to a more complex process, that of reconfiguration of women's own relationship to the Islamic discourse. I describe this reconfiguration through its impact on engendering the shari'a, feminizing Da'wah and politicizing the family.

Ferhunde Özbay

Sociology, Boğaziçi University

Nationalism and the emergence of republican elite women in Turkey: An old tale of interdependence of public/private spheres

This work aims to discuss the impact of unpaid domestic workers on the emergence of middle class urban women in the public sphere during the process of nationalism, which covers broadly the first half of the 20th century. The national-

ist movement during the late Ottoman and early Republican Turkey coincided with the demise of domestic slavery and an upsurge of slave-like practices in the name of *evlatlıks*, which literally means adopted daughters. Until the Second World War *evlatlıks* were mostly war orphans of different ethnic backgrounds, particularly the orphans of Balkan refugees, Armenians and Kurds. Later, poor peasant families sent their daughters to urban middle class households as *evlatlıks*, as a survival strategy. Nationalists stated that gender equality was their aim not only in the private sphere but also in the public sphere. Education and employment of women were seen as a necessity of the new nation, since women as well as men had to learn to be nationalist citizens. Moreover, the adult male population seriously diminished during the long years of wars. The republican governments encouraged women to get an education and to take part in the labor market, but at the same time, to bear as many children as possible to correct the male deficiency in the population. *Evlatlıks* were instrumental for middle class women to achieve such contradictory demands of the state.

Roundtable: Rethinking Publics and Politics

RAY JUREIDINI

Sociology, American University in Cairo (AUC)

The major brief for this roundtable was to explore the emergence of "new publics"—to move beyond the Habermasian limitations of an essentially masculine, rational discourse that is more or less exclusively oriented to public issues and that addresses the state or state policy. From the first set of comments, it was obvious that there were very divergent views or perspectives of what constituted "publics," as well as the relationship between publics and politics. Are "publics" synonymous with "the public sphere" or are there a plurality of "public spheres?" For example, a number of participants agonized over the assumption that the Habermasian public sphere must invariably contain some discourse that related directly to the state (and thus politics, such as nationalism) and that there should be some spatial recognition of a public sphere or forum where the discourse would be enacted.

The idea of a plurality of public spheres that are also movable, or mobile, is exemplified by Noor-Aiman Khan's paper at the conference ("Students on Soapboxes: the metropole in anti-colonial nationalist activity") in her depiction of Egyptian and Indian anti-British imperialist movements prior to World War Two. There, students engaged the public sphere through "the printing of propaganda aimed both toward the Europeans and toward the natives of the colonies, the organization of nationalist conferences, and direct collaboration in clandestine activity that included everything from banned papers to bombs in the colonies." Mobile publics also raises the idea of transnational publics that may be virtual (via the internet) or through regular contact of expatriate groups that can agitate for political reform. This raises issues concerning boundaries of publics in relation to the state and transna-

tional discourse. In the sense that was raised by Khan, public activity may be seen as having been conducted in non-public and “secret” rather than private space. In a rare discussion on the issue, Georg Simmel pointed to secrets or secrecy that had hitherto been neglected as a fundamental element of individual (private) as well as social and political life. (See Kurt Wolff, trans., ed., (1950) *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, The Free Press, New York.)

Another critique of Habermas argued against the idea that the public sphere is “a rational and deliberative arena standing between state and society,” mainly because “the dynamics of power are absent” (Zeynep Gambetti “Conflict, ‘communication’ and the role of collective action in the formation of public spheres”). Gambetti suggested that sociological accounts of interactive public space may be contrasted with the idea of the public sphere as “a space in which this interaction prompts action in view of a collective reshaping of existing relations.”

As numerous discussions asserted during the conference, the simple dichotomous private/public distinction is highly problematic and inadequate. Talal Asad, in his opening speech, asserted that the public and private are created formally by the state. The distinction is thus a construction that allows the state to interfere in either sphere. On the other hand, in the roundtable it was pointed out that eliminating the distinction does not necessarily give us a more enlightened or profound view. It is a useful tool if only to discover its limitations through ‘anomalous’ empirical evidence. Serguei Oushakine’s conference presentation (“Local Wars and Private Losses: domesticating trauma in a Russian province”) points this out with the example of the Russian Committee of Soldiers’ Mothers, whose members had lost sons during various wars. It was argued that the so-called assumption of grieving and articulation of individual suffering “domesticated” the public where issues of war, military politics and abuses were replaced by various depictions of loss and traumatic experience—or what Hannah Arendt called ‘the politics of pity’ (or politics of compassion)—but which in this case did not move the Russian government. Public expressions of emotion, however, are not necessarily contrary to what is deemed “appropriate” public sphere behavior. Funerals, regardless of the status of the deceased, are usually open to the public and performed in public spaces—although it may be argued that buildings for religious worship are more private than public. This raised the issue of whether the notion of public space/s needs to be distinguished from public sphere/s, where the former has a politically neutral dimension and is thus politically insignificant. Not surprisingly, there was the assertion that all behavior and discourse can be seen to be conducted within a political context.

In another paradoxical set of circumstances, live-in migrant domestic workers in the Middle East (and elsewhere) introduce the normally assumed public place of work into the private household. Here, the boundaries are indeed blurred, for there is not only a gender-based set of contrac-

THE BEIRUT CONFERENCE ON PUBLIC SPHERES

OCTOBER 22–24, 2004

OPEN TO THE PUBLIC

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF
BEIRUT, WEST HALL

CONFERENCE PANELS

CONFLICT, COLLECTIVE ACTION & MOBILIZATION

QUESTIONING THE MODERN & SECULAR

TORTURE, RESISTANCE & THE MAKING OF NEW PUBLIC SPHERES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

THE PUBLIC SPACE OF THE PRIVATE SPHERE

AUTHORITY & PUBLIC SPACE IN IRAN

TRANSNATIONAL & DIASPORIC PUBLIC SPHERES

CITIES, SEMIOTICS & SPACES OF SOCIABILITY

TOURISM, HISTORICAL REPRESENTATION & TRANSIENT PUBLICS

CONTESTED PUBLICS, COUNTER PUBLICS

VISUALITY, NATIONALIZATION & THE PUBLIC SPHERE IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

NEGOTIATING THE PUBLIC & THE PRIVATE

WAR, MEMORY & PUBLIC REPRESENTATIONS

NATIONAL PUBLICS, DEMOCRACY & PUBLIC OPINION

NON-RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS & THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE

CHANGING MEDIA, DIALECTICS & THE CONSTRUCTION OF CITIZENSHIP

CITIES, PERFORMANCE & MOBILITY

The concept of “public spheres” has generated an important literature on the conditions shaping public discourses, on the nature of “publics” and “public action,” and on the implications of such processes for democratic theory. This conference aims at promoting inter-disciplinary discussions that examine public spheres in the context of the Middle East and North Africa but also at addressing cross-regional/cross-national comparisons.

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

“Reflections on French Secularism and the Public Sphere”
Talal Asad, City University of New York
October 22, 9:30–11:00 AM

“Provincializing the Social Sciences”
Michael Burawoy, University of California, Berkeley
October 23, 8:00–9:30 PM

“The Problematic Public”
Craig Calhoun, Social Science Research Council
October 24, 2:00–3:30 PM

All keynote presentations will take place in the Barhish Auditorium on the 2nd floor of West Hall on the AUB campus.

Attendance is open to the public, and participants may register near the entrance to West Hall. There is no registration fee, and a conference program and schedule may be obtained on-line or upon registering at the door.

For additional information on the conference:
http://www.ssrc.org/programs/mena/Beirut_Conference/

tual relations between the *madame* and the maid within the private sphere, but the domestic worker may or may not have any privacy where she lives, depending upon whether she has her own room (which may not be exclusively for her use) or whether she sleeps in the kitchen, laundry, salon or on the balcony. To gain some modicum of privacy, the domestic worker relies upon time off and access to public space outside the household. In Lebanon, for example, it is usually a Sunday when maids are allowed to attend religious services and thus congregate with others of their own ethnic background. The inter-relationality of the public/private in this instance is politically determined by the maintenance of foreign workers as temporary labor, without the possibility of citizenship and the rights that might ensue from a regulated labor market and conditions of work.

The more controversial debate in the roundtable on rethinking publics and politics was stimulated by the proposal that the discussion should consider the current conflict in Iraq. The discussion on Iraq centered on the formal and informal public sphere and the absence of law and order—where the public sphere is not directly related to a non-existent state, or a state in transition or under occupation. What is the role of the people, the citizenry, under such circumstances? Here the problem of order is raised. Is there a Hobbesian state of chaos? The role of the media was seen as a critical actor, as a participant in the public sphere and, being oriented towards exclusive publication of tragedy, highlighted the chaos of the indigenous population; whereas in reality most Iraqis are,

as best they can, getting on with their everyday lives—with their moral principles, cultural practices, occupational ethics and the like. The getting of a moral order without the state is not accessed through the public sphere. Private, familial and religious custom are also enacting their social respon-

Order, self restraint and a determination of Iraqi people to maintain normal relations of everyday life had to be explained without recourse to “the state.”

sibilities. The Imams in the mosques are playing an important public role in the absence of state instrumentalities that were so irresponsibly dismantled by the occupying American forces. The assumption of rational discourse was debated in the roundtable with some concluding that the rationality of violent resistance, for example, would be relative, depending upon the ideological perspective—that one person’s terrorist is another’s freedom fighter. Military resistance requires a politically strategic discourse, but is not necessarily consistent with assumptions of a peaceful and rational public discourse with strangers. Order, self restraint and a determination of Iraqi people to maintain normal relations of everyday life had to be explained without recourse to “the state.”

It is not surprising that the discussion focused on the political problematics of the Middle East and were therefore more inclined to assert conditions of conflict from a public perspective. While it was ironic that the debate on Iraq raised the image of citizens engaged in the dull compulsion of everyday life, “publics” were not seen as exclusively rational nor peaceful, but rather included sites of conflict, dissent with anti-state agitation; “publics” are not necessarily state-oriented, and there is no necessary exclusivity between conceptualizations of public and private.

Rethinking Publics and Politics: Abstracts

PAUL AMAR

Law and Society Program, University of California, Santa Barbara

Cosmopolitan brutalities of urban security: Race/sex globalization and policing in Rio de Janeiro and Cairo

This essay examines the relationships between sexuality, public space and border-crossing police paradigms in two globalizing cities. I trace the local histories of internationally articulated struggles over policing and legality in zones identified with the presence of sex workers and sexual minority communities in Cairo and Rio de Janeiro. This study follows how these two cities’ “red-light zones”—sexualized

public spaces—have served historically as playgrounds where emergent forms of border-crossing culture, contact and identification have been worked out, and as battlefields where nationalist anxieties about internal and external threats, and most recently about “globalization” and “imperialism” have expressed themselves violently. The paper also examines the construction—by certain allied local-state police actors, non-state transnational actors and international humanitarian institutions—of a new global security paradigm for representing and controlling urban public sexuality that has come to dominate policing and planning practices in Cairo and Rio, and that has eliminated salient local differences in sexual politics. This new security/policing paradigm has infused the public spaces of both cities with polarizing identifications, nationalist hysteria, racialization and forms of police violence and intimidation that are overwhelming the legal and cultural conventions that previously constrained targeting of these sexual-minority communities. As a transnational and comparative analysis, this essay brings together two cases that represent radical difference in the past and convergence in the present. My fieldwork suggests that this sexual security paradigm is built on new “humanitarian” police practices of criminological profiling that racialize sexual minority communities and displace them from the field of legal subjectivity and citizenship. Sexual profiling removes its subjects from the realm of legality and declares them military targets in the paralegal realm of security.

ZEYNEP GAMBETTI

Political Science/International Relations, Boğaziçi University
Conflict, “communication” and the role of collective action in the formation of public spheres

Following Habermas’ conceptualization, the public sphere has come to connote a rational and deliberative arena standing between state and society. It has been shown, however, that the dynamics of power are absent from this perspective. Can conflict and antagonism be inscribed into the conceptual framework of the public sphere? And what are the possible consequences of this inscription? Will the notion of public sphere retain its Enlightenment features or be transformed beyond recognition? If it were to be transformed, what would be the new socio-political and theoretical status of the public sphere? This paper draws on Turner and Arendt, as well as on sociological studies of identity formation and cultural politics to re-conceptualize the public sphere in light of these questions. Instead of a rational space of debate, the public sphere can be thought of as a space of appearances where conflicts, identities, differences, communalities and power structures are made to appear to those who are not immediately involved or concerned. But in contrast to purely sociological accounts of social change, this perspective looks for the public sphere in relations that enable collective agency. If publicness is simply a space of interaction based on stranger-relationality, the public sphere is a space in which this interaction prompts action in view of a collective reshaping of existing relations. In

contrast to purely deliberative accounts of collective agency, on the other hand, the constitutive role of struggle is not invalidated. The idea of opposition to pedagogical state discourses is retained in this alternative conceptualization, but the Arendtian notion of acting-in-concert is introduced in such a way as to enable a more practice-based and performative account. The theoretical argument will be informed by (but will not focus primarily on) the transformation of the Turkish political space by the Kurdish movement.

CENGİZ KIRLI

Ataturk Institute, Boğaziçi University

Public opinion, surveillance, and the question of public sphere in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire

This paper aims to examine the question of public opinion in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire with respect to its changing status perceived by the Ottoman state. The central focus of the paper is to study the radical change in the Ottoman state's perception of popular opinions as well as in the extent of the surveillance of the populace. In light of numerous reports recorded by spies and informers in charge of listening to anything said in public places in Istanbul in the 1840s, the paper will argue that the Ottoman state began an all-encompassing surveillance of its subjects through unprecedented spying activity. While this surveillance activity did not aim at punishing public political discourse as was previously the case, its new purpose was defined as the collation and integration of popular utterances for administrative purposes. In other words, while popular opinions gained a news quality and thus acquired legitimacy, in effect, this brought about the active involvement and hidden intervention of the state in the public sphere. The changes in the surveillance of the public should be taken neither simply as a tactical change on the part of the state, nor an inconsequential phenomenon, but signifies a radical transformation of Ottoman "governmentality" in the mid-nineteenth century. Thus, studying the new surveillance practices of the Ottoman state and the emergence of "public opinion" as a new element in the political system to which the Ottoman state was compelled to appeal has the potential of offering a great deal of insight about the state's radical redefinition of the public sphere and its changing governmentality as it was striving towards creating a "modern" state.

Annelies Moors

Sociology and Anthropology, University of Amsterdam

Migrant domestic workers: rethinking gender, the public sphere and the politics of presence

In many areas of the world, paid domestic labor is a growth sector, with new groups of women becoming involved in this field. For although the geographic mobility of domestic workers is not new, contemporary globalization has stimulated and facilitated the international migration of domestic workers. Increasing economic inequalities on a global scale, shifts in family relations and household composition, and changing patterns and evaluations of women's employment and domestic work,

have increasingly drawn migrant women into this field of employment, not only in large parts of Europe and North America, but also in areas such as East Asia and the Middle East. At first glance, it may seem odd to focus on domestic workers in order to contribute to a discussion about "reconceptualizing public spheres in the Middle East." Yet, domestic workers not only bring "the public" into "the domestic" (with the domestic as their site of employment), they also have a presence in the public sphere. This paper sets out with a brief discussion about conventional notions of the public sphere, arguing for the need to direct attention to historical and locational contextualization, to the variety of modes of "being present" in the public sphere, and to the processes of inclusion, exclusion and hierarchization that are at stake. In doing so, it raises the issue of the contextual meanings of visibility in the public sphere and compares this with the (metaphoric) notion of "being heard" in public. The paper underlines the importance of investigating how historical trajectories of migrant domestic work intersect with the development of specific notions of the public/private nexus in particular settings in the Middle East. Two forms of publicness are discussed. First, the physical and visible presence of migrant domestic workers in public space and what such a presence may mean in terms of processes of inclusion and exclusion. Secondly, it points to the need to pay attention to public debates about (migrant) domestic workers and their (self-)representations including the ways in which these are (mass-)mediated. Aspects of specific cases are used to trace transformations in domestic labour, the private/public nexus and the politics of presence in the public sphere.

Roundtable: New Media and New Publics

SETENEY SHAMI

Program Director, the Program on the Middle East and North Africa and Eurasia Program, Social Science Research Council

This roundtable was chaired by Michael Fischer who opened the discussion with a set of provocative ideas concerning the ways in which new media may transform thought, engender transnational consciousness, encourage the development of political discussion and debate and pose challenges to state-controlled public spheres. At the heart of the concept of public spheres is the notion of critical, rational and free debate. In the late Habermas variant, this leads to "communicative consensus" while in Lyotard's version it leads to competing and often mutually incommensurable "differends" or different value goals. In yet other variants it results in the public sphere emerging and declining (as in the early Habermas) and having to be restructured as a vital component of effective governance. Each component of these formulations needs to be thought through, empirically and conceptually and in the light of the rapid transformation of the means of communication.

Fischer asked the participants to think about diverse aspects of these processes. First of all is the impact of the transition from state-owned media to privatization which has resulted in a proliferation of private media sources at the local, national,

regional and global levels. The spread of internet cafes, satellite dishes and cinema multiplexes has given communities unprecedented access to media production, including films, news and advertising. Second, (as shown by Walter Benjamin) is the role of entertainment in creating new modes of attention and participation and particularly the role of cinema in creating “distracted consciousness” (referring to William James’ notion of consciousness arising out of different forms of attention and inattention). Finally, Fischer pointed out that it is important to think about the ways in which different media re-contextualize each other. For example, satellite television stations (such as Al-Jazeera) and weblogs transform the media environment, thus changing the place of print media in society as well as the role and effectiveness of state censorship.

Short presentations by some of the roundtable participants covered several issues and provided examples of the processes mentioned above. A lively discussion revolved around the use of weblogs in Iran and of websites by the Iranian diaspora in Europe to create new public spaces, new spaces of communi-

Iranians are the third largest nationality online and Farsi is the fourth most common language among bloggers.

cation and new means for transforming words into action. Despite the obvious transnational dimensions, the nation-state retains its force: Masserat Amir-Ebrahimi argued that weblogs could be considered national social movements while Matthijs van den Bos illustrated that web-sites as transnational spaces were still largely configured by national interests. On a global scale, Iranians are the third largest nationality online and Farsi is the fourth most common language among bloggers, after English, French and Portuguese. In another context, that of North Africa, satellite television is a major force in politics, if politics is viewed as the organization and distribution of public information. Not only are publics being transformed, but the notion of *what* is public is also being reconsidered. In both the Iranian and the North African contexts, gender emerges as a central issue that needs to be better understood. What are the public spaces in which the female voice is heard or silenced? What are the factors that affect the presence of women in the new public spaces of internet cafes? How are gender relations negotiated on the web? Finally, the discussion also raised the issue that even though there is a process of media privatization, the role of the state and state investments in new media infrastructures remain crucial, as Bahiyyih Maroon pointed out in the case of Morocco.

In many ways, the issue of new media represents the most exciting lens through which to rethink notions of the public sphere and their usefulness in understanding the nature of

political communities and the place of communication in the emergent political forms of the 21st century. At the same time, it is one of the most challenging areas of research and one which is poorly explored in the literature, especially in the case of the Middle East region. Discussions during the roundtable, as well as a number of papers presented at the conference, highlighted conceptual and methodological issues that remain problematic, especially the complex and unclear relationship between increased access and communication on the one hand and democratization on the other. Much of the discussion of the roundtable revolved around the actual and potential role of new media in the largely non-democratic societies of the Middle East. In this, Ratiba Hadj Moussa’s research on the impact of satellite television on the private realm of the family, domestic space and the neighborhood, often neglected sites in theories of democratization, alerts us to how “new publics” may be shaped in spaces and forms of sociability usually defined as private.

Notions of multiple and competing public spheres helps cast a new perspective on past times and older forms of communication. Michelle Campos thus utilized recent critiques of Habermas to analyze the tensions in the multi-lingual Palestinian press in the early years of the 20th century, as well as the competing political projects that they represented. Cinema, as analyzed in the case of Turkey by Alev Çinar, transforms ideology into “common sense” and while it is “independent” from the state, it becomes an instrument of governance and legitimization, thus projecting the state onto society. In addition to this impact, the cinema also creates a new space, a new form of participation, of structuring attention and of discussion. Thus, the discussion of communication and media cannot be separated from the discussion of space and the relationships between spaces and publics. The cell phone, for example, creates a new admixture of private and public space, of intimacy and publicity.

When it comes to new media, older social science notions of communication, public space and social integration may be of limited help. The roundtable discussions thus focused on issues of methodology, discussing the difficulties and possibilities of mapping internet use, especially as stratified by age, class, gender, educational level in gathering statistics, of understanding the differential impact of new media or estimating surveillance and censorship. The nature of the “virtual” and the construction of, in Amir-Ebrahimi’s phrase, the “bodiless self,” also not only represents new phenomena but arenas in which older forms of conceptualization and older methodologies for understanding the public no longer hold. The virtual is excessively open and yet invisible, the text is disseminated at unprecedented speed and yet is transient.

The roundtable was useful in focusing attention on a topic (or a set of topics) that was discussed in various papers and panels throughout the conference and yet remained somewhat elusive, given the sparseness of research on media. The discussion raised more questions than gave answers but highlighted the ways in which the issue of new media is central to understandings of the public sphere in the Middle East region and globally.

MASSERAT AMIR-EBRAHIMI

Tehran Geographical Information Center (TGIC) and the National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS), Paris

Weblogs and the emergence of a new public sphere in Iran

The internet is a new public space/public sphere that, in spite of its universal language, is grounded in particular socio-cultural aspects of everyday life. Its cultural significance varies considerably from place to place according to people's diverse experiences, lacks, needs and aspirations. In countries where public spaces are controlled by traditional or restrictive cultural forces, however, the internet can take on varied signification. In Iran, where the public sphere is closely monitored and regulated by traditional and state forces, the internet has become a means to resist the restrictions imposed on these spaces. One of the best ways to study the socio-cultural ramifications of the internet in Iran is through weblogs, which became very popular after the Unicode system made typing in Persian possible. Weblogs, especially among middle class youth, have become a key site for Iranians to participate in the new virtual world and, at the same time, rediscover their own selves and desires while constructing new relations and communities often not possible in real spaces. Weblogs also reveal important trends, desires and transformations in the subjectivities of Iran's next generation, as well as an ongoing struggle between youth and traditional or state authorities over the limits placed on public discourse. In this regard, the internet and weblogs can be considered a tool of empowerment for youth and women, as well as other marginalized social groups. For youth, this empowerment begins with a redefinition of the Self and consolidation of new identities. Many of them believe that their "real/true" identities have been "lost/repressed/ hidden" in the real/physical public spaces of Iran. The act of weblog writing in the universal, yet also semi-private space of the internet, can help them discover, reconstruct or crystallize their "true" selves in virtual public spaces. In the absence of the body, these new "bodiless-selves" enter a new world and form new communities which are restricted and controlled in their real physical spaces. At the same time, this study found that some of these new identities can encounter new sources of limitation, self-censorship and disempowerment in the virtual, as well as real, spaces.

RATIBA HADJ-MOUSSA

Sociology, York University

Gender relations, publicness and new media in the Maghreb

The introduction of new communication technologies in non-democratic societies poses an interesting problem to those scholars who want to understand their significance to and effect in public life. My analysis focuses on a few sites in public space, particularly those incorporated into everyday practices of social actors and situated in horizontal forms of sociability, such as the family, the house and the neighbor-

hood. In this paper I show how satellite television transforms public and domestic life and how it expresses the social positions of men and women, not only within the domestic space but also in the neighborhood and other shared spaces. In doing so, I address these questions: How does satellite television transform the notion of neighborhood? How does it allow for the expression of singularity and individuality? And finally, how do viewers' practices generated by satellite television displace the notion of the political. With the growing importance of Arab satellite networks like Al-Arabiya and Al-Jazeera in the Maghreb, are we witnessing a new world view or the emergence of a transnational Arab public space? How is the normativity that defines the view of satellite programs in the domestic domain reflected in the public domain by bringing to light gender relations as a fundamental dimension of the political reality? This project is based on fieldwork conducted in several stages in Algeria (and more recently) in Morocco and Tunisia.

MICHELLE U. CAMPOS

Near Eastern Studies, Cornell University

Lisan al-Sha'b: The press and the public sphere in revolutionary Palestine, 1908-14

Nancy Fraser's lucid critique of the Habermasian public sphere constructs two models of public spheres—stratified (characterized by the counterdiscourses of subordinated groups) and egalitarian (where "members of . . . more limited publics talk across lines of cultural diversity"). However, this dichotomy does not adequately take into account the creative tension which emerges when the two public spheres exist simultaneously and are indeed mutually constitutive. In revolutionary Palestine, the multi-lingual press was the locus of a dialectical tension between the aspiration to constitute a trans-confessional civic Ottoman public sphere on the one hand, and the transforming role of particularist ethnic, religious, and nationalist public arenas, on the other. I argue that this is a hybrid public sphere, that is shaped by both civic-liberal (egalitarian) and neo-millet (stratified) tendencies. My paper analyzes this tension, exploring the press as a vehicle for forging and debating the Ottomanist public sphere. At the same time that the press served as an actor in a much broader process of constituting and articulating the public self, it was also an important realm of public discourse. The press played an important role in educating Ottoman citizenry to their new political and social roles, consciously taking upon itself the task of promoting Ottoman unity across ethnic, religious, and linguistic boundaries. It also revealed the limits of this discourse, as the press became an important barometer in measuring one's status in the new socio-political hierarchy as well as a weapon of political power. My study of the historical media is guided by the following broader questions: What was the role of these various media in expressing and addressing a particular interest group or imagined public? What was the broader socio-political relevance of the press and

other writings? How does the press aid or alter the process of conceptualizing the “public?” How is the public included and excluded in the media? Do the media provide visibility and agency for the public, or does it silence through its own hegemony? How are fragmented or “hybrid” publics represented/reconciled in the media?

ALEV ÇINAR

Political Science, Bilkent University

Film as the public sphere: Secularism and the image of the state in Turkish cinema

When the axioms, norms, categories and hierarchies of a political ideology become the norm within the public sphere, thereby dictating how the world is perceived, interpreted and experienced by many, ideology becomes invisible and its boundaries disappear behind the guise of normalcy and obviousness. A state is successful to the extent that its founding national ideology achieves such a status and frames the daily experiences of its citizens and when alternatives to it are no longer considered as legitimate. One of the crucial media through which an ideology acquires such a status is cinema, where ideologies are transformed into “common sense” and dictate the norms guiding mundane behavior, such as romantic affairs and family relationships. This paper examines the ways in which secularism enters the public sphere as a founding ideology in Turkey and acquires a status where it transcends the realm of ideology and becomes common sense, dictating and framing the norms and standards of public life through the medium of cinema. Secularism in Turkey is unique. Because of the multiple functions of Islam in the Ottoman system (as a legal frame for governance, a discourse of legitimization, a basis for social solidarity and a system of social justice), the formation of a modern nation-state necessitated the formulation of an ideology that would replace Islam and fulfill these social and political functions. Secularism as the founding ideology was developed to serve such multiple functions. While secularism as an ideology is more readily equipped to serve as a frame of governance and legitimization, it is more difficult for it to fulfill the function of Islam as a source of social justice. Interestingly, this function of secularism has been employed not so much by state institutions but much more effectively by nonstate agencies in the public sphere, particularly by popular Turkish cinema in the 1960s and 70s. Secularism has pervaded public life so powerfully that Turkish cinema in the 1960s started to produce independent films (without any institutional or financial support from the state) that significantly contributed to the production and dissemination of official secularist ideology. Courtroom scenes were particularly prevalent in the melodramas of the period where unresolved family conflicts or separations among lovers, couples or parents and children as a result of some injustice, misdeed or misunderstandings were invariably resolved at the end of the film by a wise judge in a courtroom. I argue that the courtroom in these films represents the political sphere and the image of

the wise judge represents the secular state, which served to implicitly establish that all social and personal injustices can be resolved under the legal-rational secular frame of official ideology and that the ultimate arbiter of moral justice is brought not by Islam, but by the legal-rational institutions of the secular state.

Roundtable: The Public Sphere—Bound or Unbound? Democratic Transitions and Public Islam

ANTHONY KOLIHA

Assistant Director, Eurasia Program, Social Science Research Council

The roundtable on Democratic Transitions and Public Islam, held during the Beirut Conference on Public Spheres, allowed an international mix of scholars to question the applicability of the notion of a stable, bourgeois public sphere to those countries and regions of the world where Islam plays a major public and political role. Three major arguments arose throughout the discussion. First, it was argued that

In many parts of the world, especially those where Islam plays a major public and political role, the public and private spheres are often enmeshed.

many Islamic countries are embroiled in conflict or have experienced significant periods of instability; therefore, the Habermasian description of the public sphere, premised upon a stable, “rational” society, may not be applicable in the Middle East and elsewhere. Next, the Habermasian public sphere is based on traditional European societies at a historical period when the separation of public and private spheres had already become a societal norm. In many parts of the world, especially those where public Islam is practiced, the public and private spheres are often enmeshed. It was argued that this situation may prove challenging for the Habermasian vision. Finally, an alternate view to the single Habermasian public sphere was proposed. Referencing work by Nancy Fraser, the idea was put forward that a more useful approach to the public sphere in the Middle East and elsewhere may be the idea of counterpublics or competing public spheres that would better take into account real interactions of peoples and groups in the Middle East.

As introduced by Modjtaba Sadria and discussed by other participants, the Habermasian public sphere is based upon the participation of individuals negotiating change in a stable, rational environment. If, as in the Middle East and in modern Islamic politics, there is an elevation of the group

over the individual, then it becomes difficult, if not impossible, to negotiate a public sphere in the traditional sense. Moreover, in many Muslim societies, the environment in which they must negotiate change is frequently volatile and elusive. Yet, as discussed in Joseph Alagha's conference paper, the emergence of a pluralist public sphere has forced the Lebanese Shi'ite resistance movement Hizbullah toward a more integrated, socio-economic political transformation, proving that to some extent, a functioning public sphere can exercise a stabilizing function.

Much of the literature arguing the existence of a public sphere in Islamic societies offers signs of the public sphere as proof. Yet, several roundtable participants warned that the existence of similar institutions and practices do not constitute proof of a public sphere. For example, although coffee houses have existed in Istanbul since the 16th century, they did not necessarily play the same role as meeting places for businessmen, traders, and intellectuals to discuss politics and society as they did in Europe. The public sphere is not about signs, but about process and results.

Further confusing the argument is that Islamic societies, while in fact experiencing volatility and transformation, are often viewed through a static and frequently skewed lens. Armando Salvatore offered a condensed history of Europe, arguing that, due to commercial industrial revolutions, the Reformation, and the infiltration of Roman law, public Islam never became a part of the European discourse. From this approach, it would prove difficult to postulate the existence of a European style public sphere in regions of the world lacking the historical growth of a European civilization. Yet, to assume that sharia law, for instance, is an unchanging, unchallengeable foundation of all Islamic societies and that it proves these societies incapable of democratic change is a false assumption. As Khaldoun Al-Naqeeb stated, sharia law was introduced in a codified "universal" mode only a few centuries ago, and its role in many societies fluctuates over time.

Finally, it was argued that the notion that multiple, parallel public spheres may prove the key to transposing and making use of the public sphere where a single, rational public sphere does not exist, is problematic in and of itself. Can one not simply exclude individuals from any of the multiple public spheres? Does consensus within one or more public spheres actually matter in society at large? Are there practical benefits from multiple public spheres? In an interesting twist, one participant questioned whether the Soviet Union may have been felled by the unitary quality of the public sphere there and that, had there been multiple public spheres, this may have been otherwise.

The notion of the public sphere, or even public spheres, is clearly complexified by the presence of public Islam, blurred boundaries between public and private, and competing historical developments; however, it is also clear that the introduction of the public sphere literature into discussions of public Islam may prove beneficial. Dyala Hamza

argued that an "Arab public opinion" is sometimes simply staged and that the appearance of such a public sphere may not reflect reality. Mark LeVine and Armando Salvatore find a complex middle ground for the public sphere and public Islam to coexist, maintaining that socio-religious movements, unbound from Western, liberal restraints, "base their public actions primarily on a practical reason sanctified by religious tradition." As much as such an approach differs from the Habermasian model of the public sphere, LeVine and Salvatore argued that, in such cases, "ideas of the 'public sphere' and 'public reason' are not discarded but complexified through modalities of social mobilization and discourse that differ from the liberal matrix of the Habermasian public sphere."

The idea that a public sphere was capable of felling the Soviet Union may symbolize the overly high expectations that many scholars equate with the public sphere. LeVine and Salvatore, Hamza, and Alagha, among others, look for much more subtle results from the public sphere in non-democratic states and/or countries and regions where Islam is a public force.

MARK LEVINE

History, University of California, Irvine

ARMANDO SALVATORE

Kulturwissenschaftliches Institut, Wissenschaftszentrum Nordrhein-Westfalen, Essen

A framework for the study of socio-religious movements in the public sphere

We explore the theoretical foundations of the variety of notions of "publicness" utilized—explicitly and implicitly—by socio-religious movements to define and justify their ideologies and actions to achieve social power. We argue that contemporary Islamic socio-religious movements—like in Palestine, Lebanon, and even Iraq—attempt to reformulate and implement discourses of common good that articulate a politically legitimized public reason, yet such discourses are often in tension with modern liberal conceptions of the public sphere. This is in large part because socio-religious movements—Islamic and non-Islamic—remain unbound by the strictures of liberal conceptions and norms of publicness premised on atomistic views of the social agent, by the private-public dichotomy, and by the basing of public reason on a reconciliation of private interests. Instead, socio-religious movements base their public actions primarily on a practical reason sanctified by religious tradition (however variably interpreted). In order to investigate how socio-religious movements enter hegemonic contests within non-Western public spheres, we engage a critical discussion of how the concept of the "common good" entertained by many such movements is linked to notions of practice and "common sense." To accomplish this objective, we develop a combined reading of the Gramscian notion of "hegemony" and Foucault's embryonic idea of "political spirituality," both concepts having already been applied

(though in questionable ways) to Islamic movements. We argue that an approach critically combining the insights of these two concepts and the observation of contemporary Islamic movements in the MENA region sharpens our understanding of the potential of socio-religious movements to develop a politics of the common good through an upgrading of commonsensical practical reasoning. This operation comes close to Gramsci's notion of "good sense" as the key to mobilize successfully subaltern sectors of society. As a result, ideas of the "public sphere" and "public reason" are not discarded but complexified through modalities of social mobilization and discourse that differ from the liberal matrix of the Habermasian public sphere.

DYALA HAMZAH

Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin

Intifāda's Fidā': Suicide or Martyrdom? (Trans)Nationalist Icons, Islamic Consultation and the "Arab Public Sphere"

What happens in the Egyptian press when a Saudi legal pronouncement (fatwa) is perceived as desecrating an icon of Palestinian resistance (the shahīd)?

The answer is the staging of an "Arab public opinion," voicing its concerns over the jeopardized interests of the umma. While the rhetoric display of Arab unity in the media is not new, the procedure by which consent is manufactured is remarkable: the specialized opinion of the ulama is given precedence over non-specialized opinion and passes as "public" and as "Arab." In this paper, I give an extensive analysis of journalistic fatwas regarding the legitimacy of Palestinian suicide attacks. I argue that the consensual (mis)representation of the Saudi fatwa is proof, not so much of the existence of an Arab public opinion, and a fortiori, of an Arab trans-national public sphere, but rather of its absence. I conclude with a critical assessment of the application to the Middle Eastern context of the Habermasian concept of public sphere.

JOSEPH E. ALAGHA

The International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World (ISIM), Leiden, the Netherlands

Hizbullah's gradual integration in the Lebanese public sphere

The Lebanese Shi'ite resistance movement Hizbullah is going through a remarkable transformation, where its identity is constantly under (re)construction. Hizbullah was founded in 1978 as an Islamic movement of social and political protest by various sectors of Lebanese Shi'ite clergy and cadres, with Iranian ideological backing. Over the period 1985 to 1991, Hizbullah became a full-pledged social movement in the sense of having a broad overall organization, structure, and ideology aimed at social change and social justice. Starting in 1992 it became a mainstream political party. In constructing Hizbullah's identity, I argue that the three components of its identity—religious ideology, political ideology, and political program—correspond, to a large degree, to the three stages mentioned. In this paper, I limit myself to the third stage. Since the end of the

Civil War in 1990, Hizbullah has confronted major developments in Lebanon, most prominently the emergence of a pluralist public sphere and increasing openness toward other communities, political parties, and interest groups in Lebanon. This resulted in a change in Hizbullah's discourse and priorities. The mixed confessional space in Lebanon led Hizbullah to move from marginalization to integration (infatih or "opening-up") where the party became a major player in the Lebanese milieu, thus altering its stance and changing the political rules of the game from Islamization to "Lebanonization." Thus, throughout the 1990s, Hizbullah evolved into an "ordinary" political party, with an extensive network of social services (accorded to Muslims as well as to Christians), and participated in parliamentary and municipal elections. Although Hizbullah is still primarily an Islamic movement, it displays, more and more, the characteristics of a nationalist-patriotic political party pursuing Realpolitik when required by circumstances. A new stage transpired as a result of changes provoked by the nearly complete withdrawal of the Israeli army from Lebanon in May 2000, which dictated that Hizbullah confine its military resistance to the Shib'a farms and give primacy to its socio-economic program.

ABBAS VALI

Politics and International Relations, University of Wales at Swansea

Political authority, law and the discursive limits of the development of the public sphere in the Islamic Republic of Iran

Khatami's victory in the presidential elections in 1997 was the culmination of the popular quest for democratic reform in the Islamic Republic of Iran. The event was preceded by the emergence of a flourishing public sphere as the site of dissent and arguments for civil society and democratic rule expressed in terms of competing discourses on the nature of political authority and legitimacy in Islam. The growing public sphere, which played a crucial role in Khatami's victory in May 1997, thus became the primary target of a conservative Islamist backlash initiated by the conservative Islamists and implemented by the Council of Guardians after the elections. The reformist efforts to protect the public sphere against a sustained conservative onslaught and suppression of the press and the media failed as their proposed "press bill" was repeatedly rejected by the conservative bloc in the regime. This paper considers the discursive limits of democratic reform, exploring the complex relationship of the forms of sovereignty, juridical representation of power and a legally unprotected public sphere in the Islamic Republic of Iran. It further assesses the implications of the "Iranian case" for the prevailing normative and non-normative conceptions of public sphere in contemporary political discourse considered in the beginning of the paper. A major aim of this paper is to provide a theoretical outline for a concept of public sphere as a discursive formation defined by the constitutive difference of sovereign identity conceptions of public sphere in contemporary political discourse.

ITEMS

GLOBAL SECURITY AND COOPERATION

Children and Armed Conflict

[Data collection on the impact of armed conflict on children: recruitment and displacement](#)

The Children and Armed Conflict Program's data collection project on the impact of armed conflict on children, initiated in April 2004 in Angola, Colombia, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Sri Lanka, has reached its final stage. Some of the highlights of the project included contact on the ground with researchers and practitioners engaged in day-to-day activities with children affected by armed conflict; the direct involvement of the staff in training seminars for local research teams; the interactions with international partners, with government agencies, national NGOs and community-based organizations; and interactions and intense debates with scholars and practitioners conducting research on children and armed conflict. Despite the project's short timeframe, the materials gathered in the field resulted in rich and reliable data that produced valuable new insights and perspectives on the impact of armed conflict on children in these countries. In some cases, the preliminary findings even broke conventional wisdom with regard to key issues of the CAC debate. The outputs of this project are the following: four country reports, including inventories and analyses of existing literature on CAC; a comparative report; a research module for data collection on CAC; a global inventory and analysis of literature produced on CAC in the past 10 years; and an updated website and a new database with the statistical information produced in this project. All these materials will soon be available to the CAC community. The project was supported by ECHO (the European Commission Humanitarian Office), in coordination with UNICEF.

[Youth and Organized Violence](#)

The Children and Armed Conflict Program hosted the second workshop for the project on Youth and Organized Violence in New York in October 2005. Supported by the Harry Gutenberg Foundation, the workshop brought together participants to discuss chapters for an edited volume examining in comparative perspective the experiences of young people in contexts of war and armed conflict as well as in gangs and other forms of urban violence. It involved scholars and practitioners working with youth engaged in organized violence in

contexts as diverse as Australia, Brazil, Colombia, El Salvador, Liberia, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Sri Lanka, the U.S. and Zimbabwe.

Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum (CPPF)

CPPF continues to work to strengthen the knowledge base and analytical capacity of the UN system in the fields of conflict prevention and management, peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. It does so by providing an informal channel through which policymakers, academics and other analysts drawn from the media and non-governmental organizations can exchange information concerning countries and regions in crisis. CPPF's program priorities are set on a rolling basis in accordance with the "real time" needs identified by partners in the United Nations. Meeting those needs may involve convening small, off-the-record brainstormings, commissioning sequences of short and targeted analyses or a combination of the two.

Building on a brainstorming session held in July 2005, on September 15, 2005, the CPPF organized a consultation in which UN officials and invited experts could discuss priorities for the UN's peace operation in Haiti ("MINUSTAH"—the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti) and for the international community more generally in the run-up to planned elections. The meeting cast some doubt on the feasibility of elections in the near term and urged measures to strengthen electoral preparations while also holding open the possibility of a delay.

On October 17, 2005, CPPF organized a two-hour briefing on recent developments in Somalia by a visiting International Crisis Group (ICG) analyst on Somalia and a UK-based researcher on Somaliland. The meeting, held in the UN Secretariat Building, was timed to take place as the results from the first ever parliamentary elections in the break-away territory of Somaliland were being finalized but also as the troubling stand-off between different factions in Somalia's recently created Transition Federal Government continued. Discussions focused on future scenarios for both Somaliland and Somalia as a whole, particularly focusing on the likely political disposition of regional and international states toward both.

A meeting held by CPPF on December 13, 2005, brought together representatives of the Timorese government and civil society, senior UN diplomats and a small group of independent experts to take stock and make recommendations for actions to be undertaken by both national and international actors in order to bolster Timor-Leste's consolidation of peace, democracy and development. The mandate of the United Nations Office in Timor-Leste (UNOTIL) is likely to expire in May 2006. Though general elections in 2007 will be the first to take place since Timor-Leste achieved its independence in May 2002 and promise a significant step towards the consolidation of democracy, obstacles remain. The country still lacks an electoral law and the bodies charged with the conduct and oversight of the elections remain fragile. Also of concern are the manner in which questions of transitional justice have been addressed, as well as the difficulty in building an effective judiciary and police force, high unemployment rates compounded by a lack of infrastruc-

ture and a lack of capacity to implement programs, most notably those spelled out within the National Economic Plan.

Simultaneously, CPPF staff were, from December 14-15, 2005, also assisting colleagues from the United Nations Department of Political Affairs in hosting a meeting on “Regional Cooperation in Combating Terrorism, Extremism, Drug Trafficking, and Organized Crime in Central Asia,” hosted by the Government of Tajikistan in Dushanbe. This meeting was the latest in a sequence of similar such consultations co-organized by CPPF and the UN in Istanbul (2001), Berlin (2002) and Ashgabat (2003), each with the aim of promoting peaceful collaboration among Central Asian states. The Dushanbe meeting was attended by national delegations from Afghanistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, as well as experts on terrorism, organized crime and drug trafficking from Italy, Pakistan, Russia and the U.S., and the representatives of international and regional organizations. The two-day discussions addressed a range of emerging threats to regional security and stability and their root causes, and potential mechanisms for regional and international collaboration to combat them.

Along with these meetings, CPPF has recently commissioned or undertaken the preparation of several substantial pieces of policy-oriented research. In November 2005, CPPF’s associate director Stephen Jackson traveled to Burundi at the request of the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Burundi in order to compile a study of lessons learned at the political and strategic level during the conduct of the UN’s peacekeeping operation there. His final report will be published on the website of the UN’s Peacekeeping Best Practices Unit. Additionally, in response to a request from UN partners, over the last six months CPPF has commissioned research papers on police and judicial reforms in Haiti, critical perspectives on the elections and beyond in Liberia, and issues to be addressed for a comprehensive peace in Sudan.

Emergencies and Humanitarian Action

The SSRC recently held its seventh and final seminar of “The Transformations of Humanitarian Action” series. Mary Anderson, president of Collaborative for Development Action, Inc. and executive director of CDA Collaborative Learning Projects, and Janice Stein, director of the Munk Centre for International Studies and Belzberg Professor of Conflict Management at the University of Toronto, spoke on the topic of “The Accountability of Humanitarian Organizations.” Other 2005 seminar topics included “Building Up or Building Down the State,” which explored humanitarianism’s shifting role from relief to peacebuilding and state construction; “The Professionalization and Bureaucratization of Humanitarian Action;” and “The Effectiveness of Humanitarian Assistance.” Due to the success of the series, follow-up activities are already underway, organized by a working group co-chaired by Michael Barnett (University of Minnesota) and Thomas Weiss (CUNY). The Council is partnering with the Ralph Bunche Institute of the City University of New York to organize two

workshops in 2006 that will produce an edited volume and a policy briefing related to the range of ways in which humanitarian action has radically changed in the past decades.

Global Security and Cooperation (GSC)

SSRC-NUPI Project on Political Violence

Launched by the SSRC in partnership with the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI) in 2002, this project was brought to its conclusion with a final conference in Oslo in November 2005. The overarching objective of the project was to narrow the gap between policymakers and analysts with regard to appropriate responses to political violence. The SSRC and NUPI convened an international group of distinguished scholars, all of whom have both extensive field experience with militant groups and policy advisory experience. Through detailed case analysis and a comparative framework, the project was aimed at providing a better understanding of these groups as well as to formulate realistic policy recommendations. The twelve insurgent organizations investigated in this project are: ETA in Spain; FARC in Colombia; GAM in Aceh, Indonesia; HAMAS in Palestine; HIZBALLAH in Lebanon; the IRA in Northern Ireland; the JKLF and the JKHM in Kashmir; the LTTE in Sri Lanka; the PKK in Turkey; the PLA-CPN in Nepal; and Shining Path in Peru.



Kirsten Schulze, Andrew Silke, Marc Chernick, Jeroen Gunning, GSC Program Coordinator Veronica Raffo and Brendan O’Duffy of the SSRC-NUPI Project on Political Violence.

Following three years of field research, comparative analysis and synthesis of results, in 2005 the SSRC launched the final stage in the project which focused on policy recommendations and dissemination of findings. Policy briefings were organized in different locations around the world in the second half of 2005. The purpose of these policy briefings was to reach out to policymakers and disseminate the research findings and policy recommendations to help shape a common frame of understanding between analysts and policymakers in order to formulate policies that have a greater likelihood of success in resolving these protracted conflicts. At these events, scholars who participated in the project presented the findings of their case studies, a synthesis of the comparative analysis, and policy recommendations outlining new options for dealing successfully with political violence.

The policy briefings were held in 2005 at the following locations:

- New Delhi, on August 9, in collaboration with the Institute of Conflict and Peace Studies;
- Washington, D.C., on September 19 and 20, in collaboration with the United States Institute of Peace;
- London, on October 13 at the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, with the participation of officials from both the FCO and the Department for International Development (DFID), and on October 17 at the Royal Institute of International Affairs/Chatham House;
- Brussels, on October 14 at the European Commission (External Relations Directorate General), and NATO (Policy Planning Unit, Office of the Secretary General); and
- Oslo, on November 18 and 19, final conference sponsored by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The papers that have resulted from this project will appear in *Terror, Insurgencies and States: Breaking the Cycles of Protracted Violence*, edited by Marianne Heiberg, Brendan O'Leary and John Tirman (University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming, spring 2006). Also, a special report with a synthesis of the research findings and policy recommendations was prepared by the SSRC and distributed at the policy briefings and final conference (please see p. 62). For more information on the project and a report summarizing the project's findings and policy recommendations, visit the project's website: http://www.ssrc.org/programs/gsc/gsc_activities/nupi/index.page.

Thinking About Terrorism Conference

On September 19-20, 2005, the Program on Global Security and Cooperation co-sponsored a conference with the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) entitled *Thinking about Terrorism: taking stock four years after September 11th*, in Washington, D.C. Since September 11, politically motivated violence, especially violence that also targets civilians, has become an urgent policy issue internationally. However, there is growing concern that many of the policies stemming from the "Global War on Terror" now in place in the Middle East, Central Asia, Asia, Latin America and elsewhere may prove counter-productive in the longer run, fueling radicalism rather than subduing it, legitimizing violence rather than discrediting it. Arguably the shortcomings in current policies relate in part to a lack of detailed understanding of the nature of the militant groups involved; the social and political environment in which these groups are nurtured and operate; the nature of the grievances that motivate them; and their organizational modes of operation, financing and communication, as well as how these factors have shifted over time. These shortcomings may also relate to a lack of clear appreciation of the strengths, weaknesses and costs of the military, political and economic policies that various governments and international organizations have implemented over the years in response to the challenge of terrorism. In view of these shortcomings, the SSRC and USIP proposed this conference to take stock of what we know and still do not

know about terrorism, and to reach out to audiences responsible for policy in Washington, D.C., in an effort to narrow the gap between academic analysis and policy formulation.

Responding to Hegemony: The Dynamics of Social Movements

A third workshop for the Responding to Hegemony project is planned for April 2006. Funded by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the project explores how social movements form and act to restrain hegemonic power globally. Through commissioned research, workshops and publications, it investigates how global civil society and more local and specific social-movement organizations have responded to the current "unipolar" moment, set in the background of the past and propelled into informed speculation about the future. The first workshop was held in Paris in June 2004 on "Empire and Dissent: Reflecting on History" and focused on the long global history of empire. The second workshop was entitled "Empire and Dissent: Focus on Latin America" and sought to move from a historical understanding of empire to the actual experience of U.S. empire in a particular part of the world. (Please see p. 61 for the publication coming out of this meeting.) The third workshop will be held in collaboration with Rutgers University and will be entitled "Hegemony, Justice and Social Mobilization in Eastern Europe/Eurasia." Through the themes of "poverty," "corruption," "gender," "media," "minorities" and "environment," the workshop will explore the ways in which hegemonic and counter hegemonic movements problematize these issues in post-communist states and the ways in which notions of "fairness" and "justice" play into differential potentials for political mobilization. Countries that have witnessed the so-called "color revolutions" will constitute a special focus of analysis.

South Asian Nuclear Project

The Program on Global Security and Cooperation (GSC), in collaboration with the International Institute of Social History (IISH), held an authors' workshop in Washington, D.C. in August 2005 as part of its South Asian Nuclear Project entitled "Culture, Society and Nuclear Weapons in South Asia." Launched in May 2003, and funded by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the South Asian Nuclear Project has sought to facilitate a process of collective reflection on the state of nuclearization in South Asia. This phase of the project positioned nuclear weapons within a larger ensemble of cultural, social, historical and material factors, each in different ways constitutive of South Asian postcolonial modernity. By stepping back and seeing nuclear weapons as techno-political and socio-cultural artifacts within a particular context of meaning, the authors sought deeper understanding of the ways in which nuclear weapons matter to Indians and Pakistanis today and the causes for the relative apathy of South Asian elites and the public towards the presence of nuclear weapons in the region. Participants presented and discussed their revised papers, examining the issue of nuclearization through historical and personal narratives, comparative studies, data collection and analysis, and the use

of visual media (arts and images). The anticipated end product of the Project is the publication of these papers in an edited volume. For more information please visit: http://www.ssrc.org/programs/gsc/gsc_activities/SA_Nuclear_Project/.

North Korea Nuclear Project

As part of its continuing interest in exploring issues related to nuclear proliferation and arms control, the GSC organized a forum on the web entitled: “The North Korean Nuclear Crisis: Regional Perspectives.” In the United States, news coverage of North Korea’s nuclear program, as well as U.S. policy toward the North and reactions of U.S. allies and others in Northeast Asia, tend to reflect the Bush administration’s interpretation of events. This forum seeks to offer instead regional perspectives on the crisis. Commissioned papers were solicited from distinguished experts from three of the countries involved in the six-party talks: Funabashi Yoichi, who writes a column on foreign affairs for *Asahi Shimbun*; Yun Duk-min of South Korea’s Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security; and Gennady Chufirin, deputy director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO) of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The contributors were asked, What are the regional consequences of the current impasse in six-party talks and continued North Korean production of fissile material? The authors were asked to discuss the interests and strategy of a country other than their own. They were to assume that the stalemate in talks persists, North Korea continues to arm and the crisis intensifies. Leon Sigal, director of the Northeast Asia Cooperative Security Project at SSRC, provided a background paper detailing the interactions of the United States and the D.P.R.K. over the past four years and the reactions of others, especially South Korea and Japan.

The Northeast Asia Cooperative Security Project establishes and maintains unofficial contacts with non-officials, former officials, and officials acting in their unofficial capacity from North Korea, South Korea, Japan, China and Russia for ways to resolve nuclear, missile and other security disputes. It tries to craft cooperative solutions to security issues, and related political and economic issues that are acceptable to the United States, as well as to South Korea, Japan and others in the region. It then tries to educate publics both in the United States and in Northeast Asia about the issues and stakes involved, with the aim of promoting cooperative outcomes to these disputes.

HIV/AIDS and Social Transformation

Gender, AIDS and Crisis Prevention and Recovery

The SSRC recently carried out a comprehensive gender review of the United Nations Development Program’s (UNDP) work in Crisis Prevention and Recovery (CPR). On the basis of field visits to Liberia and the Democratic Republic of Congo and interviews with more than 150 UNDP staff around the world, this project assessed priorities in the field of gender and CPR (and UNDP’s role within it) with respect to: HIV/AIDS, justice and security sector reform, small arms reduction, dis-

armament, demobilization and reintegration, conflict prevention, mine action, transitional recovery and natural disaster reduction. UNDP will be supporting a follow-up project with the SSRC to implement recommendations made in the area of HIV/AIDS and the potential development of an information, knowledge and learning platform on gender and CPR.

Public Health Policy, HIV/AIDS and Gender

The Open Society Institute is funding the SSRC to create a pilot fellowship program on HIV/AIDS Health Policy Research that will provide opportunities for African researchers from different institutional and national settings to produce, analyze, disseminate, and utilize knowledge about the public health policy dimensions of HIV/AIDS. Fellows will contribute to national, regional and global research networks and will benefit from global and transnational research and learning collaborations. Support will enable fellows to carry out research on the health and social policy context relating to care-giving for HIV/AIDS and on the links between sexual violence and HIV/AIDS in Africa. Research will aim to improve public health policy responses to the pandemic and increase understanding about the interaction between local and global health systems and key factors shaping health governance and health outcomes.

Sexual Violence and Exploitation in Conflict Situations

On behalf of the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the SSRC organized and hosted a Technical Consultation on Sexual Violence and Exploitation (SVE) in Conflict Situations on December 15-16, 2005. This meeting formed a part of broader UN interagency discussions to expand and accelerate global efforts to reduce sexual violence in situations of armed conflict. Participants forged links between disciplines and discussed the potential for creating a practically applicable, standardized service for the assessment, monitoring and reporting of sexual violence and exploitation in conflict situations. Despite substantial work on aspects of sexual- and gender-based violence monitoring and assessment, there currently exists no agreed-upon method to be used on a routine, systematic basis for the generation of rapid data and analysis to inform effective response strategies and reduction interventions in conflict situations. The meeting brought together a diversity of expertise and perspectives on SVE surveillance and broke new ground in thinking about more systematic ways to measure and respond to the enormous challenges of sexual violence in conflict situations.

KNOWLEDGE INSTITUTIONS

Transformation of Public Research Universities

As part of a project to examine trends toward the privatization and commercialization of higher education and research, the SSRC has established a working group to advance this topic as

an object of theoretical and empirical social science analysis. It has also launched a web resource which includes an extensive bibliography on the subject containing articles published in English between 1985 and 2005. We invite comments on and additions to this bibliography at publicuniversities@ssrc.org. At the same web address we carry a list of news stories addressing issues of public research universities that have appeared in the *Financial Times*, the *New York Times*, the *Economist*, and insidehighered.com.

Integrative, Interdisciplinary Graduate Education

The NSF funded project on Integrative, Interdisciplinary Graduate Education is gearing up to enter its final phase of data collection. This project aims to study the impact of NSF-sponsored IGERT (Integrative Graduate Education and Research Traineeship) programs, which are designed to prepare graduate students in the sciences with a background in interdisciplinary research and education.

In this final phase of study, the project will adapt the concept of the “*charrette*” to fashion a test-bed for the exploration of the processes and products of interdisciplinary collaboration. The term *charrette* comes originally from the 19th century tradition of faculty in the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris assigning design problems so difficult that only a few students could solve them in the time allotted before a cart, or *charrette*, rolled past the drafting tables to collect the work, completed or not. Today it refers to an intensive creative process of collaborative brainstorming used primarily by design professionals to develop solutions to a problem within a limited timeframe.

For the purposes of this project, the *charrette* problem will be a research question devised by a panel of leading environmental and earth scientists. Graduate students from around the country enrolled in IGERT programs as well as in departmental programs that intersect the environmental sciences will be invited to apply to the *charrette*, which will be held in late August 2006 in Snowbird, Utah. For the exercise itself, these students will be divided into eight teams and given 48 hours to design a research proposal that addresses the environmental research question posed by the panel of scientists. At the end of these two days, the student teams will present their proposals to the distinguished panel of scientists, where they will be reviewed for, among other things, scientific inspiration, intellectual integrity, research novelty, project feasibility and broader potential impact.

Working with these experts to evaluate the final projects, and using film and interviews collected during the work process, the SSRC-organized research team will analyze the student groups on the basis of their collaborative processes and collective products. Our aim is to understand whether and how differences in graduate training and education affect the interdisciplinary mindsets and integrative competencies of young scientists. In addition, as an example of a “clinical experiment” in the social sciences, this project aims to promote methodological innovation in this much discussed but rarely explored intellectual direction.

SSRC Education Program

On June 23-24, 2005, the SSRC Education Program hosted a symposium in New York of researchers, practitioners and philanthropists to share information and deliberate on the current state of education research and its reception among decision-makers. The symposium, “Fits and Starts: Knowledge Use in Education Policymaking,” was held at the Century Association and supported by the William T. Grant Foundation. Through a series of panel discussions, the symposium participants addressed how knowledge use is defined within the context of policy, models of knowledge transmission to policy, key policy influencers utilizing education research and what bestows public legitimacy on knowledge. More information is available at http://www.ssrc.org/programs/knowledge/K12_ed/edresearch/issuesinedresearch.page.

Health and Social Science

The SSRC’s Health and Social Science Project has recently received a planning grant from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation to support the design of a new transdisciplinary doctoral initiative in health policy research. The new sequence will combine core disciplinary training in a social science discipline with skill-building in transdisciplinary research, collaboration and problem-solving across fields in health policy. The program seeks to provide an effective doctoral sequence for students who seek sustained training in a social science field but who wish to do so for careers in collaborative health policy research outside of traditional disciplinary departments. Lessons learned from the UCSF pilot experiment will help inform the development of similar efforts at other institutions.

Internationalization and Interdisciplinarity: An Evaluation of Title VI Middle East Studies Centers

The SSRC has been awarded a three-year grant by the U.S. Department of Education for a project entitled, “Internationalization and Interdisciplinarity: An Evaluation of Title VI Middle East Studies Centers.” The project seeks to evaluate the role that Title VI centers play, and potentially could enhance, in meeting the demands placed on the field of Middle East Studies in the United States. The study focuses on two of the most important of these challenges, which are: (1) the academic challenge to area studies emerging out of the post-Cold War context with its emphasis on globalization and de-emphasis of local and linguistic knowledge, and (2) the public challenge arising in the aftermath of 9/11 and the war on terror which has increased the workload of these centers due to student demand and public outreach as well as the resulting sense of heightened responsibility and accountability. The project will evaluate how these dynamics have affected the international capacity of the centers in terms of their networks and access to overseas resources, and hence their ability to provide in-depth training. Secondly, the project will assess how the centers are dealing with, and countering, the declining presence of the crucial social science disciplines of economics, political science and sociology in the

field of Middle East studies. The project is guided by a steering committee of three leading social scientists: Resat Kasaba, a sociologist from the University of Washington, Karen Pfeifer, an economist from Smith College, and Lisa Wedeen, a political scientist from the University of Chicago.

Liberal Arts Institutions and Interdisciplinary Programs

Based on the results of its first meeting in April 2005, the Working Group on Liberal Arts Institutions and Interdisciplinary Programs identified the need for empirical data and analysis pertaining to the different ensembles of interdisciplinary education programs and assessment practices in liberal arts institutions. To facilitate this study, a survey was launched in January 2006. A second meeting of the Working Group is scheduled for April 3-4, 2006. This meeting will include the institutional representatives and researchers from the first meeting, accompanied by most of the presidents of the participating institutions in this project. Following this meeting the project researchers will draft an assessment framework that will be piloted in eight participating colleges. This framework will ultimately be circulated among the broader liberal arts community. The project is funded by the Teagle Foundation.

The Politics of Open Source Adoption

The SSRC has recently issued a collaborative report that examines cases of open source adoption within a range of institutions, sectors and localities, from municipal adoption in Munich, to national policies in Brazil and Kenya, to UN and EU international agendas. The report is published on a community editable website (wiki) at <http://www.ssrc.org/wiki/POSA>.

Transitions to College

The Transitions to College Program is pleased to announce the availability of three postdoctoral awards for new research related to transitions to college. The fellowship is funded by the Lumina Foundation for Education. Three grants will be made in the amount of \$9,000 each. This research is part of the ongoing work of the Transitions to College program at the SSRC. Over the last two years, with funding from the Lumina Foundation for Education, a multidisciplinary working group of social scientists has been examining the state of our knowledge about the factors that promote or impede successful transitions to college, especially for disadvantaged youth. The program's activities have included the generation of a series of review essays mapping the contribution of the various social science disciplines to our knowledge of transitions, and a policy-oriented report, *Questions That Matter*, which outlines key questions relating to transitions and the research that is necessary to answer them (see p. 62). The program has also produced an interactive website that carries a searchable database of literature on transitions to college, including both scholarly research and policy reports. For more information about the Transitions to College Program and its work, please go to http://www.ssrc.org/programs/knowledge/K12_ed/transitions/index.page.

University-Industry Linkages as Drivers of Urban Development in Asia

On November 17-28, 2005, the World Bank hosted a workshop in Washington, D.C., entitled "Opening the Ivory Tower for Business: University-Industry Linkages in Asia." Revised versions of 14 project papers were discussed during the meeting, one outcome of which will be a special issue of the journal *World Development*, to be published under the co-editorship of Shahid Yusuf of the World Bank and Eric Hershberg of the SSRC. An initiative chaired jointly by the Council and the Development Economics Research Group (DECRG) of the World Bank, the University-Industry linkages project promotes research exploring the nature and scope of the multiple institutional forms that facilitate connections between university-based research and training and the emergence of knowledge-intensive "clusters" of economic activity in metropolitan areas. Using both cross-country empirical analysis and a case study approach, the project has mobilized scholars from Asia and elsewhere to examine the current configuration of research-oriented universities in the region, survey the state of university-industry linkages, and assess the institutional frameworks that govern relationships between knowledge production and commercialization in different contexts. Studies look at Japan, China, Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, Vietnam, Thailand, India and the U.S.

MIGRATION

Covering Islam and Muslims in America

The Western Knight Center for Specialized Journalism and the USC Annenberg Knight Chair in Media and Religion, in partnership with the Social Science Research Council and the New York Times Company Foundation, presented a seminar on November 6-10, 2005, that explored in-depth the practice of Islam and the Muslim experience in America. The program, which focused on Islamic practices and communities, aimed to provide journalists with context and understanding of issues essential to framing news stories with a greater depth of understanding of American Muslim life and its transnational dimensions. Fellowships were offered to 25 professional journalists to attend the seminar, which featured a broad range of experts leading discussions key to understanding the complexities of Islam. The program addressed issues including: (1) the social, cultural and political diversity of Muslims in American society; (2) reporting on the cultural, linguistic and transnational aspects of the religion; (3) the role of Muslim women in political, business and community life; (4) the institutional, ethnic and religious ties of American Muslims with Muslims abroad; and (5) coping with post-9/11: fear, civil liberties, foreign policy, terrorism and war. Fellows also discussed the challenges of reporting and writing about Muslim communities, and learning where to find source experts, community contacts, websites, literature and other resources.

Education and Migration

Children of Immigrants in Schools

The Migration Program is pleased to announce that it has been awarded a grant by the National Science Foundation's Office of International Science and Engineering (OISE) to support international collaborative research and training on immigrant education. The principal investigators are Richard Alba (University at Albany, SUNY), Jennifer Holdaway and Josh DeWind (SSRC), Margaret Gibson (University of California, Santa Cruz), Carola Suarez-Orozco (New York University) and Mary Waters (Harvard University). The PIs will work in collaboration with European partners at five universities in Britain, France, the Netherlands, Spain and Sweden to examine how cross-national differences in educational institutions, policies and practices shape the education of immigrants and their children. The Migration Program will be responsible for organizing the recruitment of pre- and post-doctoral research fellows, administering fellowship funds and organizing workshops, a conference and an institute to train a second cohort of students from participating institutions. One of the innovative aspects of this project is that it provides a valuable model for combining training and research through international collaboration in the social sciences more broadly. The project will enable fifteen young scholars (ten based in the U.S. and five in Europe) to carry out comparative research regarding the pathways that immigrant students take through the different educational systems within each country to enter either higher education or the labor market.

Education and Migration Working Group

The Education and Migration Working Group continues to pursue a comparative approach to assess the impact of institutional and policy contexts on immigrants' progress from high school to higher education and the labor market. Following an initial planning meeting in April 2004, the group has now split into two subgroups. The first is examining the relationship between institutional context and immigrant agency in the U.S. The other subgroup is pursuing a similar topic but from an international perspective. Participants are comparing how differences between various European and American educational institutions and practices shape the immigrants' pathways into college and work. Co-sponsored by the Nuffield Foundation, the group's members are currently revising papers for publication. Each member of the group has worked in a different region of the country (California, Florida, New York and Washington) and their papers outline the impact of local and regional factors, including demographics, the political context and the role of local stakeholders in shaping policy.

Gender and Migration

Over the last two years the Working Group on Gender and Migration has investigated the extent to which the analysis of gender has been integrated into the study of migration across the various social science disciplines. Its work will culminate in

spring 2006 with the publication of a special issue of the *International Migration Review* edited by Donna Gabaccia, Katharine Donato, Jennifer Holdaway, Martin Manalansan IV and Patricia Pessar. The special issue, "Gender and Migration Revisited," includes disciplinary reviews in anthropology, geography, history, legal studies, political science, psychology, sociology and gender studies. An introduction by the editors traces the gradual incorporation of gendered analysis into migration studies, and its uneven impact across the disciplines. The editors also suggest ways in which future research can combine insights and methods from different disciplines to further our understanding of the role of gender in shaping the processes and outcomes of migration. As a follow-up to the special issue, and a precursor to further work, the editors will organize a workshop in fall 2006 at the annual meeting of the Social Science History Association, entitled "Numbers, Narratives and More: Towards an Interdisciplinary Analysis of Migrant Gender Ratios."

Migration and Development

Migration and Development Conferences

Since July 2004, the Migration Program has been developing a new project on migration and development. As part of this effort, SSRC's Josh DeWind and Jennifer Holdaway collaborated with the International Organization for Migration in organizing a conference on "Regional Conflict on Internal Migration and Development in Asia" that was held in Lanzhou, China, in March 2005. A second event—a conference on "Researching Migration Within and Across Borders: Concepts, Methods and Policy Considerations in International and Internal Migration"—was held in New York in November 2005. The meeting brought together scholars from a range of disciplinary and regional backgrounds to discuss the ways in which both internal and international migration contribute to development, and the lessons for research and policy that can be drawn from a comparison of the two processes. The project is sponsored and supported by the International Organization on Migration (Geneva), Center for Migration, Policy, and Society (Oxford) and the Economic and Social Research Council (UK).

Korean Migration and Development Fellowships

As a pilot exploration of cooperation with the SSRC, the Korean Research Foundation is supporting four research fellowships on Korean migration and development. Scholars can apply to investigate economic, social, political and cultural aspects of the contribution that Korean migration makes either to Korea or to a country of migrant destination. To encourage collaboration, the program is encouraging applicants based in different disciplines or countries (Korea and a receiving country) to submit joint proposals. The fellows in this program will be convened before and after they carry out their research to explore and enhance the collective contributions of their research. For more information please go to: <http://www.ssrc.org/programs/intmigration/fellowships/koreanprf/index.page>.

THE PUBLIC SPHERE

Necessary Knowledge for a Democratic Public Sphere

New Program

The SSRC has been awarded a grant from the Ford Foundation for the first year of a four-year program entitled “Necessary Knowledge for a Democratic Public Sphere.” The program is a response to structural changes in the media environment, from the concentration of media ownership, to the decline of public interest regulation, to the privatization of communications infrastructure and public resources (such as the internet and radio spectrum), to the growth of protectionist intellectual property regimes. The program is an effort to build a more robust knowledge infrastructure in this area, permitting both academic and civil society actors to produce, find, and mobilize relevant research and data; facilitate the ongoing analysis of movement activities and strategies; and articulate broader conceptual frameworks and linkages between issues. The first year of the project will see the development of four overlapping sets of activities: a collaborative grants project, an online media research hub, a communications data consortium, and global networking and capacity-building. For more information, go to: <http://www.ssrc.org/programs/media/>.

Information, Communication and New Media Studies

On February 2-4, 2006, the SSRC and the Oxford Internet Institute (OII) co-sponsored a meeting on “Information, Communication and New Media Studies: Networking a Multidisciplinary Field” at Oxford University. The two-day workshop was convened to explore the field of multidisciplinary research efforts on the role of information and communications technologies in public life. The meeting brought together leading research innovators in this area, advocates, technologists and other stakeholders to discuss the distinctive approaches, models of research, and networking opportunities across these diverse fields. A full participant list can be found at <http://www.ssrc.org/programs/media/oii/>. The workshop was part of the Council’s new program on Necessary Knowledge for a Democratic Public Sphere.

Communications and Media Policy Data Consortium

A first planning meeting on creating a Communications and Media Policy Data Consortium was held in collaboration with the Future of Music Coalition (FMC), September 12, 2005, at FMC’s annual policy conference. Some 50 researchers, policymakers, music industry professionals and media advocates attended. This meeting marked a transition between the planning phase of SSRC media and communications work, and the launch of the larger Necessary Knowledge for a Democratic Public Sphere Program. A data consortium “wiki” is online at <http://www.ssrc.org/wiki/dataconsortium/>.

Propertization of Traditional Arts in Indonesia Project

The Propertization of Traditional Arts in Indonesia Project recently conducted a two-week mission to explore the impact of

changes in Indonesian copyright law on the practice of the traditional arts. Thirteen international and Indonesian researchers, lawyers and activists participated. The trip was intended to (1) prompt greater public discussion of these issues within Indonesia, especially among the communities of artists whose work is most affected by the new law; and (2) help support and build connections among the small number of research and policy actors who bring critical perspectives to bear on the intersection of intellectual property, cultural policy, traditional arts and trade. The trip concluded with a public seminar in Jakarta on *The Impact of Intellectual Property Laws on Indonesian Traditional Arts*. The group’s concluding statement can be found online at: <http://www.ssrc.org/programs/ccit/ip/indonesian-arts/>. An account of the group’s work was published in the *Jakarta Post* and can be accessed at: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/yesterdaydetail.asp?fileid=20050901.E02>.

World Summit on the Information Society

On November 14-19, 2005, the SSRC’s new Program on Necessary Knowledge for a Democratic Public Sphere sent a small team to the World Summit on the Information Society in Tunis to make connections with international NGO and media research networks.

National Research Commission on Elections and Voting

On September 1-4, 2005, the SSRC’s National Research Commission on Elections and Voting concluded its activities with a dedicated panel at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in Washington, D.C. The thematic panel, entitled “Rising to the Challenge of Electoral Reform, Research Priorities for the Social Sciences: Findings of the Social Science Research Council Election Commission,” featured Commission members Ben Highton, Mike Traugott, Walter Mebane, Jeff Manza and Martha Kropf. Although the Commission’s work ends with the APSA panel, Council staff are exploring projects on (1) innovative research to help inform policies concerning new voter ID requirements, potential voter fraud and enfranchisement; (2) an interdisciplinary effort to strengthen social scientific insight into subjective barriers to voting among groups with low turnout (including attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs); and (3) the construction of an integrated national database and research archive for scholarly and public use. For more information, including the Commission’s final report, go to <http://elections.ssrc.org>.

Religion and Public Life

Religion and International Affairs

The Henry Luce Foundation has approved a three-year grant to a Council project to create a working group on Religion and International Affairs. The project will support the integration of religion into the teaching and research of schools of international and public affairs and the practical knowledge of leaders in journalism and international relations. This project will be part of a larger SSRC effort to bring attention to religion more centrally into social science research and analysis and

to contribute to a better understanding of the role of world religions in contemporary public life.

Religious Engagements of American Undergraduates

The SSRC has launched a project aimed at synthesizing and reporting existing knowledge on the religious engagements of U.S. college students. Supported by the Teagle Foundation, the project's primary goal is to report the synthesis in an accessible form to faculty members and administrators of colleges and universities to inform their work in teaching, advising and establishing curricula.

Risk, Catastrophe, and Inequality

Task Force on Hurricane Katrina and Rebuilding the Gulf Coast

The SSRC has convened a Task Force on Hurricane Katrina and Rebuilding the Gulf Coast. With primary support from the MacArthur Foundation and additional support from the Russell Sage Foundation and the American Sociological Association's Fund for the Advancement of the Discipline, the task force's basic agenda is to strengthen social science research on the Hurricane Katrina disaster and the rebuilding efforts underway, including by improving the availability of existing baseline and other data. A key component of the Task Force effort will be developing tools and communication networks to help researchers learn about the work others are doing, share their work in progress and public data resources, and gain better capacity to bring their work to the attention of appropriate constituencies. A web-based platform for collaboration will be an important part of this. The Task Force is chaired by Kai Erikson of Yale University and includes a range of distinguished social scientists representing both expertise in disaster research and engagements with the implications of the disaster for other social science concerns, from democratic politics to social welfare to community formation to race and inequality. The Council has also commissioned a series of essays for a forum on the web entitled *Understanding Katrina: Perspectives from the Social Sciences* that may be found at: <http://understandingkatrina.ssrc.org>. A representative essay from the forum is the first article carried in this issue of *Items and Issues*.

Public Dialogues on Katrina's Challenge: Risk, Inequality, and Catastrophe

A series of public dialogues moderated by Craig Calhoun, University Professor of the Social Sciences at New York University and president of the Social Science Research Council, is being hosted and organized this spring by New York University and the SSRC. Participants include Michael Eric Dyson, Kai Erikson, Susan Cutter, Andrew Lakoff, Eric Klinenberg, Tom Frank, Alex de Waal, Jacob Hacker, Katherine Newman and Malcolm Steven Forbes. Please contact Sarah Beth Kaufman at sbk251@nyu.edu for dates and more information.

Privatization of Risk

Efforts to replace public institutions with market mechanisms shift the burden of life's many risks disproportionately to those

without substantial private wealth. And shifting the burden of risk affects not only the poor but also the middle classes, many members of which now feel new levels of personal insecurity. To develop work on this issue, the SSRC has held planning meetings supported by a committee chaired by Jacob Hacker of Yale University. In addition to its own internal discussions, the committee has organized a public forum in Washington, D.C. (co-sponsored with the New American Foundation) and planned a conference which will take place in fall 2006 with a book publication following. Its members are also among the contributors to the SSRC Forum on *The Privatization of Risk* (<http://privatizationofrisk.ssrc.org>). To read an essay that frames the issues addressed by the committee, please see p. 16 in this *Items and Issues*.

Global Studies of Discrimination

An emergent cross-regional project is being developed in partnership with Princeton University, encompassing research on India, Brazil, South Africa and the United States. The project was developed in part as a result of a Princeton-sponsored meeting in Delhi in 2005, and will now lead to conferences that have been scheduled at the University of Sao Paulo, Brazil (May 2006); the University of Cape Town, South Africa (September 2006); and Princeton University (December 2006). The project explores the utility of different methodologies for measuring discrimination, and of competing policy approaches, particularly affirmative action, for mitigating inequalities based on such categories as race, religion and caste.

FELLOWSHIPS AND CAPACITY BUILDING

Abe Fellowship Program

CGP-SSRC Seminar Series

The Abe Fellowship Program held a number of seminars over the past months in conjunction with the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership. The basis for two recent events in Washington, D.C., was a book that has recently come out of a CGP-SSRC Seminar Series on the development of Asian regionalism and the implications for U.S. interests in the region. *Remapping East Asia: The Construction of a Region*, edited by T.J. Pempel of the University of California, Berkeley, provided the background for two discussion sessions held in mid-October that were timed to take advantage of the increasing interest in the East Asia Summit held in Malaysia in December 2005.

Participants addressed three issues: 1) the development of East Asian regionalism and its effect on Asian countries' interest in global liberalization efforts like the WTO; 2) whether the new Asian institutions, in which the U.S. is not a participant, represent some form of counter-balancing or erosion of American influence; and 3) the role of regional powers such as Japan, China and India in the construction of a regional architecture and emerging institutional identity. The first event was co-sponsored by the Congressional Research Service (CRS) and attracted Congressional staffers as well as CRS researchers. Three participants from the original CGP-SSRC seminar series, T.J. Pempel, Paul

Evans of the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada and Etel Solingen of the University of California, Irvine, gave presentations on their research. CRS specialists with expertise in trade and finance served as discussants. Audience members were chiefly concerned with the growing Chinese economy and its impact on employment trends in the U.S. The workshop was followed by informal discussions over lunch. In the afternoon, the Sigur Center for Asian Studies at George Washington University (GWU) hosted a discussion designed for a broader audience. T.J. Pempel, Paul Evans and Catharin Dalpino of Georgetown and GWU offered their perspectives on the upcoming East Asia Summit and on U.S. policies in the region. Over 100 people attended the session including representatives from embassies, newspapers, think tanks and universities. Both the Congressional Research Service and the Sigur Center have expressed an interest in working with the Abe Fellowship Program on similar events in the future.

Other seminars in the CGP-SSRC Seminar Series over the past months have included one on “Remaking Transnationalism: Japan, Foreign Aid, and the Search for Global Solutions,” which was held at the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University and was convened by Kay Warren of the Watson Institute and David Leheny of the University of Wisconsin, Madison. A second workshop, “Soft Power: National Assets in Japan and the United States,” was held in Tokyo. Convened by Watanabe Yasushi, Keio University, the meeting brought together nine American and eight Japanese experts to discuss “soft power,” the concept coined in 1990 by Joseph Nye and expanded upon in his 2004 book *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. Follow-up sessions will be convened in spring 2006. Planning is currently underway for a new seminar series to begin in May 2006 that will examine the declining rate of fertility and the balance between work and family in Japan and other OECD countries. The series will be convened by Kazuo Yamaguchi, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago.

Fellows' Retreat

The Abe Fellows' Retreat was held at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel on Amelia Island, Florida, January 13-16, 2006. The retreat is designed to facilitate networking among fellows and to give fellows the opportunity to receive feedback from their colleagues during small discussion sessions. Fifteen current and former Abe fellows joined SSRC staff, CGP staff and invited guests for the event. In addition to the discussion sessions, three plenary sessions were held. Mitsuru Kitano, Minister for Public Relations at the Embassy of Japan, delivered the keynote address on Asian regionalism. The theme of Asian regionalism continued during a later session devoted to a discussion of *Remapping East Asia: The Construction of a Region*. The discussion was led by T.J. Pempel, editor of the volume of the same name (see above). A third plenary session compared the U.S. government's response to the Katrina disaster with the Japanese government's response to the Kobe Earthquake of 1995. Three current and former program committee members attended the retreat to serve as discussion group leaders: Charles Hirschman from the University of Washington, Ed

Lincoln from the Council on Foreign Relations and Mike Mo-chizuki from George Washington University.

Memory, Reconciliation and Security in the Asia-Pacific: Implications for U.S.-Japan Relations

Work continues on the controversial project “Memory, Reconciliation and Security in the Asia-Pacific: Implications for U.S.-Japan Relations.” The initial phase of the project was held at George Washington University in January 2003. We anticipate conducting the final phase of the project at a writers' workshop scheduled for December 2006.

Program Committee Meeting/Fellowship Awardees

The Abe Fellowship Program held its annual program committee meeting October 21-22, 2005, in Tokyo, Japan. Committee members were joined by representatives from the SSRC and the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership. The Abe Fellowship Program Committee awarded seventeen new fellowships for 2006-07 at its annual fall meeting. Six of the grantees reside in Japan, eleven in the U.S. Ten of the grantees are male, seven female. Topics include a study of homelessness in the U.S., UK, and Japan; two projects on Japanese overseas development assistance in Asia; two projects on U.S. and Japanese environmental policies; and other policy-relevant studies that impact the U.S. and Japan.

Education and Migration

The National Science Foundation's Office of International Science and Engineering (OISE) has awarded the SSRC a grant to support international collaborative research and training on immigrant education. Please see p. 47 for more information.

ESRC/SSRC Collaborative Visiting Fellowship

The Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) are pleased to announce a fellowship for U.S. and Canadian scholars to visit and engage in collaborative activities with members of ESRC-supported projects in Britain, or for British scholars at ESRC-supported projects to visit collaborators in the U.S. or Canada. Please see p. 55 for more information.

Eurasia Title VIII Fellowship Program

Dissertation Development Workshop

The Eurasia Program will hold its annual dissertation development workshop on March 31-April 2, 2006, at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. The topic will be “Governance and Mobility in Eurasia: Continuity and Discontinuity.” The workshop is funded by the U.S. State Department's Title VIII Program and is composed of graduate students, chosen on a nationally competitive basis, and faculty members representing different social science disciplines. The format of the workshop allows for both focused attention on student dissertation projects as well as an engaged discussion of approaches to governance questions. This is the third dissertation development workshop to focus specifically on issues

of governance. A public reception and seminar following the workshop will focus on issues of governance and mobility globally. It is intended to further expand the reach of the workshop and hopefully attract a wide audience from the Madison academic community. This past year's topic, "Governing Eurasia: Social Transformations and Governance through Time," was held at the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University. Governance has proven an important approach to addressing many current and past issues in Eurasia.

2005-2006 Fellowship Competition

The Eurasia Program's Title VIII Selection Committee has completed the final selections for 2005-06 fellowships and grants. This interdisciplinary committee is currently composed of ten leading U.S. experts in Eurasian studies, chaired by Beth Mitchneck, University of Arizona. The fellowship sub-committee recommended approximately 17 awards to graduate students and postdocs across four fellowship categories: pre-dissertation training, dissertation write-up, postdoctoral research and teaching fellowships. A second sub-committee on languages awarded summer language institute grants for training programs in advanced Russian, Ukrainian, Kazakh, Turkmen, Uzbek, Georgian, Uighur and other languages spoken throughout Eurasia. Additionally, the committee met jointly to discuss future field-building activities such as the annual dissertation development workshop, the newly introduced training seminar for policy research and other possible activities. The committee also offered suggestions on more closely integrating Title VIII activities into other Eurasia Program activities, in particular projects recommended by the Eurasia regional advisory panel (RAP). The Eurasia Program staff will follow up on the committee's suggestions prior to next year's meeting.

For more information on Eurasia Program activities please see p. 56, under International Collaboration.

HIV/AIDS, Gender, and Public Health Policy

The SSRC is creating a pilot fellowship program on HIV/AIDS Health Policy Research that will provide opportunities for African researchers from different institutional and national settings to produce, analyze, disseminate and utilize knowledge about the public health policy dimensions of HIV/AIDS. Please see p. 44 for more information.

International Dissertation Field Research Fellowship (IDRF) Program

Fellows' Workshop

The IDRF hosted its fifteenth fellows' workshop in Philadelphia, PA, from September 28-October 3, 2005. The workshop is a requirement of the IDRF Program and aims to create a cohort of fellows that is both cross-disciplinary and cross-regional. Along with providing a forum for fellows to discuss their dissertation research in its varying stages, the workshop

also affords them an opportunity to exchange ideas with facilitators and peers regarding the more general aspects of theory, research methodology, write-up and fieldwork experience. The 24 participating fellows were grant recipients from the 2004 cohort who have recently returned from their field research and are at the beginning stages of dissertation writing. Prior to the meeting, the group was divided into five panels around common themes across disciplines and regions. After a day-long discussion to familiarize themselves with their fellow panelists' work, participants spent the next three days presenting their research and engaging the interdisciplinary focus of the IDRF Program. Panelists made a special effort to present each other's work, a technique that helped to broaden the understanding of the specific research and to strengthen the linkages across disciplines. Misty Bastian (anthropology, Franklin and Marshall College) and Eric Hershberg (political science, SSRC and Columbia University) along with program staff Nicole Stahlmann and Patrick Tonks were there to facilitate the discussions. Despite the last minute shift of location from New Orleans, fellows and facilitators enjoyed Philadelphia and its offerings. Some members of the group organized outings to local jazz clubs as well as a visit to Philadelphia's famous Eastern State Penitentiary, one of the prisons that Michel Foucault discusses in *Discipline and Punish*.



Graham Jones, a doctoral candidate at NYU, presenting his research at the fall 2005 IDRF fellows' workshop in Philadelphia, PA.

2006-2007 Fellowship Competition

The International Dissertation Field Research Fellowship Program reached its application deadline on November 10, 2005 for the 2006-07 fellowship. A record 1,207 applications were submitted for the 2006 competition, a significant increase over last year's 1,126 applications. For the first time, the IDRF Program offered an entirely electronic application process. 2,500 letters of reference and 900 language evaluations were submitted electronically through the SSRC's online application portal. All in all, the online system hosted close to 5,000 users. Approximately 50 fellows will be selected at the committee meeting in April 2006. The 15-member committee is comprised of scholars representing a wide range of fields in the social sciences and humanities. Proposals are screened by IDRF's network of over 140 screeners. The present cohort of IDRF fellows represents 25 universities and

14 disciplines and fields of study including history, anthropology, sociology, ethnomusicology, archaeology, Middle Eastern studies, political science, art history, architecture, economics, environmental studies, literature, linguistics and psychology. The cohort is conducting research in all areas of the world.

The Meanings and Uses of Field Work

The IDRF Program is organizing an initiative on “The Meanings and Uses of Field Work.” The project consists of a series of informal faculty seminars that aim to take stock of the art and practice of fieldwork within the established disciplines of the social sciences and humanities, to consider some of the alternative practices of fieldwork which exist at the boundaries of current scholarly practices, and to produce new understandings of the past and possible futures of fieldwork. The first meeting in this series occurred in October of 2005, when a diverse group of scholars came together to discuss how fieldwork is used to familiarize and locate research across the disciplines, as well as how the “feel of a place” enters into or informs research and publication, even in disciplines that have no explicit methodological reliance on presence in the field. In spring 2006 the series continues with two meetings. The first, on March 3-4 in New York City, included two sessions, on transnationalism and comparative methods and on fieldwork in virtual spaces. The second meeting is scheduled to take place at Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government on April 14-15, 2006, and will include sessions on fieldwork, science and ethics.

Korean Migration and Development Fellowships

The Korean Research Foundation is supporting four SSRC research fellowships on Korean migration and development. Please see p. 47 for more information.

Program on Philanthropy and the Nonprofit Sector

The SSRC Program on Philanthropy and the Nonprofit Sector (PPNPS) came to a close on June 30, 2006 after seven years of operation. Over the past five years, the program has awarded 43 individual dissertation fellowships to doctoral candidates working on issues related to the history, behavior and role of nonprofit and/or philanthropic organizations in the United States. In addition, workshops were organized for these students to help them develop their projects further in an interdisciplinary setting. A three-day capstone conference held this past spring at the NYU Villa La Pietra in Florence, Italy, both marked the accomplishments of the program and all fellowship recipients and drew attention to two areas of research viewed as especially promising. The first is the impact of the philanthropic sector abroad, *Philanthropic Projections of Power: Sending Institutional Logics Abroad*; the second is on domestic issues, *Politics and Partnerships: Associations and Nonprofit Organizations in American Governance*. Two edited volumes on these subjects are expected from the work of the fellows and members of the PPNPS network. The first will be edited by Steven Heydemann and David Hammack and the

second will be edited by Elisabeth Clemens and Doug Guthrie. Both volumes are expected to come out in the next year.

Sexuality Research Fellowship Program

Tenth Annual Fellows’ Conference

On November 3-6, 2005, the Sexuality Research Fellowship Program (SRFP) held its tenth annual fellows’ conference at the Airlie Conference Center in Warrenton, Virginia. In attendance were the newly-selected 2005 postdoctoral fellows, a number of former fellows from 1996-2004 cohorts, invited guest participants, and SSRC staff Diane di Mauro and Victoria Taylor.

SRFP fellows and guests were welcomed to the Airlie Center with dinner and a dessert reception on Thursday evening, and formally began the conference the next day with the first fellows’ panel on sexuality and policy. This first panel comprised 2005 fellows Katrina Karkazis, Dean Spade and Rob Bivenvenu who discussed their policy work focusing on intersex infants, transgender equity and gay and lesbian integration in the U.S. Army. The second fellows’ panel featured Anne Esacove, Jafari Allen and Catherine Fosl, who presented on HIV/AIDS prevention policy, queer activism in the African American community and the Southern LGBT movement respectively. Following lunch, Donna Crane, Deputy Director of Government Relations for NARAL Pro-Choice America, gave a guest presentation on the challenges of sexuality-related policymaking in the current political environment. The afternoon concluded with a bird sanctuary tour with Dr. William Sladen, allowing for the opportunity to explore Airlie’s beautiful environmental sanctuaries.



2005 SRFP Fellows at the Airlie Conference Center.

Saturday morning commenced with a talk by John Gagnon, former co-chair of the SRFP selection committee, on sexuality research and the media. The conference guests then attended the third and final fellows’ panel, with presentations by Kevin Murphy, Elizabeth Bernstein and Nancy Kendall on transatlantic sexual policy, sex work regulations and a policy overview of sexuality education in the U.S. Attendees were then treated to a talk by guest Judy Patrick, vice president of Programs and Operations at the Women’s Foundation of California, on strengthening the linkages between research and advocacy. SRFP research consultants

Paisley Currah and Carole Vance presented on the topic of future trends in sexuality research and its dissemination, followed by a talk on media and journalism trends given by Julia Heiman, director of the Kinsey Institute in Bloomington, Indiana, and former SRFP selection committee member. The conference concluded with a celebratory dinner banquet, held in the Airlie Pavilion, where fellows and guests engaged in informal discussions. The SRFP fellows' conference provided a wonderfully diverse forum for continuing scholarship in the area of sexuality and policy, and an important opportunity for networking and exchanging ideas. For a detailed description of the 2005-06 SRFP Sexuality and Policy Fellows cohort, please visit <http://www.ssrc.org/programs/sexuality/>.

Capstone Event: "States of Sexuality"

The Sexuality Research Fellowship Program, in acknowledgment and celebration of its 10 years (1996-2005) of providing fellowship support for sexuality research in the social and behavioral sciences, will be hosting a celebratory/networking capstone event from March 30 to April 1, 2006, at the Hyatt Regency Tamaya Resort on the Santa Ana Pueblo reservation in New Mexico. The gathering, entitled "States of Sexuality," will bring together 160 fellows, selection committee members and research advisers/associates/consultants who were also funded in the capacity of research advisers and mentors for each fellow. Representatives of both the Ford Foundation, which provided support for the duration of the program, and the SSRC will be in attendance. The meeting will address the present state of and future opportunities and challenges regarding the field of sexuality research in the U.S. In keeping with the title of the meeting, participants will examine the various "states of sexuality" via the opening plenary panel and various small group discussions focusing on disciplinary, methodological and topical issues relevant to sexuality research. The plenary session panel, entitled "Gazing Into the Crystal: Prophecies for the Field, 10 Years Hence," has particular importance for setting out a vision for sexuality research in the next decade. It is anticipated that the event will provide an appropriate closure and networking opportunity for the field.

South Asia Program

Fellowship Awardees

The South Asia Program is pleased to announce the results of the fourth round of its South Asia Regional Fellowship Program (SARFP). This year's theme, *The "Long" 1950s*, suggests that understanding the current regional transformation requires returning to the "originary" moment of post-colonial South Asia. In other words, the theme proposes to examine the "long" 1950s as the starting point for the making of post-colonial South Asia, the moment when a radically new set of political, economic and socio-cultural transformations and institutions were being set in place. This year's cohort of 18 fellows includes scholars from Nepal, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and India. The fellows were chosen from 59 applicants by a selec-

tion committee comprised of senior scholars of South Asia from a variety of disciplines whose own work is relevant to this year's fellowship theme. Fellows attended a workshop in Negombo, Sri Lanka, on December 19-23, 2005, where they had the opportunity to interact with each other and bridge national and disciplinary boundaries to discuss common research agendas. More information on this year's fellows and theme as well as previous cohorts can be found online at: <http://sarn.ssrc.org/sarfp/>.

South Asia Regional Advisory Panel Meeting

The regional advisory panel for the South Asia Program convened in Colombo, Sri Lanka, on August 15, 2005, to discuss the future of the Ford Foundation funded South Asia Regional Fellowship Program (SARFP), which concludes after its fourth round of awards in 2006-07. This fellowship program was designed as a step towards bridging the gap between teaching and research in higher education in South Asia. SARFP allows faculty at colleges and universities in the region to take time off from their teaching and administrative duties to writeup completed research on a given theme. Themes over the past four years have included: 1) *Resources and Society*, 2) *Migration, Boundaries of Bodies*, 3) *States and Societies*, and 4) this year's *The "Long" 1950s*. The fellowship program has successfully included fellows from both metropolitan and non-metropolitan centers of learning, and has made a special effort to include junior scholars who have had relatively fewer opportunities to attend international conferences or receive international fellowships and grants. Regional advisory panel members expressed their desire to continue working with the SSRC and to build on the program's past successes with cross-regional collaborations and expansions.

SSRC-Mellon Mays Graduate Initiatives Program

Programmatic Innovations

Ten fruitful years have elapsed since the inauguration of the SSRC-Mellon Mays Fellowship Program, and eighteen since the inception of MMUF. Throughout this time, the MMUF Program has had a single overarching goal: "to create enduring change in academia that will benefit society through diversity and scholarship." SSRC strives to achieve this goal by implementing programs that respond effectively to the needs of fellows on the path to the completion of the doctorate and to those of fellows who have recently attained that goal. The past year has been one of transition and renewal for the graduate programs that began with a strategic planning process in fall 2004. Surveys have been conducted, conversations held with fellows and others associated with the program, relevant aspects of contemporary graduate education have been researched and the changing size and demographics of the program have been analyzed. This process has led to a number of important programmatic innovations designed to better meet the needs of fellows today and over the coming decade.

The program will now offer a workshop on Proposal Writing and Dissertation Development, a seminar on Preparing for the Professoriate and a PhD retreat in addition to the Annual Summer Conference. The programs will be carried out under a new banner, "The SSRC-Mellon Mays Graduate Initiatives Program," a name which more closely reflects the range of opportunities now available to fellows. This carefully planned sequence of new activities is designed to fulfill specific needs arising at distinct points in predoctoral and early postdoctoral careers. The first event in this sequence, the Proposal Writing and Dissertation Development Seminar, will take place in spring 2006. Furthermore, we are pleased to announce the appointment of Dr. Cally L. Waite as our new program director (please see p. 63)



MMUF Annual Conference attendees and Rev. Desmond Tutu, Cape Town.

Annual Conference for Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship (MMUF) Program

Between January 7-14, 2006, SSRC-Mellon Mays Graduate Initiatives Program staff participated in the annual conference of the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship (MMUF) Program that took place in Cape Town, South Africa. Along with distinguished South African leaders Rev. Desmond Tutu and Dr. Mamphela Ramphele, colleagues from the University of Cape Town and other South African institutions, Mellon Foundation staff, and representatives from over 70 colleges and universities in the United States, SSRC staff took part in a week-long program of lectures, panel discussions and plenaries focused on the issues of equity, excellence and diversity in higher education. In 2001, the University of Cape Town became the first institution outside the United States to join the network of MMUF schools, and there are currently close to 20 undergraduate MMUF fellows at UCT and three South African fellows in the SSRC-Mellon Mays program who are currently pursuing their doctoral degrees. The Cape Town event enabled a rich exploration of recent South African history, rewarding exchanges with South African colleagues and striking comparative perspectives around questions of race, citizenship and access to higher education which will be incorporated into the programming for this year's Annual Summer Conference.

Mellon Fellows Receive Rhodes Scholarships

The SSRC-Mellon Mays Graduate Initiatives Program is pleased to announce that two Mellon fellows have been awarded the Rhodes Scholarship. Sasha-Mae Eccleston of Brown University, concentrating in Greek, Latin and literary arts, and Noorain Khan of Rice University, a religious studies and political science major, were named Rhodes scholars on November 19, 2005, and will begin their studies at Oxford in October 2006. Associate Dean Joyce Foster of Brown University and Professor Roland Smith of Rice University serve as the Mellon Minority Undergraduate Fellowships coordinators at their respective institutions.

SSRC Predissertation Fellowship Program

The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation has agreed to fund a new SSRC program of fellowships and workshops for pre-dissertation research and proposal development, beginning July 1, 2006. The program seeks to help at a critical moment in the career development of graduate students in the humanities and the social sciences. The SSRC seeks to provide a mechanism and support for students to formulate, in an efficient and informed manner, more effective dissertation research proposals to make the key transition from student to researcher. This will be the only national program designed not only to support summer pre-dissertation research in empirical sources, but also training and workshops to help students learn how to write intellectually pointed proposals, amenable to completion in a reasonable time frame, and likely to become significant publications. This spring, the Council will consult with faculty and graduate administrators from around the country in moving towards the formation of an Advisory Committee that will, in association with SSRC staff, select a group of 10-12 senior scholars in a range of disciplines. The Advisory Committee will recruit pairs of core faculty who will choose 12 fellows. Five such research groups will meet in workshops in late spring 2006, where students develop research plans for the summer. After a summer's research, the same students reconvene in an early September workshop. Combining seminar discussions, collective and constructive criticism by core faculty and fellow students, and presentations about the funding process, the second workshop provides fellows with the opportunity to produce a dissertation prospectus and funding proposal. The program will have a digital website that will maintain the research group networks electronically, and we will solicit a variety of pedagogical and practical materials, including essays, in providing resources for students developing dissertation proposals.

Transitions to College

The Transitions to College Program of the Social Science Research Council is pleased to announce the availability of three postdoctoral awards for new research related to transitions to college. Please see p. 46 for more information.

Vietnam Program

The Vietnam Program concluded in November 2005 the first phase of the interdisciplinary social science research and training program, which graduated 120 social scientists from all over Vietnam. In the second phase, a master's degree program is being launched as part of a larger institute for advanced studies. Please see p. 59 for more information.

INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION

Pilot Predissertation Fellowship for International Collaboration

The SSRC is in the process of advertising a pilot fellowship project, the Predissertation Fellowship for International Collaboration, funded by the Ford Foundation. This collaborative fellowship specifically emphasizes the importance of and benefits obtained from international collaboration on projects that include study of or in a foreign country. Selected fellows will be expected to conduct their research and/or training under the supervision of a more senior colleague in a country of their choice. By intervening during the early years of graduate work, the SSRC will provide fellows with a network of professional contacts in preparation for future dissertation field work. These contacts will also play an important role in helping shape the dissertation project as it develops, equally emphasizing regional knowledge and approaches alongside the training provided by the fellow's home adviser and university. The SSRC expects to provide up to 10 predissertation fellowships, in conjunction with pre- and post-program workshops, during this pilot project. Please see <http://www.ssrc.org/fellowships/PFIC/> for more information.

Children of Immigrants in Schools

The Migration Program is pleased to announce that it has been awarded a grant by the National Science Foundation's Office of International Science and Engineering (OISE) to support international collaborative research and training on immigrant education. Please see p. 47 for more information.

ESRC/SSRC Collaborative Visiting Fellowship

The Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) are pleased to announce a fellowship for U.S. and Canadian scholars to visit and engage in collaborative activities with members of ESRC-supported projects in Britain, or for British scholars at ESRC-supported projects to visit collaborators in the U.S. or Canada, between June 2006 and September 2007. Approximately ten research fellowships of up to \$8,500 (approx. £5,000) will be awarded. This is the third round of a pilot scheme designed to encourage communication and cooperation between social scientists in Great Britain and the United States and Canada, and to explore and develop possibilities for future exchanges to be organized by the ESRC and the SSRC. More informa-

tion about the goals and activities of the ESRC and the SSRC is available on their respective websites: <http://www.ssrc.org/fellowships/esrc/> and <http://www.esrc.ac.uk>.

Fostering International Collaborations in the Social Sciences

On January 9-11, 2006, representatives of national funding agencies met at Corpus Christi College at the University of Cambridge to explore how their international research interests and activities might be made complementary. The meeting included representatives of over 25 national funding agencies and 9 social scientists. It began with introductory remarks by Ian Diamond, Chief Executive of the UK Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC); David Lightfoot, Assistant Director of the U.S. National Science Foundation (NSF) Directorate for Social, Behavioral and Economic Sciences; and Craig Calhoun, SSRC President. These remarks helped lay the framework for future discussion and provided insight into varying agency approaches to internationally collaborative research. Discussion was anchored by six thematic panels: the advantages and difficulties of international collaboration in research and funding; international exchanges and meetings; research; data base development and sharing; training and capacity building; and infrastructure. Each panel was chaired by a meeting participant and included two discussants who described their related agency initiatives. In the final session, Glyn Davies of the ESRC and Wanda Ward of the NSF provided specific recommendations for how this project can best promote internationally collaborative social science research. The next meeting for this project will be held March 24-25, 2006, at the SSRC office in New York and will include a ten-person planning committee. At this meeting, participants will make a feasibility assessment and suggest an implementation plan for the most promising strategies to foster internationally collaborative research.

Conflict, Citizenship and Globalization

The SSRC, with support from the Hewlett Foundation, will convene an authors' meeting for an edited volume entitled *Conflict, Citizenship and Globalization* in June 2006. It will be co-sponsored with the Department of Politics at Boğaziçi University in Istanbul. The two-day authors meeting will be followed by a public forum in which invited authors and local scholars will present their work and discuss its implications. The meeting builds upon two previous workshops held in 2005, one in Dakar, Senegal and the other in Bogotá, Colombia. The Dakar workshop, entitled "Belonging, the Crisis of Citizenship and the Nation-State," was held at the Goree Institute. Participants were drawn from the networks of various SSRC regional advisory panels (RAPs) and represented a wide spectrum of disciplinary perspectives. During the workshop, participants focused their discussions around the three sub-themes of the workshop: land, law and longing. The Bogotá workshop, held at the Universidad de los Andes, explored the state of research on

the nexus between inequalities and violence. The meeting focused on three issues: how the dynamics of economic, political or social inequality trigger and/or fuel situations of violent conflict; how the processes of conflict foster or undermine mechanisms for reproducing inequalities; and how the particularities of different forms of conflict resolution and post-conflict settlements accentuate, diminish or alter inherited mechanisms for the reproduction of inequalities. The meeting was co-sponsored by the Universidad de los Andes and IEPRI, the Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales at the Universidad Nacional de Colombia.

The authors' meeting in June 2006 will attempt to build upon the conclusions of these previous workshops while also creating a collaborative research network through which we seek to promote innovative research on these highly important issues and strengthen existing mechanisms of exchange and collaboration among scholars working on these topics in diverse regions of the world.

Africa

African Youth

Several publications have emerged from the African youth program (funded by OSI, the Jacobs Foundation and USAID), including a volume edited by Alcinda Honwana and Filip de Boeck called *Makers & Breakers: Children & Youth in Postcolonial Africa* (James Currey Publishers) and journal articles by program fellows, including "The Carpenter's Revolt: Youth, Violence and the Reinvention of Culture in Nigeria" by Wale Adebani, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 2005 43(3), p. 339-365 and "Bumsters, big black organs and old white gold: embodied racial myths in sexual relationships of Gambian beach boys" by Stella Nyanzi (and other co-authors), *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, Nov-Dec 2005 7 (6), p. 557-569.

Citizenship and Belonging

Building on the SSRC's Panel on Citizenship and Autochthony in Africa at the African Studies Association Meeting, New Orleans, November 2004, and the SSRC's Workshop on Citizenship and Belonging, Dakar, Senegal, April 1-2, 2005, Peter Geschiere and the SSRC's Stephen Jackson are guest editing a forthcoming special issue of the *African Studies Review* devoted to examining the upsurge in the political use of the discourse of "autochthony" across the African continent. Literally meaning "of the soil itself," autochthony is a term simultaneously "more than just equal to" and "less than quite equal to" the idea of indigeneness. The special issue features articles examining the rise of autochthony as a political category of political and cultural exclusion in countries such as Cote d'Ivoire, Cameroon, the D.R. Congo and South Africa, as well as tracing parallels to the discourse of the anti-immigrant hard right in contemporary Europe.

Asia

SSRC activities in Asia are mainly organized via the Abe Fellowship Program (p. 49), The South Asia Regional Fellowship Program (p. 53) and the Vietnam Program (p. 59). In addition, please see University-Industry Linkages in Asia (p. 46).

Eurasia

In addition to its fellowship program (Title VIII), which is reported upon on p. 50, the Eurasia Program has been organizing a series of projects that focus on the historiography and contemporary study of the region through collaborations between scholars in the region and internationally. A major field-building activity has focused on the study of Islam in the region.

Islam in Eurasia

This focus has involved two major initiatives: a series of summer institutes entitled "Teaching Islam in Eurasia" (funded by OSI-Budapest Office and the Mellon Foundation) and a program with the Islamic University of Kyrgyzstan (funded by the ECA/State Department).

After outside evaluation of over 80 applications, the SSRC selected approximately 20 participants from Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Russia, Tajikistan and Armenia to attend the first summer institute which was held in July 2005 in Kazan, Tatarstan republic of the Russian Federation. Topics for the first institute, led by a variety of resource faculty, ranged from emphasizing the role of cities and regions in the creation and transmission of Islamic practices and learning, to examining Islamic texts as both religious scripture and non-religious sources, to studying fundamentalist and reformist movements, and reflecting upon Islam in everyday life and within the context of specific social, cultural and political environments. Overviews of historical and contemporary intellectual and institutional approaches to studying Islam in Eurasia were also presented by guest lecturers. Lecturers from Kazan additionally provided participants with an understanding of the importance of the Volga-Ural region in the development of Islam in Eurasia.

The next summer institute will be held in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan in June/July 2006. Ongoing intersession activities include both an emphasis on individual course reform and group curriculum-gathering assignments by country. These activities are meant to begin narrowing the number of topics to be addressed (primarily within the four general themes stated above) during the second summer institute.

The project with the Islamic University of Kyrgyzstan intersects in several ways with the summer institutes, given the fact that it also focuses on curriculum development and capacity building among the faculty. During the first year of the project, the SSRC selected four exchange participants from a pool of 19 applicants through a competitive application and interview process. These faculty participated in a two semester-long exchange program at

Indiana University and Harvard University. The programs included attendance at university courses, access to library and electronic resources, excursions to Muslim cultural centers, consultations with leading U.S. scholars, participation in major conferences, and a host of other activities and opportunities.

The exchange program with U.S. host universities afforded participants from the Islamic University an opportunity to compare their own approach to teaching Islam with various approaches at U.S. institutions to studying Islam in both a regional and comparative context. This is particularly important in light of the university's attempts to expand its curriculum and perhaps strive for accreditation by the Kyrgyz Ministry of Education by offering an expanded curriculum of Islamic studies alongside traditional courses such as Koranic recitation, interpretation and commentary, and related courses.



Russia's Grand Mufti Ravil Gainudin addresses participants at Kazan State University during an SSRC summer institute on Islamic learning in Eurasia.

Histories of Central Asia

A recent project funded by the Department of Education seeks to develop an online Teaching Resource Tool (TRT) entitled "Histories of Central Asia." This will provide an essential resource for both university teachers and students of Central Asian Studies. The project has three leading scholars of Central Asia on its steering committee and also collaborates with a number of researchers in Europe, Japan and in Central Asia to gather the needed materials. In its final form, the TRT will offer teachers three ready-made course supplements to be used in conjunction with existing lesson plans and course syllabi. As importantly, TRT will provide the bibliographic and historiographic tools necessary for faculty to create additional course supplements and to help students design research projects and conduct preliminary research on the region. In developing TRT, the SSRC will establish a multidisciplinary foundation to the project and will address the lack of integration and sharing of relevant research and information between Russian/Eurasian and Middle Eastern Studies scholarship.

Latin America and the Caribbean

U.S.-Cuba Collaboration on the Environment

On March 10, 2006, the ACLS/SSRC Working Group on Cuba along with the Christopher Reynolds Foundation and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation convened a meeting in New York to discuss the future of U.S.-Cuba collaboration with respect to the environment. Bringing together representatives from U.S.-based organizations, the one-day workshop was an opportunity to share work that is being done and to determine ways the project can broaden its impact in light of increasing political tension between the U.S. and Cuban governments. Participants included representatives from the following organizations: Environmental Defense, Wildlife Conservation Society, Latin American Studies Association (LASA), World Wildlife Fund-Canada, International Crane Foundation, the Platte River Whooping Crane Maintenance Trust and the Mote Marine Laboratory.

The Hemingway Preservation Project

In early October 2005, the Cuba Program was awarded a grant from the Hemingway Preservation Foundation to support the Hemingway Preservation Project, carried out under the auspices of the ACLS/SSRC Working Group on Cuba. The goals of the Hemingway Preservation project are to preserve and conserve the papers of Ernest Hemingway housed at the Hemingway Museum at Finca Vía, the Nobel Prize-winning author's former residence outside of Havana. This summer, Stan Katz, chair of the ACLS/SSRC Working Group on Cuba, signed an official agreement on behalf of the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum with Dr. Marta Arjona Pérez, Director of the National Council of Cultural Heritage of Cuba, on the use and reproduction of Ernest Hemingway's documents and papers currently housed at the Hemingway Museum in Cuba. This agreement follows from the original agreement signed by both parties in 2002, which regulated the essential activities for the conservation of the Hemingway documents housed in Cuba. The agreement specifies how the digital and microfilm reproduction of original documents in the Hemingway Museum's collection will be shared with the John F. Kennedy Library and Museum in Massachusetts for the use of Hemingway specialists and scholars working to establish a better understanding of the writer during his time in Cuba.

Renewed Funding for Cuba Projects

The Cuban Libraries and Archives project and the SSRC Working Group on Cuba have received renewed funding from the Ford Foundation in support of continuing efforts to strengthen technical expertise among Cuban librarians and archivists and to facilitate conservation of scholarly materials on the island. A particular focus of the next phase of work will be on disaster preparedness, an urgent topic in light of Cuba's location in a hur-

ricane zone. The Reynolds Foundation is providing additional support. The Working Group, chaired by SSRC Board member Stan Katz, will continue to operate as a facilitating mechanism for scholarly collaboration involving academicians in Cuba and abroad, particularly but not exclusively from the U.S.

Translocal Flows in the Americas Project

The Translocal Flows in the Americas Project has produced a publication, *Ciudades translocales: Espacios, flujo, representación*, co-edited by Marcial Godoy and Latin America Regional Advisory Panel member Rossana Reguillo. The volume is the product of several years of RAP-sponsored work across a number of scholarly communities throughout the United States, Latin America and the Caribbean at the intersections of the social sciences and the humanities. A public presentation and forum will take place in March 2006 at the ARCIS University in Santiago to disseminate the work of the Translocal Flows in the Americas project, to promote dialogue and international/institutional collaboration and to engage a national public sphere in Chile. The book will be presented by Martin Hopenhyn and Olga Grau, both renowned scholars and public intellectuals. Please see p. 61 for more information.

Development and Conflict: Contemporary Research Inspired by the Works of Albert O. Hirschman

"Development and Conflict: Contemporary Research Inspired by the Works of Albert O. Hirschman" was the topic of a November 11-12, 2005, seminar in Bogota, Colombia, sponsored jointly by the SSRC, the London School of Economics and the Universidad Nacional de Colombia. Papers presented by leading researchers from Latin America, the U.S. and Europe explored conceptual and methodological perspectives advanced by Hirschman, and debated the relevance of his work for interpretations of development, democracy and conflict in Colombia and beyond. In addition to the closed seminar, a November 10 public forum on Hirschman's work attracted an audience of nearly 100 people at the University. Planning is underway to prepare a Spanish-language volume, to be published in Bogotá (where more than 50 years ago Hirschman began his career as a Latin Americanist) and consisting of revised versions of a selection of workshop papers.

Program on the Middle East and North Africa

Publics in Crisis: Academia and Activism in Middle East Studies

On November 19-22, 2005, the Program on the Middle East and North Africa organized the first in a series of thematic conversations at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association of North America (MESA) entitled, "Publics in Crisis: Academia and Activism in Middle East Studies." MESA took place this year in Washington, D.C., and overlapped with the African Studies Association's 2005 annual meeting. The idea for the roundtable emerged from ongoing work that the

SSRC MENA program is undertaking on the status of Middle East Studies in the U.S. and globally, as well as from discussions with young scholars who recently established the Task Force on Middle East Anthropology.

Both junior and senior scholars were invited to present at this year's discussion, which had three major goals: 1) to review the most salient features of the current relationship between academic and activist concerns; 2) to generate a comparative view on how this relationship varies in different countries and settings; and 3) to generate a network of researchers interested in pursuing these discussions together. While the MESA format limits participation in thematic conversations to 30 participants, the discussion attracted an audience of nearly 100 people. The lively session was chaired by Seteney Shami, director of the MENA program, who provided a brief background of the activities leading up to this event, as well as general concerns surrounding the issue of academia and activism. Zachary Lockman of New York University gave a long-term view of the field of Middle East Studies with respect to the transformations it has undergone over the past 30 years. Jennifer Olmsted, an economist at Drew University, followed by outlining methodological and epistemological differences between the field of economics and other disciplines which create different conditions for scholars who wish to straddle the academia and activism divide. Lori Allen of the University of Chicago gave a brief history of the Task Force on Middle East Anthropology and focused on the obstacles to activism encountered by junior untenured faculty as well as by women specifically. Rabab Abdulhadi of the University of Michigan, Dearborn, made a compelling argument on behalf of activism as related to Arab-American communities and how academic research and training centers are often unable to address the concerns of these communities in any meaningful fashion. The final presentation by Koray Caliskan of Boğaziçi University highlighted his experience as a resident alien in the U.S. who worked as a laborer for the UAW (United Auto Workers) during his time at NYU, and also dealt with the notion of the "expert" in Middle East Studies.

Next year's Thematic Conversation will focus on the issue of academia and media in the field of Middle East Studies. For more information on our Thematic Conversations, please visit the MENA webpage on the Council's website in the coming weeks. Also see the article at <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2005/11/21/mesa/> by the "undercover" journalist, Scott Jaschik, who attended the last session.

Internationalization and Interdisciplinarity: An Evaluation of Title VI Middle East Studies Centers

The MENA Program is conducting a study of Title VI Centers across the United States. The project seeks to evaluate the role that Title VI centers play, and potentially could enhance, in meeting the demands placed on the field of Middle East Studies in the United States. Please see p. 45 for more information.

Reconceptualizing Public Spheres in the Middle East and North Africa

In recent months the MENA Program has been following up on the successful project "Reconceptualizing Public Spheres in the Middle East and North Africa." Please see pp. 26-29 in this *Items and Issues* for a detailed summary.

The South Asia Program

Please see p. 53 for a summary of the South Asia Regional Fellowship Program and the most recent meeting of the South Asia Regional Advisory Panel.

The Vietnam Program

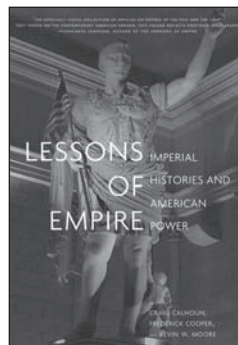
The Vietnam Program concluded in November 2005 the first phase of the Interdisciplinary Social Science Research and Training Program, which graduated 120 social scientists from all over Vietnam. Program activities included course instruction on substantive topics and methodologies, fieldwork and building infrastructures, including a research methods library, a social research web portal and an alumni list-serv. In the second phase, a master's degree program is being launched as part of a larger institute for advanced studies.

Another major activity of the Program has been working with UNDP, the Government and Party of Vietnam, and the Vietnamese Academy of Social Sciences to examine key findings, assess the achievements and lessons learned during 20 years of Doi Moi (economic reforms), and make recommendations for the next five-year socio-economic development plan that will be mapped out in early 2006. Additionally, SSRC is now working with colleagues from the Institute of Sociology on the topic "Social stratification in Vietnam: Underlying causes and issues arising," which aims to address social change, particularly the emergence of newly wealthy social groups, their relationship to each other and to the state by reviewing the literature on these issues in other Asian states and exploring what lessons there are for Vietnam. The outcome of the review is expected to generate a number of key questions and areas for further study related to youth and emerging social groups that the Vietnam Program hopes to pursue.

The Vietnam Program has also promoted and participated recently in regional collaborations. It sponsored the satellite session, "Mobilizing the Social Sciences to Address HIV/AIDS" at the Seventh International Congress on AIDS in Asia and the Pacific (Kobe, July 2005). In September 2005 it co-organized the regional "UNESCO Expert Consultation: Promoting Standards for Socio-Cultural Research on the Issues of HIV/AIDS and Trafficking" (Bangkok). The Program has also sponsored the Roundtable "Managing Internal Migration for Development in China and Vietnam: The Role of Researchers in Bridging Policies and Practices" at the Fourth International Convention of Asia Scholars (Shanghai, August 2005). Additionally, the Vietnam Program staff has recently hosted and coordinated a research delegation from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences to examine volunteerism and the nonprofit sector in the United States.

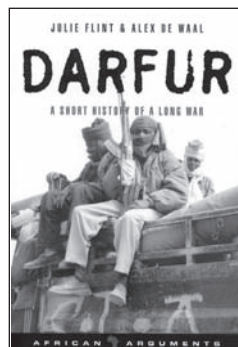
Publications

Lessons of Empire: Imperial Histories and American Power, edited by Craig Calhoun, Frederick Cooper and Kevin W. Moore. New York: The New Press, 2006. 352 pp.



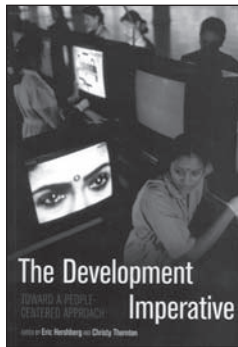
This fifth and final volume in the Social Science Research Council series "After September 11" examines what the experience of past empires tells us about the nature and consequences of global power. In the shadow of America's recent military involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan, the SSRC convened a distinguished group of historians of empires and international relations specialists to consider "empire" in the face of contemporary political reality. How do the goals and circumstances of the United States at present compare to classical imperialist projects of rule over others? *Lessons of Empire* addresses this question from multiple perspectives with contributions from Craig Calhoun, Juan Cole, Matthew Connelly, Frederick Cooper, Julian Go, K. S. Jomo, John Kelly, Caglar Keyder, Kevin W. Moore, Craig Murphy, Sheldon Pollock, Emmanuelle Saada, Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, Jack Snyder, George Steinmetz, Ann Laura Stoler, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Ronald Grigor Suny and R. Bin Wong.

Darfur: A Short History of a Long War, coauthored by Julie Flint and Alex de Waal. London: Zed Books, 2005. 176 pp.



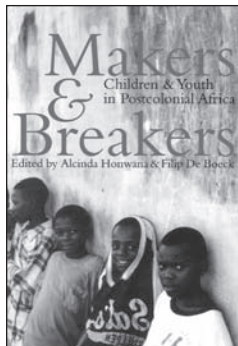
The Darfur region of Sudan earned sudden notoriety in early 2004 as it became embroiled in a war dubbed "the world's worst humanitarian crisis" by the United Nations and labeled "genocide" by the United States. Behind these images lies a complex and fascinating story of a unique and remote region of Africa, home to Muslim peoples with a unique history. In the 20th century, Darfur became synonymous with poverty and neglect, culminating in famine and a series of undeclared and unacknowledged wars in the 1980s and '90s. This book, coauthored by Julie Flint and SSRC Program Director Alex de Waal, details the history of Darfur, its conflicts and the designs on the region by the governments in Khartoum and Tripoli.

The Development Imperative: Toward a People-Centered Approach, edited by Eric Herschberg and Christy Thornton. New York: Social Science Research Council, 2005. 189 pp.



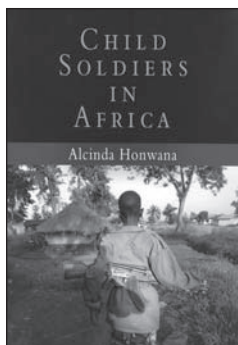
This volume emerges from the SSRC-organized International Forum for Development (IFD), held in New York City on October 17-19, 2004. Amidst growing dissatisfaction with development strategies that have failed to produce adequate rates of growth or to distribute resources equitably, the IFD brought together a diverse group of intellectuals to exchange ideas, to consider the contours of alternative policies and to work toward articulating a more equitable development project. The volume brings together a selection of those interventions. While the first International Forum for Development was a modest effort, it was a vital step in the creation of an alternative vision for development where, as co-chairs Ha-Joon Chang and Deepak Nayyar put it, “the focus is on people rather than economies, and on ends rather than means.”

Makers & Breakers: Children & Youth in Postcolonial Africa, edited by Alcinda Honwana and Filip De Boeck. Oxford: James Currey, Trenton: Africa World Press, Dakar: CODESRIA, 2005. 244 pp.



The “problem” of youth is presented as one of the great challenges of the twenty-first century. In Africa, youth are portrayed as perpetrators and victims in civil conflict, leaders and led in political and religious movements, innovators and dupes in globalized culture. This collection navigates through stereotypes of “victim” and “perpetrator,” taking on themes of youth agency and the constructed nature of youth as a social category. It presents a new portrait of youth encompassing transition to socially recognized adulthood, and an identity with its own social and cultural forms. Former SSRC Program Director Alcinda Honwana is the book’s co-editor.

Child Soldiers in Africa, by Alcinda Honwana. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006. 202 pp.



Young people have been at the forefront of political conflict in many parts of the world. In some conflicts, young children become killers before they are able to grasp the complexities of morality. Only recently has this component of warfare captured the world’s attention. A major concern today is how to reverse the damage done to the thousands of children who have be-

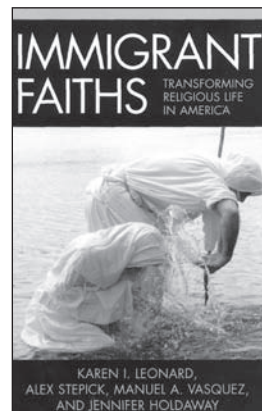
come not only victims, but also agents of wartime atrocities. In this volume, Honwana draws on her firsthand experience with children of Angola and Mozambique and her work on the subject for the United Nations and the SSRC to shed light on how children are recruited, what they encounter, and how they come to terms with what they have done. Honwana also examines the role of local communities and the efforts undertaken by international organizations to support these wartime casualties.

Digital Formations: IT and New Architectures in the Global Realm, edited by Robert Latham and Saskia Sassen. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005. 466 pp.



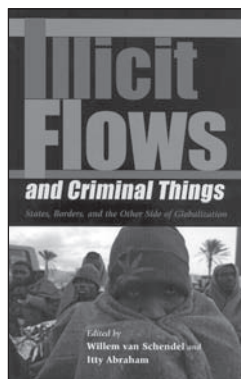
Computer-centered networks and technologies are reshaping social relations and constituting new social domains on a global scale, from virtually borderless electronic markets and internet-based large-scale conversations to worldwide open source software development communities, transnational corporate production systems, and the global knowledge-arenas associated with NGO networks. Building upon work by the SSRC Program on Information Technology and International Cooperation, this book explores how such “digital formations” emerge from the ever-changing intersection of computer-centered technologies and the broad range of social contexts that underlie much of what happens in cyberspace. Former SSRC Program Director Robert Latham is the book’s co-editor.

Immigrant Faiths: Transforming Religious Life in America, edited by Karen I. Leonard, Alex Stepick, Manuel A. Vasquez, and Jennifer Holdaway. New York: AltaMira, 2005. 256 pp.



Recent immigration is changing American religion. The United States is increasingly home to religious traditions from Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America. While American religious traditions and institutions often shape the beliefs and practices of new immigrants, immigrants are also creating their own unique religious communities within existing denominations or developing hybrid identities that combine strands of several faiths or traditions. This volume calls on new and established scholars, many of them previous fellows of SSRC’s International Migration Fellowship Program, to provide a needed overview to this expanding subfield.

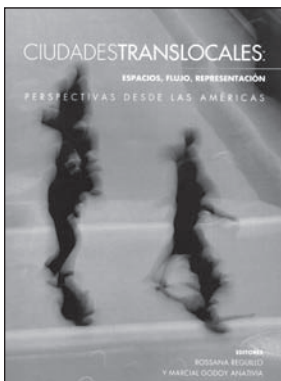
Illicit Flows and Criminal Things: States, Borders, and the Other Side of Globalization, edited by Willem van Schendel and Itty Abraham. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005. 266 pp.



Growing out of the work of an SSRC Collaborative Research Network on Illicit Flows and Criminality, this volume examines the role of criminality in the international circulation of people, things and ideas. While states and legal institutions seek to criminalize the transnational linkages associated with certain goods and acts, contributors to this collection of essays advocate a more nuanced

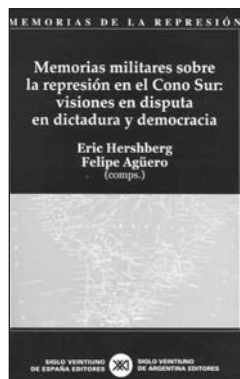
approach to recognizing the difference between illegal acts and illicit acts, historically changeable and contested terms. This volume explores how states, borders and the language of law enforcement produce criminality and how “illegal” people and goods move across regulatory spaces, drawing on detailed case studies of “underworlds” and “borderlands,” arms smuggling, transnational migration, the global diamond trade and the transnational consumption of drugs.

Ciudades Translocales: Espacios, flujo, representación—Perspectivas desde las Américas, edited by Rossana Reguillo and Marcial Godoy Anativia. Guadalajara: Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Occidente (ITESO), 2005. 415 pp.



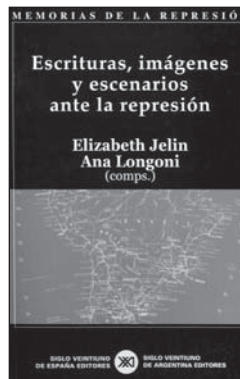
This interdisciplinary volume is the result of the SSRC Translocal Flows in the Americas Project, and brings together scholars from the United States, Latin America and the Caribbean in order to define the contours of an emerging field of hemispheric urban studies. As the volume documents, processes like territorial fragmentation, the acceleration of migratory flows, growing heterogeneity and the expanding role of the media and consumption in the construction of urban experience are giving rise to new modes of segregation and inequality, thus transforming the geographies of belonging, exclusion and citizenship in urban centers across the Americas. By bringing together the perspectives of scholars working on and from Latin America with those of researchers working in the fields of Latin American, Chicano and Puerto Rican Studies in the United States, the volume also seeks to advance international collaboration across geographic, disciplinary and institutional boundaries in the social sciences and the humanities.

Memorias militares sobre la represión en el Cono Sur: visiones en disputa en dictadura y democracia, edited by Eric Hershberg and Felipe Agüero. Madrid: Siglo XXI de Espana Editores, 2005. 222 pp.



Volume 10 in a series of publications resulting from the SSRC Program on Collective Memory of Repression, this edited collection explores how military institutions in Latin America’s Southern Cone have responded, in ever shifting ways, to the discourses and practices stemming from societal efforts to come to grips with contemporary histories of state sponsored political violence. Essays in the book consider the ways in which military institutions portrayed their role in political violence, their reactions to Truth Commissions of various sorts, and their evolving positions concerning trials for human rights abuses.

Escrituras, imágenes y escenarios ante la represión, edited by Elizabeth Jelin and Ana Longoni. Madrid: Siglo XXI de Espana Editores, 2005. 264 pp.



This ninth volume in a series of publications resulting from the SSRC Program on Collective Memory of Repression compiles a collection of relevant case studies on the relationship between memories of repression and artistic manifestations in Latin America’s Southern Cone, comparatively reflecting on different media, countries and historical moments. The entire multi-volume series consists of work produced by program fellows and faculty and has been released simultaneously in Madrid and Buenos Aires and distributed throughout the world.

NACLA Report on the Americas, issue on “Empire and Dissent,” 39, 2, 2005. 52 pp.



contours of empire have been given shape by opposition, resis-

This report stems from a workshop in Cuernavaca, Mexico entitled “Empire and Dissent: Focus on Latin America” sponsored by the SSRC. It examines the interaction of U.S. power with the dissent it has engendered. The ten articles in the report explore the ways in which forms of dissent and resistance have been generated by the activities of empire, as well as the ways in which the

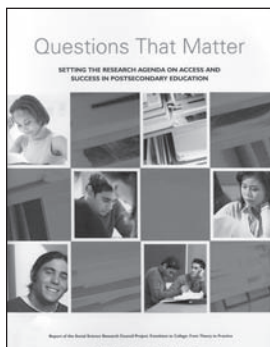
tance and disaffection. The workshop is the second in a series of meetings in the SSRC project “Responding to Hegemony: The Dynamics of Social Movements.”

SSRC-NUPI Project on Political Violence: Briefing on the Study of Durable Political Violence and Policy Recommendations, Social Science Research Council. 2005. 34 pp.



This special report, prepared by the SSRC for a final conference in Oslo in November 2005, synthesizes research findings and policy recommendations resulting from a multi-year project on durable political violence. Launched by the SSRC in partnership with the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI) in 2002, the overarching objective of the project was to narrow the gap between policymakers and analysts with regard to appropriate responses to political violence. The SSRC and NUPI convened an international group of distinguished scholars, all having both extensive field experience with militant groups and policy advisory experience. Through detailed case analysis and a comparative framework, the project sought to provide a better understanding of groups engaged in political violence as well as to formulate realistic policy recommendations for dealing with political violence, including many that bring into question current strategies in the “war on terror.” The papers that have resulted from the project will appear in *Terror, Insurgencies and States: Breaking the Cycles of Protracted Violence*, edited by Marianne Heiberg, Brendan O’Leary and John Tirman (University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming, spring 2006).

Questions That Matter, a report of the SSRC project Transitions to College: From Theory to Practice. 2005. 40 pp.



What does research tell us about the ability of all Americans to access, and succeed in, postsecondary education? What research needs to be done next to answer the questions that remain? This report, the product of the Social Science Research Council’s project, “Transitions to College: From Theory to Practice,” begins to answer these questions. It provides a brief overview of the research landscape over the past several decades and presents an agenda for future research by focusing on pressing questions that need to be addressed.

New Staff and Board Members

NEW STAFF MEMBERS

Richard Arum has been appointed program director of Educational Research at the SSRC; he is also professor of sociology and educational sociology at New York University. He received a Masters of Education in teaching and curriculum from Harvard University in 1988 and a PhD in sociology from the University of California, Berkeley in 1996. Arum is editor of *The Structure of Schooling: Readings in the Sociology of Education* (Mayfield, 2000) as well as numerous peer-reviewed articles on education appearing in *American Sociological Review*, *Criminology*, *Annual Review of Sociology*, *International Journal of Sociology* and *Sociology of Education*. His recent book, *Judging School Discipline: The Crisis of Moral Authority* (Harvard University Press, 2003), analyzes variation in court decisions and how these judicial opinions have affected public school disciplinary practices across jurisdictions and over time. He is co-editor with Adam Gamoran and Yossi Shavit of a comparative study on expansion, differentiation and access to higher education in fifteen countries (forthcoming from Stanford University Press).

Peter Sahlins has joined the Council as director of academic programs. Peter comes from the University of California, Berkeley, where he is a professor of history. After receiving his doctorate at Princeton, he taught at Columbia and Yale before joining the History Department at Berkeley in 1989. He has written on a range of topics, including the formation of national identities and frontiers (*Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*, UC Press, 1989); peasant culture and protest in the nineteenth century (*The War of the Demoiselles in Nineteenth-Century France*, Harvard University Press, 1994); state-building and immigration in seventeenth-century France (with Jean-Francois Dubost, *Et si on faisait payer les etrangers? Louis XIV, les immigrants, et quelques autres*, Flammarion, 1999); and most recently, on the premodern history of nationality law (*Unnaturally French: Foreign Citizens in the Old Regime and After*, Cornell University Press, 2004). He has served widely on university and professional committees, and most recently was executive director of the France-Berkeley Fund (1994-2002) and founding director of the University of California’s Paris Study Center and its constituent international programs (2002-2005). Peter will have primary responsibility for Council activities focusing on graduate students and young researchers, including management of the fellowship programs. He will also work to develop new activities in Europe or with a European dimension, and he will assume other Council-wide leadership responsibilities, including a major initiative with our publications program.

Jonathan VanAntwerpen has joined the Council as a program officer for the new Religion and International Affairs project.

Jonathan is currently completing his PhD in the department of sociology at the University of California, Berkeley. His dissertation focuses on the transnational proliferation of “truth and reconciliation” and the relationship between religious and secular engagements with it and sources for it. He received a BA from Calvin College and an MA in philosophy from UNC-Chapel Hill. He is co-editor (with Michael Burawoy) of an on-line volume entitled *Producing Public Sociology* (2nd edition, 2005) as well as articles and book chapters on the history of sociology, on contemporary transformations of higher education, and on human rights. He is completing work as a consultant to a Ford Foundation project on liberal arts education and “civic engagement.”

Cally L. Waite has joined the Council as program director of the SSRC-Mellon Mays Fellowship Program. Waite comes to the SSRC after eight years of service as program coordinator and associate professor of history and education at Teacher's College, Columbia University. Her list of publications includes numerous articles on race and the history of the American academy, as well as the book *Permission to Remain Among Us* (Bergin & Garvey, 2002), a study of education for black students at Oberlin College at the end of the nineteenth century. Her current book project, *The Journey Thus Far: Black Southern Scholars and Northern Institutions, 1896-1954* (with Margaret Smith Crocco), considers the experiences and challenges of southern black scholars who earned their doctoral degrees at northern research universities during legalized segregation in the United States.

The SSRC has also added several program coordinators to its staff. **Sarah Doty** is coordinator for the Cuba Program. **Abby Larson** coordinates SSRC programs on K-12 and post-secondary education. **Rik Panganiban** is coordinator for projects on media and democracy. **Rachel Tronstein** is program coordinator for the Knowledge Institutions Program Area.

NEW BOARD MEMBERS

Arminio Fraga is the owner of Gávea Investimentos, a global and domestic hedge fund based in Rio de Janeiro. He served as the governor of the Central Bank of Brazil between March 1999 and January 2003. His work at the Central Bank has been credited with helping to put an end to the country's historic hyperinflation and calming international markets during the Cardoso administration. Fraga received his PhD in economics from Princeton University in 1985. He obtained his BA and MA in economics from Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro (PUC). Fraga has not only been active in the world of financial markets. He has published numerous articles addressing monetary policy, exchange rates, crisis prevention, banking deregulation and many other policy issues. He has been a professor at the Graduate School in Economics at the Fundação Getúlio Vargas in Rio de Janeiro; the School of International Affairs at Columbia University; the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania; and the Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro.

Gilles Kepel is one of the world's foremost experts on the modern Middle East. He is a professor at the Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris (IEP), where he heads the post-graduate program on the Arab and Muslim worlds, and the director of research at the French National Science Research Council. He was a visiting professor at NYU in 1994 and at Columbia University in 1995-96. Gilles holds degrees in Arabic, English and philosophy, a diploma from the Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris (IEP) and doctorates in sociology and political science. His current research interests are religion and politics and contemporary forms of communication. Some of his recent publications include: *The War for Muslim Minds: Islam and the West* (The Belknap Press, 2004), *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam* (The Belknap Press, 2002), *Allah in the West: Islamic Movements in America and Europe* (Seuil, first published 1994, 2nd edition 1995, translated into 5 languages), and *Muslim Extremism in Egypt: The Prophet and the Pharaoh* (Seuil, first published 1984, revised edition 1993, translated into five languages).

Richard R. Nelson is the Henry R. Luce Professor of International Political Economy at Columbia University. In the spring of 1997 he was appointed as the first director of the newly created Public Policy Consortium at Columbia. Professor Nelson holds a B.A. from Oberlin College. He obtained his PhD in 1956 from Yale University. From 1956 to 1957 he was an assistant professor at Oberlin College, and from 1968 to 1986 a professor at Yale University. His research has concentrated on the processes of long-run economic change, with particular emphasis on technological advances and on the evolution of economic institutions. Some of his publications include *The Sources of Economic Growth* (Harvard University Press, 2000), *The Sources of Industrial Leadership* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), *National Innovation Systems: A Comparative Analysis* (Oxford University Press, 1993), *An Evolutionary Theory of Economic Change* (Harvard University Press, reprint edition, 1985), and many others. He has also served as an economist at The Rand Corporation (1957-1960, 1963-1968), and a senior member at the Council of Economic Advisors (1961-1963). Between 1981 and 1986 he was appointed the director of the Institution for Social and Policy Studies.

Alexander Stille is the San Paolo Professor of International Journalism at Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism. He is a contributor to the *New York Times*, *La Repubblica*, the *New Yorker*, *New York Review of Books*, the *New York Times Magazine*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Boston Globe*, and the *New Republic*. He also is a correspondent for various news publications. Stille has a BA from Yale University and an MS from Columbia School of Journalism. He specializes in Italian political culture, and has written on such subjects as the Mafia and recent efforts by sociologists to quantify happiness. He is the author of *Benevolence and Betrayal: Five Italian Jewish Families Under Fascism* (Summit Books, 1991); *Excellent Cadavers: The Mafia and the Death of the First Italian Republic* (Vintage, 1995); and *The Future of the Past* (Farrar Straus and Giroux, 2002).



SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL
810 Seventh AVE
New York, NY 10019 USA

P: 212.377.2700
F: 212.377.2727
E-MAIL: lastname@ssrc.org
<http://www.ssrc.org>

ISSN: 1549-4942

The SSRC was founded in 1923 and remains an independent, non-profit organization. With partners around the world, we mobilize existing and new knowledge on important public issues, foster innovation, link research to practice and policy, strengthen individual and institutional capacities for learning, and enhance public access to information.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Lisa Anderson (Chair), Columbia University
Eugene Borgida, University of Minnesota
John Seely Brown, University of Southern California
Craig Calhoun, New York University
Troy Duster, New York University
Barry Eichengreen, University of California, Berkeley
Arminio Fraga, Gávea Investimentos
William Janeway, E.M. Warburg, Pincus & Co.
Stanley N. Katz, Princeton University
Gilles Kepel, Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris (IEP)
Doug McAdam, Stanford University
Deepak Nayyar, University of Delhi
Richard Nelson, Columbia University
Walter Powell, Stanford University
Orville Schell, University of California, Berkeley
Alexander Stille, Columbia University
Judith Tanur (Treasurer), State University of New York, Stony Brook
Wang Gungwu (Secretary), National University of Singapore

ADMINISTRATION

Craig Calhoun, President
Mary Byrne McDonnell, Executive Director
Erin Johnson, Human Resources Coordinator
Gail Kovach, Director of Administrative Services
Bruce Byers, Director of Institutional Research and Information Technology
Paul Price, Editor

PROFESSIONAL STAFF

Richard Arum	Abby Larson
Frank Baldwin	Sumie Nakaya
Sofia Busch	Diana Rhoten
Alex de Waal	Renata Segura
Josh DeWind	Leon Sigal
Diane di Mauro	Seteney Shami
Sarah Doty	Nicole Stahlmann
Yasmine Ergas	Van Bich Thi Tran
Marcial Godoy-Anativia	Takuya Toda
Eric Hershberg	Rachel Tronstein
Jennifer Holdaway	Jonathan VanAntwerpen
Stephen Jackson	Carlton Vann
Joe Karaganis	Cally Waite
Jennifer Klot	Teresa Whitfield
Anthony Koliha	Nick Wunder