

Negotiating a Passage Between Disciplinary Borders: A Symposium

By Ken Wissoker

Because the Social Science Research Council is so committed to advancing interdisciplinary research (indeed, the idea of interdisciplinarity was practically born here; see David L. Stills, "A Note on the Origin of 'Interdisciplinary,'" *Items* [March 1986]) we read with special interest Ken Wissoker's "Negotiating a Passage Between Disciplinary Borders" when it appeared in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* in the spring of 2000. Because Wissoker's focus was on cultural studies and the humanities, we asked several social scientists to extend his argument into the social sciences. His article, and their responses, follow.—Ed.

How interdisciplinary is interdisciplinarity? Is the literary critic who analyzes five novels and a film to understand the rise of consumer culture doing interdisciplinary work? Is the environmental scientist who borrows a model from game theory? We might ask about both: Is their work interdiscipli-

nary, or are they simply expanding the tool kit of their own disciplines? Perhaps we have now reached a time to pause and consider what interdisciplinary work is, and what it is not.

By now, we know a good deal about the intellectual and institutional histories of academic disciplines and even sub-disciplines. But we've given far less thought to understanding the histories and sociologies of interdisciplinary work. What do we mean by interdisciplinarity, anyway? Is it an attribute of the author? The work? The audience? If an art historian employs theories from philosophy and psychology in a study of Impressionism, are the methods recognizable to readers in those disciplines? Must they be, for the work to be considered interdisciplinary? Is this "inter" a bridge connecting two ways of working? Or is it some third way, one that is beyond them?

(continued on page 5)

Current Trends and Future Directions in Sexuality Research

By Diane di Mauro

Sexuality researchers in the United States were not always, as one observer put it, refugees from the social sciences. At one time research in this area was almost lavishly funded. In 1921, the paucity of scientific knowledge about human sexual behavior led the National Research Council to form the Committee for Research in Problems in Sex, supported by the Rockefeller Foundation. Between 1922 and 1947, the Committee received approximately \$1.5 million for the "scientific study of sexuality as a biological phenomenon distinct from the limited study of human social problems of a sexual nature." More than \$1 million was also provided in direct financing to five universities for sex research projects approved by the committee. Efforts supported during this period ranged from studies of hormones and the biology of sex to the pioneering social research of Alfred Kinsey and his collaborators. Following the controversy that erupted after the publication of the Kinsey studies in the late 1940s and early 1950s, funding of research that utilized national samples and focused directly on sexuality



Diane di Mauro and friend

decreased steadily, culminating in the rejection of two large-scale sexuality studies by the federal government in the early 1990s.

The lack of support for this work within the disciplines in the wake of the Kinsey uproar has had significant effects. As a cohesive field of inquiry and investigation, sexuality research has remained largely underdeveloped. Sexuality researchers have often found themselves isolated within their respective disciplines, and their work has typically been viewed as illegitimate, unimportant or invisible, only coming

(continued on page 2)

Contents

Negotiating a Passage Between Disciplinary Borders <i>Ken Wissoker</i>	1
Current Trends and Future Directions in Sexuality Research <i>Diane di Mauro</i>	1
Symposium	
<i>Lisa Anderson</i>	8
<i>Arjun Appadurai</i>	9
<i>Thomas Bender</i>	9
<i>Jeffrey Goldfarb</i>	11
<i>Michèle Lamont & Joshua Guetzkow</i>	12
New Staff Appointments	14
Current Activities at the Council	15
Recent Council Publications	21



SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL
810 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NY 10019 USA

Current Trends and Future Directions in Sexuality Research

(continued from page 1)

to public attention during periods of controversy. Nor has there been any coordinating mechanism in the social sciences to provide financial, logistical or political support to professionals conducting sexuality research. For generations of researchers, this situation has created enormous disincentives for entering the field. The fact that sexuality research is relevant to a variety of disciplines but prominent in none is evidenced by the lack of comprehensive, specialized training, peer support and professional recognition for those conducting research in this area.

Nevertheless, some current develop-

ments within the field of sexuality research offer significant promise for field development. Research in family planning has in recent years moved beyond contraceptive issues to larger developmental and life-course concerns relating to sexual and reproductive health. A substantial body of research on adolescent sexuality from the 1950s to the 1990s has been accumulated in a variety of disciplines, although with little efforts to integrate these findings into policy formation.

Since the advent of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in the 1980s, most of the information about sexuality has been extrapolated from research on the transmission and prevention of the HIV virus. As a result of the epidemic, numerous high-quality research programs relevant to sexuality have been undertaken by well-recognized researchers representing a variety of disciplines including epidemiology, sociology, psychology and medical anthropology. Several of these programs in the 1990s developed a strong interdisciplinary orientation. Such programs, both domestic and international, have included: the design, implementation, and evaluation of programs of sexual behavior change; sexuality surveys at the local and national level; HIV/AIDS prevention in various populations and fieldwork studies of sexual patterns in afflicted groups.

The field of sex therapy grew rapidly after the introduction of behavioral therapeutic approaches by Masters and Johnson and others during the 1960s and 1970s. While usually conducted by clinically-trained psychologists, social workers and others, sexual therapy for individuals and couples has increased considerably, yet often without adequate moorings in scientific research and evaluation of treatment modalities. More recently, cognitive behavioral techniques have been applied to the treatment of sexual dysfunctions, and there have been concomitant advances in the study of physiological measures of sexual functioning and in the understanding of sexual problems, especially in those areas of hormonal develop-

ment in humans and lower animals. At the same time, the field of sex therapy has become somewhat isolated from other areas in sexuality research, with little impact upon the implications of clinical work for other areas of research (e.g., experimental, developmental, survey).

Scientific advances in the treatment of intersex patients have led to a greater understanding of psychosexual differentiation through an integration of psychological, endocrinal and genetic contributions. Clinical research in this area has led to basic behavioral studies of the formation of gender identity over the life course. Spontaneous errors of sexual differentiation in patient populations have exemplified the interplay among chromosomes, hormones, body build, sex of assignment and a list of factors involved in the social process of childrearing. Meanwhile, the social and cultural conditions of sexual and gender development, including the rise of transgender identities, has precipitated an increased attention to the "social construction" of sexuality in the social sciences.

Over the past two decades, the second wave of the feminist movement and the gay and lesbian movement have shifted and transformed research models of and cultural thinking about issues of gender and sexuality, both in and out of the academy. Women's studies programs have influenced conceptions of gender and sexuality within the more traditional disciplines and have increased research interest in many areas, including sexual rights/discrimination, sexual violence/ harassment and commercial sex work. Scholars in the gay and lesbian movement have influenced both gay and lesbian studies programs and the traditional disciplines by encouraging work that identifies the complex relations among social movements, community structure, personal identity and sexual practices in the United States and abroad. These influences have been particularly evident in the discipline of history, which has produced considerable new work on the history of sexuality.

Beyond Disease Prevention

Despite these developments, the primary driving force currently generating sexuality research remains a preventive health agenda that defines sexuality as a social problem and behavioral risk, as in HIV/AIDS or STD transmission or teen pregnancy. This definition typically translates to a disease prevention model of sexuality encompassing medically defined categories of analysis, epidemiological assessments and /or pharmaceutical interventions. While there can be no doubt that behavioral research is needed to help prevent social problems and/or disease, the ramifications of a limited, preventive approach are significant. First, the research questions are focused primarily on identifying high-risk sexual behaviors and/or motivating behavioral change, and second, sexuality is often conceptualized solely within a negative and problematic context.

In moving beyond the disease prevention approach, a number of priority areas for further research investigation emerge. First, there needs to be a strong commitment to examining biological and social/cultural interactions that impact sexual life. Second, intrinsic factors such as hormonal influences and genetics should be studied in a social and cultural context that reflect the complexity of human sexuality. Third, the influence of cultural differences on sexuality and sexual functioning needs to be understood through careful descriptive and contextual research. In identifying priority areas, an essential question is: On sexuality research topics and issues should investigators and funders concentrate their resources and energies to both advance the field of human sexuality research and provide findings with potential application to society? An emerging list of needed areas of research include:

- Sexuality, social inequality and injustice is a pervasive theme underlying several needed lines of inquiry. Connected to this, what is the link between specific risk behaviors and social factors such as poverty and limited access to services that increase the rates of STDs and HIV transmission among specific ethnic groups. Some important questions here are: What impact do the social hierarchies reflecting class, race, gender, and sexual orientation have on sexuality and sexual functioning? What is the effect of being excluded from the "mainstream" community by any of those factors?
- Aging and sexuality. The public health of a sexually active aging population is affected by both HIV and other STDs, but also by issues associated primarily with aging, such as: social norms and expectations; biopsychosexual developmental changes of maturation; stigma and discrimination; presence or absence of social and psychological support; loss of relationships and obstacles to forming new, perhaps same-sex, relationships; and retirement.
- Sexuality of women. Given the recent emphasis of

research on the sexuality of men in the wake of Viagra, investigations on female sexuality are needed to identify the interactions of biological factors (such as hormonal state) and psychosocial factors (such as power differentials and fear in negotiation of sexual interactions, stress and/or positive or negative feelings about pregnancy) and their effect on women's sexuality.

- Relationships and the importance of the dyad (either romantic or parent-child) Given that the nature of "a couple" has changed over the last several decades, research is needed to understand these changing relationships, addressing such questions as: How is the couple viewed differently by each partner within the context of gender script theory? How do people form, maintain and dissolve relationships? What is the romantic ideology involved? Is it the same for a same-sex relationship as for an opposite sex one? What are the contributions of gender differences to these issues? What impact do these factors, in turn, have on gender violence? A major barrier to the investigation of this type of relationship has been the absence of both appropriate methodologies with which to collect data from couples and statistical models to analyze quantitative data.
- Adolescent relationships. Knowledge is particularly lacking about how adolescents go about forming partnerships, and how success in this regard can contribute to their feelings of competency. How do children conceptualize gender scripts and the development of relationships?
- The impact of same-gender relationships warrants investigation, especially in light of recent changes in public policy, e.g., the recognition of civil unions of same sex couples in Vermont. Here, the questions are: Will the legalization of such unions have a positive outcome on sexual and mental health? What impact will it have on opposite gender, i.e. heterosexual, couples that choose to forgo marriage in favor of other partnership or family structures? What effect will other social changes, such as the recent growth of the "out culture," have in terms of personal self-esteem and self-efficacy, sexual behaviors and the formation of new sexual scripts?
- Norms. How and to what extent culturally-based religious and social norms influence a range of behaviors relating to sexuality over the life course would be an important line of inquiry, including sexual negotiation, gender roles and gender scripts, contraceptive use and HIV/STD protection, and same sex-behaviors and sexual identity.
- Religious beliefs and prohibitions. The impact of religious beliefs and prohibitions on sexual behaviors and the role of religious communities and religious leaders

in this regard is little understood. Considering that humans now mature sexually at an earlier age and marry later than in the past, and that marriages often end in divorce leading to another period of single adulthood, an important question is: What are the ramifications of religious prohibitions against premarital sexual intercourse that allow for no discussion of protection against sexually transmitted infections or unwanted pregnancy? What is their impact on policy in this regard?

- Media, information technology and sexuality. The advent and acceleration of communication technologies presents new research questions and challenges as the Internet becomes an increasingly significant conduit for "sex education" and the arena in which new relationships are initiated (either in actuality or in cyberspace). Research is needed to address the usefulness and impact of the media and of IT for information production and dissemination and its link to sexual socialization, behavior and practices. Some important questions to address are: What is the role or responsibility of the media in promoting sexual health? What is the significance and importance of the Internet as a new sexual conduit for men and for women? What is its significance for research design and implementation with the possibility of new methods of data collection and multi-site studies?

The way in which sexuality is conceptualized has significant impact on the research undertaken, the funding available for its support and its links to advocacy, service provision and public opinion; as well, it directs researchers to prioritize specific topics, approaches and issues, prompting them to compete with other researchers for the small amount of funding available for work in this area.

Acceptance and legitimization of sexuality research and recognition of its potential contribution to public policy is affected by various factors including the political climate, public awareness, funding and the participation of diverse professional organizations and networks. Currently, there remains considerable public misperception of sexuality researchers as flag bearers of the "sexual revolution," and substantial work is needed, both within and outside of academic arenas, to promote the research and its potential impact as well as those who conduct it.

Some Significant Policy Issues

Although the US public is generally uninformed about the value and contribution of sexuality research to discourse on important topics, there is a "silent and diffuse majority" that is receptive to information about human sexuality linked to the quality of life health status and promotion, relationships and family well-being. Juxtaposed to this group are the relatively vocal extremists (an "intense minority", e.g.,

the religious right) who have proven their skill at grassroots organization, lobbying and interfacing with the media. Effectively able to shape public opinion, this group continues to promulgate via diverse channels that research questions about human sexuality should not be asked and that human sexuality is not a legitimate area of research inquiry, forcefully hindering support for this work.

In order to be effective communicators of their findings, researchers must tell a potentially complex story in a simple way. This is not a matter of "scaling down" research findings, but of waiting until the emerging picture is sufficiently mature to allow for the appropriate identification of a central message—a process useful to the academic and lay communities alike. Such simplicity can emphasize relevance, and in so doing, can be more compelling to the public consumer. Major tasks for researchers, then, are: to understand the social contexts within which various segments of the public interacts (e.g., religious, ethnic, cultural and familial arenas,) present compelling data to the public via diverse and customized dissemination activities, and be able to effectively address concerns raised during public discourse. Moreover, researchers need to incorporate the "concerns" of the public by making use of the data they produce in ways that the public can identify. Life or situational "stories" can have a significant effect in this regard, such as "case study" stories of couples or dyads that powerfully communicate important issues, in many instances much more effectively than current methods of dissemination based solely on reiterating statistical data.

While research dissemination of issues and data increasingly takes place in the context of community outreach and education through providers, service organizations and advocacy groups, the media remains the most far-reaching and powerful means of public communication available to researchers—for the dissemination of their work, to convey credibility on sexuality research, to change public opinion and, ultimately, to affect public policy. And yet, this arena remains a woefully underused mechanism for most researchers who are typically trained not to engage in public discourse and shudder at the prospect of working with the mass media (knowing that the experience is often one in which they are unexpectedly "set up" in a false debate, misquoted in print, or rushed through radio or television interviews with loss of the crucial context of their messages.)

The sexuality research field in the United States has not, and currently is not viewed, as an effective force in policy development and implementation, and an important factor in this regard is the lack of effective leadership in the field. Moreover, sexuality researchers have little participation in the political arena so visibly dominated by conservative organizations, effectively able to bring their ideological views, unsubstantiated by research, to bear on legislators or other policymakers. Yet the political arena can present positive opportunities of which the research community must take advantage. An example of this is the forthcoming

Surgeon General's report, *Sexual Health and Responsible Sexual Behavior* (January 2001), which provides a comprehensive definition both of individual sexual health and a sexually-healthy society, supports training for all professionals whose work relates to sexuality and a comprehensive sexuality research agenda and promotes research evaluation/ dissemination to practitioners, policymakers and educators. The planned, extensive distribution of this report to individuals and organizations at the community level nationwide will significantly encourage a more constructive public discourse about sexuality. Researchers should be ready to clarify and discuss the implications of the report, thus not only providing this essential public service but in so doing, publicly demonstrating the significance and relevance of the work.

In order to ensure the effective translation of research into applied work relevant to the general public, communities, NGOs and individual practitioners, sexuality researchers must be able to play a more active role in the development and implementation of policy. The creation of both a national commission of research experts and a coalition of research and policy organizations would exert a much-needed leadership in that it could periodically issue data-based recommendations and/or executive summaries concerning sexuality research, education and funding, testify before legislative and other policymaking groups, and monitor media coverage of emerging policies. Policy training workshops provide important formalized opportunities for accumulating skill in providing quick, accurate responses to public policy changes, and to effectively disseminate research findings relevant to sexuality in general and sexual health in particular. Policy forum series in which sexuality researchers, politicians, government representatives and policy planners participate would provide an opportunity to exchange ideas and dialogue on relevant health issues. These forums would include politicians, legislators and journalists and could occur

in the form of breakfast meetings or monthly working groups. In this exchange, researchers would have the opportunity to educate politicians about the significant and potential impact of current research findings (including public health and mental health consequences) and in turn, policymakers can apprise researchers of ways in which they can become a part of the policy development process. They may be able to move toward working alliance of mutual respect and understanding. ■

Sociologist Diane di Mauro directs the Council's Sexuality Research Fellowship Program and is the author of *Sexuality Research in the United States: An Assessment of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. This article is based in large part on the discussion at several meetings, in particular a roundtable on the trends and future directions of sexuality research and training held at the Council offices on June 1-2, 2000.

Participants in Roundtable Discussion on Sexuality Research and Training Social Science Research Council June 1-2, 2000

John Bancroft, Kinsey Institute, University of Indiana
Craig Calhoun, Social Science Research Council
Eli Coleman, University of Minnesota
Sarah H. Costa, Ford Foundation
John Delamater, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Diane di Mauro, Social Science Research Council
Anke Ehrhardt, New York State Psychiatric Institute
John Gagnon, State University of New York, Stony Brook
Lisa Goldberg, Revson Foundation
Julia R. Heiman, University of Washington
Margaret Hempel, Ms. Foundation for Women
Gilbert H. Herdt, San Francisco State University
Leslie Kantor, Planned Parenthood of New York City
Edward O. Laumann, University of Chicago
Shirley Lindenbaum, City University of New York
Deborah L. Tolman, Wellesley College
Sharon Thompson, Ford Foundation
Martha Vicinus, University of Michigan
Kim Wallen, Emory University
Patricia Warne, New York State Psychiatric Institute

Negotiating a Passage Between Disciplinary Borders

(continued from page 1)

We tend to talk about interdisciplinarity as if it always has the same meaning. From my vantage point as an editor, however, I see different fields taking recognizably different approaches. Interdisciplinary work by an art historian looks markedly different from that by a sociologist of art. Sometimes the differences are glaring, sometimes subtle. They are traces that reflect choices made along the way: how to frame a question, or what weight to give various forms of evidence.

Indeed, I believe it is nearly impossible to produce work that does not bear the marks of the discipline of its origin. The literary critic Donald E. Pease speaks of a "disciplinary unconscious" that frames our thinking. Far from being surprised, I consider that an anthropological insight, one that

takes seriously the cultures, categories, and valuations of particular disciplines. Intention is no more the guarantor of "escaping" one's discipline than it is of escaping one's race or gender. While some causes of disciplinary power are structural and exterior to a scholar—such as departmental pressures and expectations—many others result from internalizing the standards and values of normal scholarly practices.

Let's examine how interdisciplinary work is produced. When one writes for an interdisciplinary audience, one is trying to please readers both outside and inside one's own discipline. Sometimes those outside are real readers, a group of colleagues from other departments who share an intellectual quest. A sociologist working on the civil-rights movement, for example, might be a member of a reading group

composed of historians, political scientists, and literary critics studying the same topic.

Sometimes the outsiders are phantasmatic: what a sociologist anticipates a historian or critical-race theorist would expect to see. Our sociologist might imagine a reader over the shoulder asking, "Why did you choose that archive?" "Did the concept of race mean the same thing in the 1940's as it does today?" Scholars balance such expectations from other fields with the familiar rules, needs, practices and understandings of their own discipline. After all, they want their cohort, as well as outsiders, to appreciate their work.

That relates to the exterior pressures to which I alluded. Scholars have to worry about how their work will be seen in professional, career contexts. Will it help them obtain a job that carries with it the possibility of renewal, tenure, promotion to full professor? Will it bring an invitation to lecture at the prestigious School of Criticism and Theory at Cornell? To give the distinguished Lewis Henry Morgan Lectures in anthropology at the University of Rochester?

Interdisciplinary work, then, needs to be seen as a compromise, a hybrid between disciplinary forces and the desire to use concepts and methods from—or to speak to—other disciplines. Good individualists, scholars tend to think of their discipline as exterior to themselves: One joins the American

Historical Association, the Modern Language Association, the American Anthropological Association, etc., and the discipline includes you, giving you part of your identity. In fact, disciplinarity is a form of capillary power (to cite Foucault's notion of an internalized, dispersed form of discipline). Academics enforce the norms of their disciplines themselves, often consciously, intentionally, strategically, but just as often, unconsciously.

It is not hard for scholars engaged in interdisciplinary projects to remember that their own work must balance disciplinary and interdisciplinary impulses, and they can usually recognize similar tradeoffs in work in their own field. They recognize when an author is pushing boundaries and when he or she is staying within disciplinary conventions. However, when scholars go to evaluate interdisciplinary

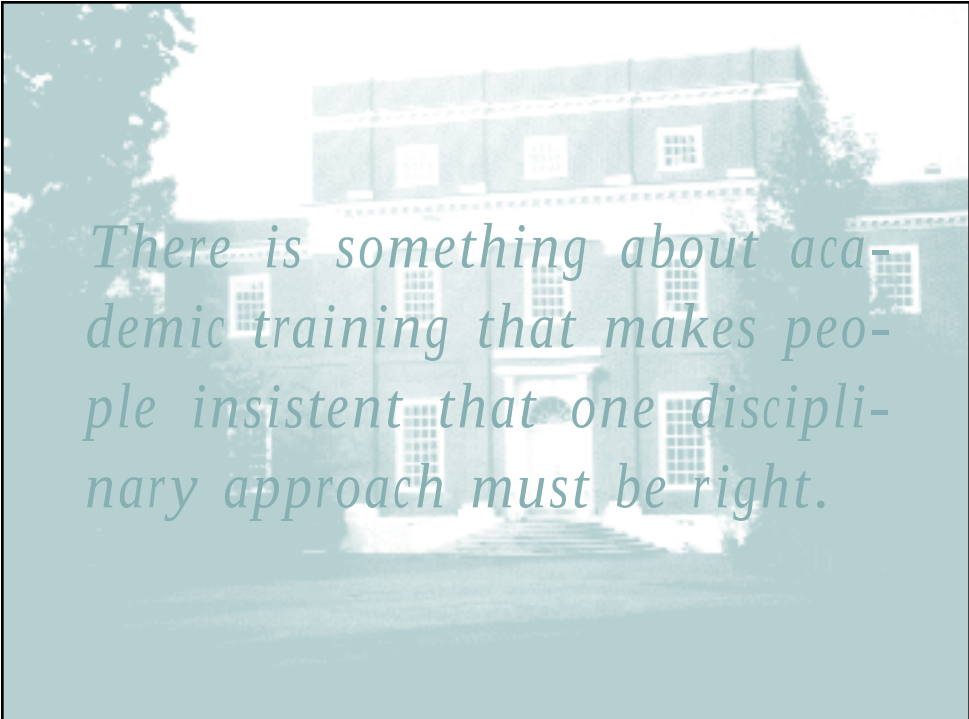
work from another field, they often forget the forces that helped structure that work, and read it as if it were a direct representation of the author's beliefs.

For example, many junior people in literature departments are trying to make sure that their projects look literary enough to assure long-term success in academe. Even though they may be writing about constructions of race at the end of Reconstruction, or wedding ceremonies, or the gendered nature of Indian nationalism, they still want to include a sufficient number of close readings of texts (at least some of which are canonical) and enough literary history to have something that will be seen as the proper object of study for a person in a literature department.

But when literary critics criticize the piling on of archival material in a historian's work as positivist and underinterpreted, it rarely occurs to them to ask why the historian put the material there, or to think that the reasons might be similar to the ones that motivate all those close readings. The

carefully contrived balance, which is understood from within the discipline, may be read from outside as failure. "Sadly, despite the challenging ideas, too much of the interpretation rests on the reading of a few texts."

I have come to see how such a failure of understanding operates to distinguish scholars as interdisciplinary writers from scholars



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as interdisciplinary readers, especially when they read something that crosses into their own disciplinary practice or subject area. As writers, many scholars inclined to interdisciplinary work are happy *bricoleurs*, trawling other disciplines for useful theories, methods, and information. They are pleased to enrich their own work by using those practices in their own *bricolage*, picking up bits and pieces as needed. Generally, they have a reasonable degree of trust in their own ability to use tools and practices for good purposes. Far from being sloppy, that is seen as doing the extra work that creative scholarship requires.

However, a whole different set of responses comes into play when the same scholars read work from another discipline that uses theory or practice from their own discipline badly (and isn't it always bad?). Thus, for instance, one might

hear anthropologists say things like, "Hasn't she ever heard of the critiques of Mary Douglas—which are, after all, 25 years old?" Or, "You call this ethnography? All he did was read websites." Similarly, a literary critic might say, "Fine ethnography, but this work doesn't seem to have a theory of representation."

In other words, the work is often seen as careless, using tools from the discipline without understanding their attendant histories, contexts and shortcomings. Scholars turn out to have great affective attachments to the methods of their own fields, even if they spend much of their academic lives grumbling about them or picking them apart. Do they ever wonder why people in their own discipline are so much better at creating hybrid methods? Why they always make better choices than people in other disciplines?

There is something about academic training that makes people insistent that one disciplinary approach must be right and others wrong, or at best, misguided. How rarely one hears statements like: "Isn't it great for Indonesian studies that Dutch philologists are so picky while the anthropologists are so analytically creative?" Scholars treat interlopers from other disciplines as if they were engaged in a war for territory, as if interdisciplinarity were a zero-sum game. There are certainly some institutional contexts in which that is realistic—for example, when one has to convince administrators that an available line is needed more in one's own field than elsewhere. However, the attitude surfaces on far too many occasions—in, for instance, grandstanding questions at public lectures. Such a territorial attitude belies the intellectual values that academics always trumpet: a dedication to producing new knowledge and the free exploration of ever more creative and complex ideas. Scholars who could be learning from each other spend their time knocking each other down.

Territoriality is often redoubled when interdisciplinary spaces are at stake. Perhaps that is because such spaces are new, with boundaries less clear and less ritualized than in traditional disciplines. Take the case of cultural studies. Like many other such areas, it was set up as a place for interdisciplinary work, but it is often attacked by people in a variety of other fields as if it were a marauding discipline. I realize that cultural studies is a very particular example, but hope that an analysis of how such a relatively visible area has been embraced and attacked will be helpful in the consideration of interdisciplinary projects in general.

Cultural studies is organized around some common themes, questions, and politics—what the connections are among cultural forms, and between culture and politics, or how culture is produced, circulated, consumed. It boasts e-mail lists, book series and journals. Cultural studies is not a discipline; it has no organization, no annual meeting and very few departments. Most of the departments that do exist are renamed versions of other disciplines. Most of the practitioners—those who would say "I do cultural studies"—are in

some other discipline: communications, literature, film studies, anthropology. For the most part, cultural studies is not an institutional or professional space; it is an interdisciplinary one, an intellectual one. What cultural studies has become is a space for work between disciplines.

Yet most anthropologists see cultural studies as replacing ethnographic studies with textual readings, replacing studies of actual others with theories about the "other"—in short, they fault it for becoming less anthropological and more like literary criticism. Many literary critics, on the other hand, see cultural studies as replacing text-based studies with historically or culturally based ones, and replacing aesthetic judgments with political ones. In other words, they see cultural studies as replacing literary criticism with anthropology (and/or history and sociology).

To borrow the jargon of each discipline, we might ask whether the cultural studies "othered" by anthropologists is the same as the cultural studies "othered" by literary critics. The answer, clearly, is no, but so few scholars realize that. My point here is that, rather than seeing cultural studies as an intellectual project composed of scholars from their own and other disciplines, many people see it only from their own perspective: as a competing discipline trying to take over their academic space.

In some ways, cultural studies has come to be used interchangeably with postmodernism (which, by now, is almost an epithet; seemingly, it has no adherents) or some other sign of the looming apocalypse. Generally, much of this loose talk turns out to have little to do with cultural studies itself, and instead serves primarily to reinforce the disciplinary solidarity of the complainers.

I've dealt with cultural studies at some length here, because I think the responses to the field—which are sometimes both positive and negative from the same people—have much to teach us about the prospects of interdisciplinary spaces in general. If scholars are unable or unwilling to learn how to read work that draws on other disciplines—to become aware of their own disciplinary biases, and to hold them in check—all the talk of interdisciplinarity will be just that.

We must acknowledge that interdisciplinary spaces are hard to construct and hard to maintain. It is relatively easy to produce disciplinary versions of purportedly interdisciplinary spaces: literary cultural studies, sociological cultural studies, etc. Those do nothing but reshape the boundaries and methods of the existing disciplines. The real challenge is to find a way to hold the interdisciplinary and the disciplinary in view, not only as authors, but as readers, listeners, and participants in academic institutions. Only then will truly interdisciplinary work flourish. ■

Ken Wissoker is editor in chief of Duke University Press. This article is adapted from one that appeared in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, April 14, 2000, and appears by permission.

Judging from the way most American doctoral students are trained today, disciplines are as much gangs, with handshakes and colors, initiation ceremonies and secret passwords, as they are research traditions. Their members are jealous of their territory and quick to resort to "trash talk" when confronted with the work of their rivals. Social scientists are no less inclined to these behaviors than any other members of the academic community. All of us make jokes at the expense of our colleagues in other buildings: political scientists wonder at anthropologists for whom tyranny is but an expression of the sacred, anthropologists marvel at the economists who study preferences in societies they've never seen.

Yet much of this, it seems to me, is whistling in the dark. We cling to our disciplinary colleagues for the same kind of reassurance and companionship that gang members, faced with a confusing and often contentious world, seek from each other. Since I am not a sociologist and I do not study gangs, I do not dare pursue this simile too far. I would propose, however, that some measure of the overweening loyalty to discipline I see among my colleagues is a reflection less of a "disciplinary unconscious" than of existential anxiety. For all of the highly ritualized and stylized processes and procedures for review, very few social scientists can be confident that their research is prized by society, that their students will be sought after, their articles circulated, their ideas borrowed and built upon. Under these circumstances, the temptations of petty disciplinary pride and jealousy are virtually irresistible.

It seems to me, however, that there are three arenas of interdisciplinary research in which this anxious disciplinary chauvinism is regularly transcended. The first—not chronologically, but in how fast its importance is fading—is area studies. From the end of the 1950s to the close of the 1980s, hundreds of American social scientists spent careers of dual loyalties, happily divided between discipline and world region. The "focus groups" constituted during coffee breaks in meetings of SSRC-ACLS joint area committees in years past revealed that the vast majority of area studies social scientists were seduced by their region long before they fell in love with their discipline. They were among the most distinguished of their disciplines but they were also among the most comfortable in interdisciplinary conversations. These were individuals who team-taught courses, who conducted collaborative research, who coauthored articles. A demographer who worked in Thailand, an anthropologist whose field site was in China, a political scientist whose research focused on Africa could talk, not only to their area studies colleagues from other disciplines, but thanks to that experience, even to

each other. They were familiar with, and respectful of, other cultures, in the world and in the academy.

In the early days of social science, episodically since then and, I would argue, increasingly in the future, public policy issues also provide sites in which interdisciplinary research has flourished. Children's health, nuclear nonproliferation, land reform, electoral design, criminal justice and myriad other policy domains bring together social scientists from a variety of disciplines to work not only with natural scientists and humanists, but also with each other. Sharing a common interest in finding answers to policy questions they consider significant, these social scientists are often impatient with disciplinary self-regard, preferring instead pragmatic and eclectic utilization of a variety of approaches, perspectives and methods. Disciplinary purists sometimes shudder at this promiscuity, but it serves not only to bring the insights of a variety of disciplines to bear on a pressing social problem, but also to foster mutual understanding, if not appreciation, across the disciplines.



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Finally, we see in social scientists who are developing new methods and approaches a joy which transcends disciplinary prejudice. The common purpose in methodological innovation and theoretical development—in both what prove to be dead ends and in genuine advances—infects disciplines with little regard to their formal boundaries. Cultural studies entices anthropologists, historians, geogra-

phers; game theory intrigues economists, sociologists and political scientists. New advances in quantitative methods and statistical techniques are shared across all the social sciences. Indeed, today disciplinary rivalries often pale by comparison with the jostling among "quants" and "modelers," or "rat choice" and "lit-crit" types within and across disciplinary departments.

Disciplinary gangs continue to thrive where anxiety and disaffection reign. By contrast, where social scientists are excited by a common purpose, whether that is understanding a place, developing a policy or devising a method, the lure of disciplinary conceit fades before the satisfaction of that common cause. The disassociation of graduate training in the social sciences from the excitement of these interdisciplinary projects contributes to the reproduction not only of the disciplines but of the anxiety attached to them. Thus are born precisely those petty rivalries that inhibit the very interdisciplinary cooperation that is the salve for this disaffection and anxiety. ■

Ken Wissoker has reminded us that anxieties about disciplines and disciplinarity often elicit different responses from us, depending on whether we are reading or writing, defending turf or developing ideas. This contextual variability of our disciplinary patriotism is a vital point and one worth further debate and refinement.

The simplest premise about disciplinarity is also the source of its greatest irritations. This is the fact that disciplines have histories. What is more, the very idea of disciplines has a short history, connected with the evolution of the modern research university, of professional specialization and of the growing vocationalization of the professoriate in the West. Within this short history, specific disciplines grew and grew distinct, and in the European university framework, certain fault lines—as between the natural sciences and the human sciences, and between the humanities and the social sciences—became especially important. No modern discipline in Europe and North America is much more than 150 years old. Many are much younger.

This double historicity—that of disciplinarity and that of disciplines—produces an embarrassment, namely that boundaries of short duration are difficult to defend strongly. When, in the 60s and 70s, the ideas of Karl Popper, Thomas Kuhn and others had their greatest impact, it became accepted wisdom that all forms of conjecture thrived on the possibility of refutation. This obviously was relevant to the boundaries between disciplines, which could hardly claim eternal verity if all substantive truths were potentially—and even virtuously—refutable. So there are some who easily concede the historicity of the idea of disciplinarity but become true believers when it comes to disciplines—especially their own. The inverse case is rarer, when scholars find the boundaries of this or that field entirely artifactual but the idea of disciplinarity valuable.

The second position is the one that I regard as the source of a healthy approach to interdisciplinarity. The idea of disciplinarity is good, if for no other reason than its managerial or triage function in an era of exploding knowledge and imploding specialization. Simple efficiency calls for sub-

fields that can guarantee their own good health. But the specific shape of this or that discipline is quite another matter, since it can come to reflect contingency in its more sclerotic, self-interested forms. The defense of specific disciplinary boundaries is often connected with funds, careers, power and institutional fiefdoms. Ideas rarely suffer from propinquity or promiscuity. Individuals and careers often do.

As far as specific disciplines go, there is one other point to be made. It may be well for us to worry more about disciplinary cores, nodes or centers rather than their edges, boundaries or frontiers. The latter are a natural place for traffic, mutation, invention and sheer chance. The boundary is the province of invention. The center, on the other hand, is well worth defense, for in it lies the hard work of choosing between good ideas, of training (discipline in its linked, secondary sense) and of curricular ordering and systematicity, without which transmission and teaching would become impossible. The center of a discipline must also be open to change, but it is appropriate that it be more conservative than its boundary.

Thus, where interdisciplinarity is concerned, let us worry about the center—the key texts, the core ideas, the persistent preoccupations, the formative thinkers, the durable histories—and the boundaries will take care of themselves. Today, in an academic world driven by the contradictions of high costs, intense competition for the global student dollar, and intense passions for rankings of every type, we worry too much about what happens at the boundaries between fields and mistakenly leave disciplinary centers to take care of themselves. This is the road to trench warfare over funds and power, rather than over ideas. If we think about the centers of our fields, we are still obliged to reflect on our fields as essentially historical artifacts, but we are likely to have something worthwhile to traffic in. Otherwise, we will have no disciplinarity with which to be inter—or interesting. ■

Arjun Appadurai is Samuel N. Harper Professor in anthropology and in South Asian languages and civilizations at the University of Chicago.

Thomas Bender

Though in a literal sense interdisciplinarity refers to a set of intellectual practices, it needs to be understood in the context of the social dynamics of academic culture. Let me explain by introducing a bit of history. Interdisciplinarity entered academic discourse (and, perhaps more important, that of foundations and educational administrators) in the 1920s. The SSRC was founded in this context, and the promotion of interdisciplinary research was

one of the reasons for its founding. Beardsly Ruml, who provided the initial funding from the Rockefeller Foundation, worried that the institutional maturation of the new disciplines limited their social usefulness. Rivalry and sectoral division made it difficult, if not impossible, for them to address the common problems of human life that were, to put it schematically, whole and not sectoral. Interdisciplinarity, he thought, would better match modern scholarship with the experience of the world; the landmark volume, *Recent Social Trends* (1933), best represents that ambition.

However naive Ruml and the founders of the SSRC might have been, they were close to the nub of the continuing meaning of interdisciplinarity: Are academic disciplines (collectively or singly) intended to describe and explain the world, or is their work to develop working paradigms (to use a now outmoded phrasing) that allow disciplinary practitioners to keep at work creating new knowledge and new disciplinary problems to solve?

The incorporation of theories or methods from other disciplines to advance one's own does not in these terms amount to interdisciplinary work, though it may be enormously fruitful. Indeed, one can argue that most of the important disciplinary innovations of the past century, and especially the past half-century, derive from the incorporation of concepts or methods from other disciplines. That is a powerful argument against disciplinary parochialism, or, to put it more positively, a call to a disciplinary cosmopolitanism that allows and encourages serious participation in a more general intellectual culture. But it is not necessarily a call for interdisciplinarity as I am defining it.

The disciplines rule. Tenure committees seldom ask whether the candidate's work effectively describes the world (to say nothing of whether it is "true"). Rather they ask whether the methods and theories are original, innovative within the discipline and likely to stimulate further work in the discipline. At a faculty meeting a few years ago at New York University, a member of the economics department declared that teaching students about the economy had no appeal for him, but he was passionately committed to teaching them about economics. Those who seek reliable explanations of the world often (and ought to) feel a bit unfulfilled by this line of thinking. But they must agree that the academy rewards it. Interdisciplinarity, understood as intellectual engagement with the world we share with our nonacademic neighbors, is a means, however crude, of counterbalancing this endgame of professional insularity.

If we accept Ken Wissoker's argument for cultural studies—"a space for work between disciplines"—one has a contemporary version of the founding idea of the SSRC. He rightly points out that many who today fly under the banner of cultural studies are addressing issues they consider to be (and surely are) of social significance. These concerns do not, however, seem to fit in any adequate way into the protocols of the established disciplines. Cultural studies provide a space for such inquiries, and that is doubtless the explanation for strong foundation support of the field.

Yet interdisciplinary scholarship is as problematic as it is essential. How is one to judge its validity? Who is to judge its

merit? It is true that the past two decades have witnessed the proliferation of interdisciplinary journals. None, however, claim a role equivalent to the traditional disciplinary journals. As newcomers to the academic marketplace and aware of the competition for resources, these journals and their editors are often as concerned with promoting the "field" as building "networks" as with judgment.

Although there is much evidence that the established disciplines are not so effective as their founders might have hoped in keeping the market and its values at bay, interdisciplinary studies are even more vulnerable to the perverse forms the market assumes in academe today. The individualism of the marketplace is transformed in academe into a kind of expressive individualism that values the performance of difference. To some extent, the disciplines can moderate this. But interdisciplinary fields, partly because of their defining virtues, exhibit some of the worst aspects of contemporary academic culture. Far from C.S. Peirce's or even John

Dewey's weaker vision of a "community of inquirers" cumulatively enriching a common knowledge base, reputation and advancement derive from solo performances of originality and differentiation.

More serious yet is the question of training. Pioneers in an interdisciplinary field are often granted licenses to proceed with a fairly thin knowledge of the second or third or fourth disciplines being drawn upon. Since these scholars were trained in a

discipline, quite visible traces of that discipline inform their work and provide a way of evaluating it—both for promotions and for its credibility. More is (rightly) expected of participants in the second and third waves, many of whom begin with a commitment to cultural studies and thus may not have even the benefit of the originating discipline that sustained the work of their mentors. Yet they are expected to have much fuller grounding in the various bodies of scholarship upon which they draw. How is this to be done?

If we locate cultural studies, as I have, within the context the public concerns that framed the establishment of the SSRC, there is a further complexity—or irony. It turns out to be more difficult than anticipated to return to the public with scholarly findings in the language of the public rather than as academic jargon.

It is all very worrisome, even discouraging. Yet if we wish to keep addressing the issues of contemporary life and if we wish to maintain intellectual vitality in the disciplines, we must keep advocating and doing interdisciplinarity, however impossible. ■

Thomas Bender is professor of history at New York University.



How interdisciplinary is interdisciplinarity? Ken Wissoker tells us not very, or more precisely, more in the eyes of the producer than in the eyes of the consumer. He argues, drawing primarily on the experiences of cultural studies rather than the social sciences, that external and internal disciplinary forces work against cross-disciplinary investigations. Clearly the same is true in the social sciences. Even when studying questions that have bedeviled social scientific inquiry—take the prime example of nationalism—political scientists and sociologists are very reluctant to consider psychological dimensions to the problem. It seems reductive, outside the domain of responsible theorizing. And if a social scientist dared to refer to psychological dimensions of this poorly understood yet central modern phenomenon—say an uninformed PhD candidate from Latin America—psychologists would be the first to observe the inadequacies of the psychology she used. To be sure, social scientists broadly employ economic models these days, but for every economist who knows that the economics being used is primitive, there is a political scientist or a sociologist who decries academic imperialism. (Should I confess, including this sociologist?) We read beyond our disciplinary specialties, but in significant ways are confined by and enforce their boundaries. We social scientists are no less peculiar than the cultural studies tribe Wissoker considers.

It seems to me that there are two ways of responding to this oddity, this irrational contradiction. We could, as Wissoker does, call for a more concerted effort to overcome our conflicted academic selves and confront the real challenge, "to find a way to hold the interdisciplinary and the disciplinary in view." Or we could ask ourselves the more fundamental question: Why interdisciplinary? I think that by confronting this question we can go beyond exhortation or at least make more precise what it is we need to keep in view.

We should first observe the unfortunate: that interdisciplinarity is not a significant end in itself. If anything, when viewed in this fashion, it becomes a significant problem, as in un-disciplined and sloppy. One way to avoid standards of scholarship is to function outside a clearly delineated field of scholars. Interdisciplinarity can be a refuge for rogues.

Yet the needs of a democratic polity and of the liberal arts demand interdisciplinarity. If we imagine—as we did in the fat years of postwar higher education—that the primary responsibility of social science educators is to reproduce themselves, then the project of interdisciplinarity is uncer-

tain. But if we understand that our major responsibility to our immediate public, our students, is to contribute to their general education, then interdisciplinary study becomes essential. Although it may or may not be important to teach preprofessionals (doctors, lawyers, architects and web designers and the like) the different sociological theories of nationalism and globalism, it is crucial for them to gain an understanding of these phenomena in their world. As citizens and as economic agents, they will need to understand the pressing problems of the day, and theirs will either be an ill-informed understanding or an interdisciplinary one. And when, as scholars, we attempt to contribute to a general public debate—when we believe we have insights about democracy or efficiency, about drug addiction or creativity—we will have to use a voice that speaks beyond disciplines while we draw upon disciplined expertise. This in fact is what intellectuals do.

This points to the long-term social structural support of interdisciplinary inquiry and writing, to intellectual activity in a democracy, a subject I have devoted a book to. Briefly, I

wish to underscore that the disciplines emerged within an increasingly differentiated modern social world, one in which religion, politics, economics and philosophy (broadly understood) went their own separate ways. The modern university became the home of the latter. At the same time independent publics emerged, reconnecting the more differentiated and individualized popula-

tion. What are examples of such publics today? They include the readers of certain journals, from the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (where Wissoker's essay originally appeared) to the *New York Review of Books* and the *New York Times*. When we look at the readers in these publics, as well as the writers, we observe the operational definition of the general reading and writing public—disciplinary agents reading and writing beyond their fields. The activity exists: it simply needs to be recognized, and honored. Interdisciplinarity is the form of intellectual life in contemporary societies. Some have mourned the loss of intellectuals, but if we look closely we still see them. And I agree with Wissoker, we need to keep them in our view. ■

Interdisciplinarity is the form of intellectual life in contemporary societies.

What are the dynamics of evaluating interdisciplinary work? Ken Wissoker's analysis of the intellectual, organizational and, ultimately, political barriers to the "fair" evaluation of interdisciplinary scholarship is instructive. As the editor-in-chief of a university press with a strong interdisciplinary tilt, he has witnessed the insensitivity of some scholars to the unique constraints of producing and evaluating interdisciplinary work, as well as the hostility sometimes shown toward disciplinary interlopers. While his insights are interesting, more empirical knowledge of the process of evaluating interdisciplinary work is needed before drawing conclusion about such a large, complex phenomenon.

Much has been said about how interdisciplinary work is and should be evaluated, yet there has been virtually no systematic attempt to study how scholars actually evaluate such work. Although a great deal of research and thinking has been done on interdisciplinary work more generally, most of this involves studying the organizational dynamics of the production of interdisciplinary work and developing analytic concepts in order to better classify and understand the complex and varied forms of interdisciplinarity (see e.g., Miller 1982; Gibbons et al. 1994; Klein 1990 and 1996). To our knowledge, no attempt has been made to assess which factors, such as the type and scope of the interdisciplinarity involved, the degree of interdisciplinary institutionalization, the nature of the evaluative setting and the relationship between the evaluating and the evaluated scholar, affect the evaluation of interdisciplinary work. We take advantage of the present invitation from *Items and Issues* to provide a few insights about these factors and their potential impact. In our view, "negotiating a passage between disciplinary borders" (to borrow Wissoker's title) will be best accomplished if informed by a comparative investigation of actual evaluative practices bearing on interdisciplinary and disciplinary work.

The first question that needs to be addressed is that of how evaluation processes vary for different types of interdisciplinarity. Indeed, there are a wide variety of types of interdisciplinary projects and disciplines, not to mention the more widespread "blurring of genres" (Geertz 1980). Multidisciplinarity, critical interdisciplinarity, transdisciplinarity, cross-disciplinarity and hybridization are just a few of the ideal-typical terms used to describe different types of "interdisciplinary" work (e.g., Katz 1995; Klein 1996). We need to ask how the evaluation process differs across these various types, and more generally, how it differs given the scope of the interdisciplinarity—that is, whether the common denominator of the interdisciplinary work can be described as primarily methodological, theoretical, conceptual, epistemological or topical. For instance, perhaps epistemological convergence (in the case, say, of anti-positivist work) will lead to greater consensus in evaluation than topical convergence where highly differentiated expert knowledge is involved (e.g., as is the case for the scholarship pro-

duced by area studies specialists).

A second question, which is tied to the first one, is the degree to which an interdisciplinary field has been institutionalized, which arguably leads to the distinction commonly made between multidisciplinarity and interdisciplinarity. In general, when scholars working in different disciplines first launch an interdisciplinary project, it can be characterized primarily as multidisciplinary: their work is likely to have in common only a very few aspects (e.g., the substantive problem that brought them together in the first place or a common concern for the limitations of traditional disciplinary approaches). No significant cross-fertilization of theories, methodologies, epistemologies, etc. has taken place, and the work conducted still remains largely fragmented by the concerns of each scholar's primary discipline. Over time, however, more cross-fertilization and integration occurs, with these two related processes driving institutionalization. Cross-fertilization is the kind of multi-stage intellectual growth that scholars may undergo as they engage in interdisciplinary work or dialogue with scholars from other fields (Sjölander 1985). Integration involves a sharing of topics, concepts, methodologies, epistemological principles, theories, etc., which guide the production of work and act as criteria used to evaluate work in that interdisciplinary field. Integration also involves the development of a sense of community or group cohesion, and an ethos of cooperation, where the struggles to define the nature/scope/methods of the field are not as contentious as they were at the multidisciplinary stage. Evaluation of interdisciplinary work is likely to be less contentious and problematic the more highly institutionalized is the interdisciplinary field.

A third consideration that will affect the evaluation is the setting in which it takes place. A lone evaluator reading a manuscript for a university press or journal (interdisciplinary or not), members of a departmental tenure committee (in a traditional or interdisciplinary field) and members of a funding panel at a national funding agency do not operate within the same parameters. In each case, different modes of justification and somewhat different criteria of evaluation are involved. Evaluations of interdisciplinary work that occur in group settings are less likely to employ evaluation standards that are idiosyncratic to any one discipline, since panelists must justify their evaluations to scholars from other fields. This is an important topic that has been neglected to date.

A fourth question is how the evaluation process is affected by the relationship between the scholar doing the evaluation and the one being evaluated. Are they both working in and self-consciously dedicated to the same interdisciplinary field, in which case the work is less likely to be seen as a territorial invasion (Portes 1995)? Is there more consensus if both share the same discipline of origin? And, if they come from different disciplines, what is the nature and extent of differences in evaluation? Differences and conflicts over criteria of evaluation are likely to occur more often and be more

intense, the more different are the disciplines of the scholars involved (two humanists will likely share more in common than a humanist and a social scientist, for example).

No single study could possibly compare these four aspects of the evaluation process but clearly these different permutations will have an effect. Just what those effects will be is often difficult to say. Suffice it to say that these considerations provide a more complex picture of the problem of evaluating interdisciplinary work than that suggested by Ken Wissoker's own experience. Preliminary results from a research project we are undertaking support this claim.

In our study, we analyze the categories and criteria of evaluation used by scholars when they evaluate research proposals in the social sciences and the humanities, based on an analysis of the peer review process at several funding institutions. We ask the following questions: what categories of evaluation are used? How much weight is given to formal and informal categories of evaluation such as excellence, significance, originality, social usefulness, feasibility, political relevance, elegance, sophistication and objectivity? What criteria are used to assess proposals along these dimensions? We hope to study the peer review process in African-American studies, women's studies, cultural anthropology, English, history and political science, at several national agencies that provide grants and fellowships to scholars. The research will draw on three types of evidence: observations of funding panels, follow-up interviews with panel members, an analysis of written evaluations of proposals and (where applicable) letters of recommendation of applicants. The goal is to compare the salience of various evaluative categories and criteria of evaluation used in interdisciplinary and traditional fields, interpretive and positivist fields, and the social sciences and the humanities, in order to establish how and to what extent categories and criteria of evaluation differ within and between these fields.

One of the questions we would like to answer is whether evaluations in the interdisciplinary programs under study more often promote "usefulness," defined in terms of the moral and critical contribution of academic knowledge, as opposed to stressing "value neutrality" or "empirical rigor" as a manifestation of academic excellence. And, if there is a trade-off between "empirical rigor" and "usefulness" (as critics often imply), how is this negotiated? More generally, we hope to be able to compare within-discipline evaluations (such as political scientists evaluating political science projects) with across-discipline evaluations (such as an anthropologist evaluating a proposal from an historian for a humanities fellowship) and each of these with interdisciplinary evaluations (e.g., women's studies scholars evaluating a range of proposals in women's studies). In addition to comparing disciplinary with interdisciplinary evaluations, our study will address how aspects related to the scope of the interdisciplinarity involved and the relationship between the evaluating and evaluated scholar affect the evaluation process. Furthermore, by comparing written evaluations by lone

reviewers to evaluations made during panel discussions, we hope to be able to address the issue of how evaluations differ depending on the setting.

We have conducted a pilot study of evaluations in women's studies for which we have observed a panel of women's studies scholars and conducted in-depth interviews with its members, who had different disciplinary backgrounds. What we found was a great deal of openness among panelists: a desire to learn about other disciplines from their colleagues and a willingness to rely on other panelists' expertise when judging the merits of a proposal from a different discipline. We also found that the participants on this interdisciplinary panel shared some criteria of evaluation—criteria that overarched disciplinary concerns and helped panelists to determine whether a given proposal could be categorized as making a contribution to women's studies per se. These preliminary findings contradict in some respect Wissoker's personal observations about the disciplinary myopia of scholars when they evaluate interdisciplinary work and confirm the need for systematic empirical analysis.

While the scope of the study that we are undertaking does not promise to answer most of the questions raised above about factors likely to affect the evaluation of interdisciplinary work, it does represent an initial inquiry on a topic about which much has been written and prescribed, but about which very little is actually known. This study will begin to fill an important gap, as gaining empirical knowledge about the practice of interdisciplinary evaluation would help academics depoliticize the issue. It is a necessary next step, and will require much more than the type of normative positioning that continues to characterize much of the ongoing discussions on interdisciplinarity. ■

Michèle Lamont is a professor, and Joshua Guetzkow a graduate student, in Princeton University's Department of Sociology.

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Joe Karaganis was appointed to direct new SSRC initiatives on information technology, effective September 1. Mr. Karaganis has been a research associate in the Sociology Department at New York University for three years and managing editor of the journal *Sociological Theory*. He has a PhD in literature from Duke University. His interests

include the impact of technology on patterns of cultural production, distribution and consumption, the emergence of national cultures, the history of the literary field, critical theory and public culture. He has published articles on critical theory, changes in higher education, literary nationalism and naturalism. He is also an associate editor of the forthcoming *Oxford Dictionary of the Social Sciences*.

Mr. Karaganis will coordinate the growing number of SSRC initiatives on information technology, including especially those related to culture, the digital divide and the transformation of higher education.

United Nations Relief and Works Agency and the Office of the United Nations Special Coordinator for the Occupied Territories. He has also worked for the Emergency Response Division of the United Nations Development Program, which assigned him to the Oslo-based Fafo Institute for Applied Social Science to assist in establishing the Program for International Cooperation and Conflict Resolution. Mr. Hooper has an MA in contemporary Arab studies from Georgetown University and a BA in politics from the University of California, Santa Cruz.

Old Staff, New Jobs

Since the last appearance of *Items & Issues*, several members of the Council staff have taken on new assignments. They are reported here in alphabetical order.

Itty Abraham, who for several years has directed the Council's South Asia and Southeast Asia Programs, has become co-director (with John Tirman) of the Program on Global Security and Cooperation. Mr. Abraham is also developing a project on illicit flows (of information, people, weapons, etc.).

Director of Publications Elsa Dixler has become interim director of the Program on Higher Education. Ron Kassimir, who heads the Council's Africa Program, has also assumed the direction of the International Dissertation Field Research Program.

Robert Latham, formerly the director of the Program on International Peace and Security (to which the Program on Global Security and Cooperation is the successor), has assumed leadership of a new program on Information Technology, International Cooperation and Security. Part of a broader Council initiative on strengthening the social science of information technology, the program will sponsor and organize summer fellowships for doctoral level students and faculty, summer and winter institutes, and the activities of a research working group.

Finally, Ellen Perelman, the longtime director of the Council's International Predissertation Fellowship Program, has assumed responsibility for the day-to-day management of the Abe Fellowship Program with the departure of Sheri Ranis to devote full time to her dissertation. Ms. Perelman will also work with Mary McDonnell on other projects and administrative tasks for which the Executive Director is responsible.

At its June 2000 meeting the Council's Board of Directors named two new members. They are Eugene Borgida, professor of psychology at the University of Minnesota and Barry Eichengreen, professor of economics and political science at the University of California, Berkeley.



Richard Hooper joined the Council on November 1, to direct the newly established Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum. The Forum was created following consultation with the United Nations for the purpose of increasing the UN's capacity to understand and respond to conflict. It will bring outside experts into ongoing dialogue with key UN staff

responsible for the organization's work in the fields of conflict prevention, preventive diplomacy and postconflict peace building. Ambassador Lakhdar Brahimi, who recently headed the panel appointed by the Secretary-General to examine the UN's peace operations, will serve as chair of the Forum's international board. The government of the United Kingdom is providing financial support for the Forum through the Department for International Development (DFID). The Forum will work in close cooperation with a number of programs at the Council, particularly in drawing on the Council's extensive international networks of researchers.

Mr. Hooper is being provided to the project through a special arrangement with the United Nations, where he most recently served as special assistant/chief of staff to the United Nations Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process. In addition, since 1990, he has worked for the

Conferences and Workshops



Sexuality Research Fellows' Conference

The annual Sexuality Research Fellowship Program fellows' conference was co-hosted by the HIV Center for Clinical and Behavioral Studies of Columbia University on October 4-8, 2000. Conference presentation and discussion topics included: public policy and sexuality research, media issues, outreach and dissemination activities, methodological concerns and the ethical issues of conducting research in this area. Two panels were presented, one by researchers of the HIV Center for Clinical and Behavioral Studies and the other by selection committee member Carole Vance and the fellows of the Program for the Study of Sexuality, Gender, Health and Human Rights (funded by the Rockefeller



Foundation). The range of methodologies discussed by the presenters illuminated the breadth of research approaches to sexuality. As in previous conferences, an important agenda segment was the "dance card" activity, in which the fellows participated in six one-on-one conversations about their work with other fellows, guest speakers or selection committee members. A wrap-up session included a group discussion led by two former SRFP fellows. In bringing together current and former fellows, invited guest speakers and members of the SRFP selection committee, the conference provided an important opportunity for the fellows to meet and form productive alliances with each other, discuss their work in progress and gain a greater understanding of important research issues.



Presentations in Tokyo

The SSRC Tokyo Office hosted two research presentations by Abe fellows in July at the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership, which funds the Abe Fellowship Program.

On July 4, 2000, Charles Burrell, staff writer, *San Francisco Chronicle*, spoke on "US Press Coverage of Japan: Does America See Through a Glass Darkly?" American journalists are often criticized for biased and one-sided coverage of



Japan, painting the country as sinister or laughable. Burrell examined articles on Japan's war accountability and trade practices, illustrating his talk with inaccurate articles and quotes. Tokyo-based correspondents enlivened the discussion of why misreporting is so common and how journalists can do a better job.

On July 21, Abe Fellow Hirokazu Miyazaki, an anthropologist, spoke on "Simulating Lives: Science and Life History in the Tokyo Financial Market." During the late 1980s and early 1990s, Japanese banks and securities firms hired experts in mathematics and science to develop and trade derivative products. The talk examined the meeting of two worlds--science and money--in the Tokyo market through the lives of a trading team at a major securities firm.

Staff: Frank Baldwin, Takuya Toda.

Staff: Diane di Mauro, Olivia Newman.

Industrial Upgrading and Equity in Central America

On October 12-14, 2000, the Collaborative Research Network on Globalization, Local Institutions and Development held the first of two workshops in San Jose, Costa Rica, devoted to a project on "Industrial Upgrading and Equity in Central America," which is being supported by the Organization of American States. Organized in partnership with the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences



(FLACSO-Costa Rica) and the Central American Foundation for Technical Innovation (CODETI), the workshop had two purposes. First, participants discussed drafts of 10 conceptual papers addressing the significance of industrial upgrading for development in different settings. Revised versions of these drafts will be discussed again during a workshop in early 2001, and are expected to be included in a published collection, to be edited by CRN co-chair Gary Gereffi of Duke University. The second objective of the workshop was to discuss preliminary results of empirical studies of inter-firm relations and labor market dynamics in the electronics and software clusters in Costa Rica. That research aims to illuminate the prospects for upgrading in that key sector for Costa Rican development and to assess the equity implications of processes of change underway in that country. Revised versions of the empirical studies will be a major focus of the second workshop, which will also involve participants from public and private sector institutions involved in Costa Rica's electronics sector. A volume consisting of a selection of the analytical essays on industrial upgrading, and the empirical studies prepared by FLACSO and CODETI, will be published by FLACSO in 2001.

Participants: Stephen Chiu, Chinese University of Hong Kong; Rick Doner, Emory University; Dieter Ernst, East-West Institute; Gary Gereffi, Duke University; Raphael Kaplinsky, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, UK; Jorge Monge, CODETI; Lynn Mytelka, United Nations University Research Institute for New Technologies, Maastricht, Netherlands; Florence Palpacuer, University of Montpellier, France; Pablo Perez Sainz, FLACSO-Costa Rica; Rajah Rasiah, University of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur.

Staff: Eric Hershberg, Rebecca Lichtenfeld.

Postconflict Peacebuilding Strategies

The International Peace and Security Program held its final workshop, "Postconflict Peace-building Strategies," in Cape Town, South Africa, from June 25-29, 2000. Participants included a broad mix of experienced and more junior scholars from North America and Africa. The goal was to encourage dialogue between these scholars and the more experienced researchers together with practitioners in the field of conflict management and resolution. To this end, the workshop benefited greatly from visits to the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation in Gugulethu, Robben Island and the Center for Conflict Resolution at the University of Cape Town. These visits set the discussions in the context of real postconflict challenges in South Africa. The workshop was chaired by Neta Crawford of the University of Massachusetts and Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela of Harvard University and formerly the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa. Papers were organized around three themes: Regional and Global Security Institutions and Processes; Politics and Economics of Demobilization and Restructuring; and Identity, Trust, Human Rights and Justice.



Participants: Mwesiga Baregu, Southern African Regional Institute for Policy Studies (SARIPS), Harare Zimbabwe; Chuck Call, Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University; Neta Crawford, University of Massachusetts; Molly Dhlamini, University of Witwatersrand; Erik Doxtader, University of North Carolina; Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy and the Women and Public Policy Program, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University; Joao Honwana, Conventional Arms Branch, United Nations Department of Disarmament Affairs; Gilbert M. Khadiagala, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies; Elizabeth Kier, University of Washington; M. Brinton Lykes, University of Witwatersrand; Lephophotho (Pops) Mashike, University of Witwatersrand; Jonathan Mercer, University of Washington; Mafale Mokalobe, Centre for Conflict Resolution; Robert Mongwe, University of Stellenbosch (absent); David Monyae, University of the Witwatersrand; Laurie Nathan, Centre for Conflict Resolution; Léonce Ndikumana, University of Massachusetts; Naison Ngoma, University of the Western Cape; Tandeka C. Nkiwane, Johns Hopkins' School of Advanced International Studies; Obiora Chinedu Okafor, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada; Omer Ishag Omer, Oxfam, Sudan; Clara de Sousa, Mozambique Central Bank; Thokozani Thusi, University of the Western Cape (absent); Nontombi Naomi Tutu, Race Relations Institute, Fisk University; Viresh Vallabhrai, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg; Charles Villa-Vicencio, Institute for Peace, Justice, and Reconciliation in Cape Town South Africa (absent); Leslie Vinjamuri, Olin Institute for Strategic Studies and Columbia University; Barbara Walter, University of California, San Diego.

Staff: Robert Latham, Ben Rawlence.

East Asian Issues

On June 8-10, 2000, the East Asia Regional Advisory Panel of the SSRC met at Yonsei University in Seoul, South Korea, in conjunction with two workshops organized around themes vital to the region. On June 8, RAP members moderated a day-long seminar concerning "Critical Issues in the Region." The day was notable for the participation of scholars from Hong Kong and the People's Republic of China as well as Korea. Topics included: migrant workers in China, entrepreneurship in East Asia, new class formations, corruption and politics, women's subjectivity across East Asia, and environmental issues during economic growth.



Participants: Gary Hamilton*, University of Washington; Carol Gluck*, Columbia University; Chaibong Hahm*, Yonsei University; Qiang Li, Tsinghua University, China; Ping Huang, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences; Zeqi Qiu, Beijing University; Stephen Ching-Kiu Chan, Lingnan University, Hong Kong; Siu-tong Kwok, Chinese University, Hong Kong; Siu-lun Wong, Hong Kong University; Seung-mee Han, Yonsei University; Hyun-mee Kim, Yonsei University; Woo-sang Kim, Yonsei University. (* indicates RAP member).

Staff: Mary McDonnell, Barbara Brooks, Doug Guthrie, Frank Baldwin.

On June 9, the RAP hosted a day-long workshop entitled "Rethinking Sovereignty: An Agenda for Research in East Asia." Participants were asked to respond to a range of questions concerning sovereignty today, with attention to particular places in Asia. Papers explored how sovereignty has been deterritorialized and reconceptualized, both globally and in particular cases, theoretically and in practice. Alongside state sovereignty, they asked, is it useful to speak of popular, social or cultural sovereignty, or of the sovereignty of the market? The group examined the implications of the cases of Taiwan, Korea, Okinawa, Hong Kong, East Timor and Malaysia for ideas of sovereignty. Discussion also focused on theoretical definitions of sovereignty in international relations, the manner in which new global forces have opened up transnational "spaces," traditional or Confucian concepts relating to sovereignty and the historical transmission of Western legal concepts of national sovereignty to East Asia. Many strands of inquiry emerged as seeds for an expanded project. The proceedings were enriched by the contributions of several Korean participants who were about to accompany President Kim Dae Jung on his trip to Pyongyang for the summit with Kim Jong Il.

Participants: Donald Emmerson*, Stanford University; Akihiko Tanaka*, University of Tokyo; Thomas Gold, University of California, Berkeley; Steven Krasner, Stanford University; Aihwa Ong, University of California, Berkeley; T.J. Pempel, University of Washington; Etel Solingen, University of California, Irvine;

Jens Bartelson, University of Stockholm; Kanishka Jayasuriya, Murdoch University; Young-sun Ha, Seoul National University; Chung-in Moon, Yonsei University; Young-kwan Yoon, Seoul National University. (* indicates RAP member).

Staff: Mary McDonnell, Barbara Brooks, Doug Guthrie, Frank Baldwin.

International Dissertation Research Fellows' Conference

The International Dissertation Research Fellowship Program hosted its fifth fellows' workshop on October 12-17, 2000, at the International Institute for Research and Education in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. This workshop was chaired by Ron Kassimir and facilitated by Joe Auner (musicology, State University of New York, Stony Brook) and Laura Hein (history, Northwestern University). Peter Geschiere (anthropol-



ogy, Leiden University) participated as the guest speaker on the afternoon of October 14. This workshop offered an opportunity for 16 fellows, who have recently completed their fieldwork, to present their research to an interdisciplinary audience and to address themes that resonate across disciplines, cultures and regions. The workshop also attempted to facilitate networks and cross-disciplinary exchanges and to assist fellows in evaluating their research as they begin writing their dissertations. To that end, the fellows were divided into five presentation panels, organized by theme rather than by discipline or region of study. The participants enjoyed the interdisciplinary, informal nature of the workshop and indicated that the discussions would prove helpful. Many fellows are now planning a reunion in June 2001.

Facilitators: Joe Auner, Laura Hein. Speaker: Peter Geschiere.

Staff: Ron Kassimir, Jen Chen.

Program on Applied Economics Summer Workshop

The SSRC-MacArthur Foundation Program in Applied Economics held its third annual summer workshop on August 1-9, 2000, at the Airlie Conference Center in Warrenton Virginia. Thirty-two students representing 15 economics graduate programs were in attendance to hear lectures on current topics like micro-finance and the global financial architecture and to collaborate on the application of economic research to substantial social and economic issues.



Speakers included professors and researchers from the nation's top economics departments as well as several economists from governmental and nongovernmental organizations like the Federal Communications Commission, the World Bank and Salomon Smith Barney. Students had the chance to interact with these experts in an informal setting and learn about building a successful career in economics. Above all, workshop participants reported that the opportunity to meet and work with students from other programs had heightened their enthusiasm for the "dismal science" and provided them with strong connections for the future.



Speakers: Robert Townsend (University of Chicago), Christopher Udry (Yale University), Jacob Yaron (World Bank), Timothy W. Guinnane (Yale University), Mary Houghton (South Shore Bank of Chicago), Nouriel Roubini (New York University), Kenneth Rogoff (Harvard University), Alan Blinder (Princeton University), Jeffrey Shafer (Salomon Smith Barney), Peter Cramton (University of Maryland), Evan Kwerel (Federal Communications Commission), John Ledyard (California Institute of Technology), Andrew Schotter (New York University) and Gregory Rosston (Stanford University, former deputy chief economist, Federal Communications Commission).

Staff: Ashley Timmer, Liam Ristow.

The State of Social Science Research and Training in Central America

The Latin America Regional Advisory Panel (RAP), in collaboration with Central American offices of the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO-Costa Rica, FLACSO-El Salvador and FLACSO-Guatemala), sponsored a workshop on October 16, 2000, to consider the present state of social scientific research and training in the region. Held in San Salvador, El Salvador, the meeting brought together leading social scientists from Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua to assess recent intellectual and institutional trends and to debate how key national and regional organizations might join forces to strengthen scholarly capacity throughout Central America.

The decision to convene the meeting at this time reflected several considerations. A 1995 SSRC-commissioned assessment of the topic had led to a multi-year Council effort to promote research capacity among junior investigators in the region. This concluded in 1998, having trained more than two dozen researchers and having contributed to the design of a larger scale program, administered by FLACSO-Costa Rica and funded by European cooperation agencies from 2000-2004. In this context, the RAP considered it timely to explore how best to direct its work in the region.

Meanwhile, the three FLACSO centers in the region also had embarked on planning processes designed to better situate them to grapple with challenges of the coming decade. Simultaneously, several other key Central American research institutions were implementing substantial initiatives to adjust their agendas and programs to contemporary conditions. Given the shared concern of various institutions--across different countries and academic disciplines--with the continuing need to expose new generations of researchers to up-to-date conceptual and methodological tools of the social sciences, this challenge remained at the core of the agenda. A rapporteur's report from the meeting will be circulated in late 2000, and the RAP hopes to facilitate programmatic initiatives during the coming years.

Participants: Tani Adams, CIRMA, Guatemala; Eduardo Baumeister, Nicaragua; Hector Dada, FLACSO-El Salvador; Rafael Del Cid, ESA Consultores, Honduras; Alberto Enriques, FUNDE-El Salvador; Victor Galvez, FLACSO-Guatemala; Xavier Gorostiaga, Universidad Londivar-USJAL, Guatemala; Juan Pablo Perez Sainz, FLACSO-Costa Rica; Carlos Ramos, FLACSO-El Salvador; Maria Isabel Rodriguez, Universidad Nacional del Salvador; Manuel Rojas, Universidad Nacional de Costa Rica; Hernan Rosa, PRISMA, El Salvador; Leticia Salomon, Honduras; Carlos Sojo, FLACSO-Costa Rica; Edelberto Torres Rivas, PNUD, Guatemala.

Staff: Eric Hershberg, Rebecca Lichtenfeld.



Technology, Transition and Transformation

From June 15-18, 2000, the Social Science Research Council hosted the Ninth Annual Mellon Minority Fellowship Conference at Rice University in Houston, Texas. One hundred sixty fellows joined SSRC and Mellon staff, Rice University and other invited faculty, as well as guests from the Ford Foundation, the University of Texas Press and the Quarterly Black Review Press, in workshops, panels, poster sessions and fellows' presentations around the theme, "Technology, Transition and Transformation: Making a Difference."

Studying Native America: Problems and Prospects (University of Wisconsin Press, 1998 [see *Items* 52:1, p. 28]), the result of a productive collaboration between the Social Science Research Council and 17 scholars of Native Americans and of Native American Studies, was the basis of a plenary. It featured three of the contributors to the volume and three Native American academics in the field who commented on the significance of the book to their work in the discipline.

Other plenaries addressed the question of technology, transition and transformation from the perspective of the presidents of two area universities, Rice and Texas Southern, and of scholars in political science, theology, anthropology, agronomy and plant genetics. Recent PhDs in political science, English and women's studies, as well as romance languages and literatures, described the transformations wrought first by graduate school and now by the competitive academic environments they faced as junior faculty. While there were additional activities over the three days, including presentations by fellows in interdisciplinary thematic sessions, the plenaries were significant in that they brought all of the participants together in the context of a specific event.



According to the students' response to a detailed evaluation, this year's highlight was a conversation among three students—two in history and one in American studies—and Chester Pierce, who discussed his life and his sense of what the future holds for scholars of color in the academy. Dr. Pierce is professor emeritus at Harvard University where he held joint appointments in the medical school in psychiatry and in the Graduate School of Education. The format was

suggested by a book with Ezra Griffith, a younger psychiatrist on the faculty at Yale and the author of *Race and Excellence: My Dialogue with Chester Pierce*. Beverlee Bruce, director of the SSRC-Mellon Minority Program, noted that the fellows were perceptive and made incisive comments during the conversation and the Q and A that ensued, and that they were especially appreciative that a man of Pierce's stature was so frank and insightful about his "refraction of truth."

One fellow found that the conversation "provided important insights about entering and maintaining oneself in the academy" and another recommended, "someone who can contribute such a relevant historical perspective be included at each conference." Fortunately, the Tenth Annual Conference will be held at Duke University from June 7-10, 2001, and historian John Hope Franklin has just accepted an invitation to engage in conversation with the fellows.

Staff: Beverlee Bruce, Sara Robledo, Jodie Bass.



Latin America Regional Advisory Panel

On October 6-7, 2000, the Regional Advisory Panel for Latin America met to discuss ongoing initiatives and to set a research agenda for the next six months. Projects that were reviewed included the Program on Collective Memory and Repression in the Southern Cone; a parallel initiative in Peru; the Program on Cultural Agency in the Americas; activities of the Working Group on Cuba; and research planning projects devoted to globalization and labor, industrial upgrading and income inequality in the Caribbean. In addition, the committee debated appropriate steps to be taken with regard to the training of junior researchers throughout the region, as well as several potential new initiatives, including one that would address the crisis of governance in the Andes.

Participants: Victor Bulmer-Thomas, Institute of Latin American Studies, London; Carlos Ivan Degregori, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP), Peru; Paul Drake, University of California, San Diego; Nadya Guimaraes, Centro Brasileiro de Análise e Planejamento (CEBRAP), Brazil; Blanca Heredia, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económica (CIDE), Mexico; Elizabeth Jelin, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina; Juan Pablo Pérez Sainz, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), Costa Rica; Doris Sommer, Harvard University.

Staff: Eric Hershberg, Marcial Anativia-Godoy, Rebecca Lichtenfeld, Rachel Price.

German-American Young Scholars Summer Institutes

This summer the 11th and 12th sessions of the annual German-American Young Scholars Summer Institutes took place at universities in Germany and the US. Since 1994, 20 outstanding US and German young scholars have been chosen each year to participate in these two-summer seminars on interdisciplinary social science themes. The 14-day institutes, held alternately at a US and at a German university, allow fellows to explore disciplinary and national aspects of the chosen theme. Fellows work closely with each other and with the institute convenors, senior scholars in the chosen field, to prepare international collaborative research projects. The German-American Young Scholars Summer Institute program has sponsored 12 institutes and 240 young scholars to date. The program is funded by the German-American Academic Council and co-coordinated by the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin and the SSRC.

The 11th German-American Young Scholars Summer Institute, focused on the topic "The Unification of Germany: Problems of Transition in Comparative Perspective," held its second meeting on July 22-August 4, 2000, at St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland, USA. The institute convenors were Wolfgang Schluchter, University of Erfurt, and Peter Quint, University of Maryland Law School. The institute dealt with numerous aspects of German unification, including institutional change, legitimacy, symbolic legacies, inequality, political parties, transitional justice, economic transition and privatization. Speakers invited to talk on topics relating to fellows' research included Stephen Brockmann, Carnegie Mellon University; Beate Ruhm von Oppen, St. John's College; A. James McAdams, Notre Dame University; Peter Murell, University of Maryland; and Charles S. Maier, Harvard University. The convenors plan to publish a volume including papers from students and speakers in 2001.

Institute Fellows: Sylvia Asay, University of Nebraska; Jonhathan Bach, Columbia University; Anja Baukloh, Humboldt University Berlin; Susanne von Below, University of Frankfurt; Anke Biendarra, University of Washington; Katy Crossley-Frolick, Loyola University Chicago; Louise K. Davidson-Schmich, University of Miami; Jan Delhey, Social Science Center, Berlin; Anne Goedicke, Max-Planck Institute for Human Development; Klaus Hartmann, University of Bonn; Susanne Lippert, University of Leipzig; Uwe Mummert, University of Jena; Matt Murphy, University of California, San Diego; Dora Nadolski, University of Missouri; Philip Park, University of California, Riverside; Steven Pfaff, University of Washington; Joerg Raab, University of Konstanz; Cindy Skach, Columbia University; Verena Tobsch, Free University Berlin; Karin When, University of Leipzig.

Staff: Christian Fuersich, Kelly Kleinhandler.

The 12th German-American Young Scholars Summer Institute, on the topic "The Economics and Politics of Labor in Advanced Societies," held its second meeting on July 10-21, 2000, at Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany. The institute convenors were Martin Rein, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Claus Offe, Humboldt University Berlin. Institute fellows presented collaborative

research papers on topics including collective bargaining, the meaning of work, welfare and work, regulations, industrial restructuring and women in the labor market. A publication consisting of the fellows' papers is planned for 2001.

Institute Fellows: Susan Ulbricht, University of Leipzig; Lothar Funk, University of Birmingham, UK; Christina Teipen, University of Jena; Achim Seifert, University of Frankfurt; Juergen Volkert, University of Tübingen; Christina Stecker, University of Bremen; Irene Dingeldey, University of Bremen; Markus Schreyer, University of Hohenheim; Lisa Giddings, American University; Dorian Woods, Free University of Berlin; Daniel Friel, New School for Social Research; Laura Chadwick, University of Michigan; Toby Moore, University of Iowa; Ethel Brooks, New York University; Daniel Gitterman, Stanford University; Kory Schaff, Loyola University Chicago; George Menz, University of Pittsburgh; John Jay Tate, University of California, Berkeley; Laszlo Goerke, University of Konstanz; Roswitha Pioch, Max-Planck Institute for the Study of Societies.

Staff: Christian Fuersich and Lauren Shweder.

Cities and Citizenship

The Middle East and North Africa Program's Iran Initiative held its first workshop, "Cities and Citizenship," in Istanbul on July 4-6, 2000. The workshop participants included ten Iranian social scientists, eight of whom reside and work in Iran and two in the US and Canada, as well as six participants from Turkey, Jordan and Egypt. SSRC staff who were ably assisted in the local organization of the workshop by Professor Ayse Oncu and her assistant Emine Onculer of Bogazici University. The workshop was held at the Tarabya Hotel, a state-run hotel with a magnificent view of the Bosphorus.

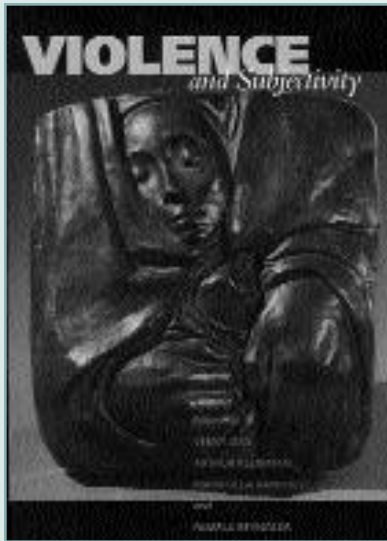
The presentations at the workshop were organized around three themes: "Constructing Citizenship in the Urban Arena," "Urban Planning and Processes of Inclusion and Exclusion" and "Urban Citizenship and the Public Sphere." Overview papers discussing the state of the art as well as specific case studies were presented. Also, a bibliography of relevant works in Farsi and English and a reader with key articles on the topics of the workshop were distributed to the participants. Discussions focused on emerging forms of city governance, such as city councils, municipal elections and neighborhood associations, as well as on forms of urban mobilization such as women's movements, squatter resistance to relocation and competing means and uses of the media. The workshop was restricted to presenters and organizers. However, two dinners, one on the Bogazici campus and the other on a boat cruising on the Bosphorus, gave the participants a chance to meet with a number of Turkish social scientists. The workshop was followed by two days of meetings by the steering committee of the Iran Initiative in order to plan the second workshop as well as to discuss other activities for the initiative and its future directions.

Staff: Seteney Shami, Laleh Behbehanian.

Recent Council Publications

VIOLENCE AND SUBJECTIVITY, edited by Veena Das, Arthur Kleinman, Mamphela Ramphele and Pamela Reynolds. Sponsored by the Program on Culture, Health and Human Development. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000. 389 pp.

The essays in *Violence and Subjectivity*, written by a distinguished international roster of contributors, consider the ways in which violence shapes subjectivity and acts upon people's capacity to engage everyday life.



As the second in a series of volumes aimed at examining questions of the relation of violence to states, local communities and individuals, this collection ventures into many areas of ongoing violence. (*Social Suffering*, its predecessor volume published in 1997, dealt with sources and major

forms of social adversity, with an emphasis on political violence, and explored the ways social force inflicts harms on individuals and groups).

From civil wars and ethnic riots to governmental and medical interventions at a more bureaucratic level, the authors address not only those extreme situations guaranteed to draw media attention but also the more subtle violences of science and state. From an "off-the-center" perspective, they contest a political geography that divides the world into "violence-prone areas" and "peaceful areas" and suggest that such shorthand descriptions might themselves contribute to the shaping of violence in the present global context. Ranging across settings in countries such as Sri Lanka, India, South Africa and Nigeria, the essays suggest that the violence in these areas seems to belong to a new moment in history. In the editors' view, it cannot be understood through earlier theories of contractual violence or a classification of just and unjust wars, for its most disturbing feature is that it happens between social actors who lived in the same local worlds and knew or thought they knew each other. The essays also underscore that, however, particular and circumscribed the site of any fieldwork may be, today's ethnographer finds local identities and circumstances molded by state and transnational forces, including the media themselves.

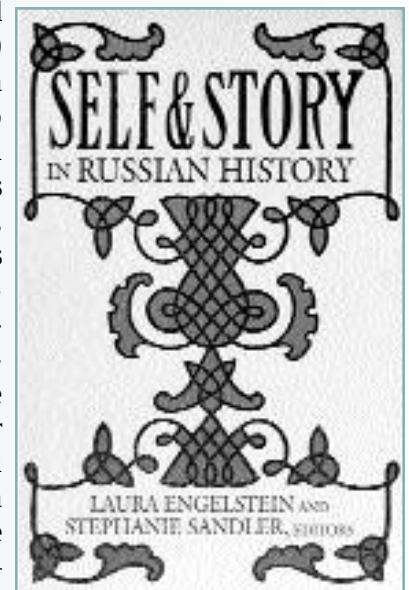
This volume grew out of an April 1995 conference on "Violence, Political Agency and the Self" organized by the Council's Program on Culture, Health and Human Behavior and supported by the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation. Veena Das is professor of anthropology at Johns Hopkins University and

professor of sociology at Delhi School of Economics, University of Delhi. Arthur Kleinman is Maude and Lillian Presley Professor of Medical Anthropology at Harvard Medical School. Mamphela Ramphele was Vice Chancellor of the University of Cape Town when this volume was prepared, and is now a managing director, human development, at the World Bank. Pamela Reynolds chairs the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of Cape Town.

SELF AND STORY IN RUSSIAN HISTORY, edited by Laura Engelstein and Stephanie Sandler. Sponsored by the Joint Committee on the Soviet Union and Its Successor States. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000. 363 pp.

Russians have often been characterized as people with souls rather than selves. *Self and Story in Russian History* challenges this portrayal of the Russian character by exploring the texts through which Russians have defined themselves as private persons and shaped their relation to the cultural community.

The stories of self under consideration here reflect the perspectives of men and women from the last 200 years, ranging from Westernized nobles to simple peasants, from such famous people as Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Akhmatova and Nicholas II to lowly religious sectarians. Fifteen distinguished historians and literary scholars situate the narratives of self in their historical context and show how, since the 18th century, Russians have used expressive genres—including diaries, novels, medical case studies, films, letters and theater—to make political and moral statements.



The first book to examine the narration of self as idea and ideal in Russia, this vital work contemplates the shifting historical manifestations of identity, the strategies of self-creation and the diversity of narrative forms. Its authors establish that there is a history of the individual in Russian culture roughly analogous to the one associated with the West. According to William Wagner of Williams College, the book "provides us with an important new perspective on modern Russia."

These essays were first presented at a conference spon-

sored by the Joint Committee on the Soviet Union and Its Successor States in 1996. Laura Engelstein is professor of history at Princeton University, and Stephanie Sandler is professor of Russian and women's and gender studies at Amherst College. The book is also available in paperback.

LIVING AND WORKING WITH THE NEW MEDICAL TECHNOLOGIES: INTERSECTIONS OF INQUIRY, edited by Margaret Lock, Allan Young and Alberto Cambrosio, eds. Sponsored by the Program on Culture, Health and Human Development. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. 306 pp.

This stimulating collection of essays emerged from a three-day conference held in July 1996 at Cambridge University, England, sponsored by the Program on Culture,



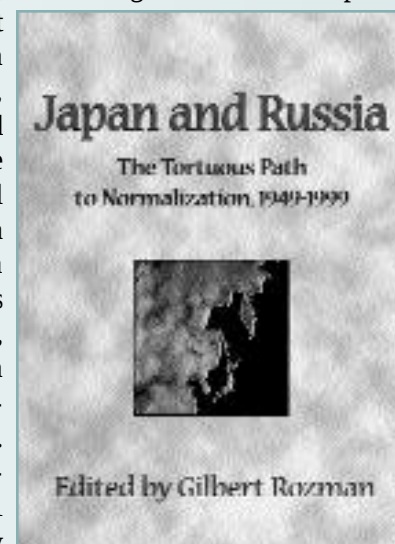
Health and Human Development. This "dialogue across disciplines" involved anthropologists, sociologists and philosopher-historians, all of whom focused their attention on the newly created biomedical technologies and their application in practice. As indicated by the book's title, one can work with the new medical technologies,

and we all live, directly or indirectly, with them. Some of the contributors tend to focus on the "working" side of this equation, others on its "living" side, while all struggle, more or less openly, to bring these two sides together. Drawing on ethnographic and historical case studies, the authors show how biomedical technologies are produced through the agencies of tools and techniques, scientists and doctors, funding bodies, patients, clients and the public.

The authors display many differences in their choice of topics and approach. However, the book's editors, rather than focusing on either differences or commonalities, have looked instead at intersections—that is, temporary convergences that can lead to advances on some particular problem. These essays reveal that the authors have achieved no consensus about the objectives of their research, and the deep epistemological divides clearly remain—making for provocative reading. The book is also available in paperback.

JAPAN AND RUSSIA: THE TORTUOUS PATH TO NORMALIZATION, 1949-1999, edited by Gilbert Rozman. Sponsored by the Joint Committee on Japanese Studies. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000. 389 pp.

Why did Tokyo and Moscow fail to normalize relations in the 1990s? What was accomplished at times of intense negotiations? In this collection, which originated in a JCJS planning conference at Princeton University in 1995, experts from Japan, Russia and the United States explore the chronology of bilateral relations between Japan and Russia. Drawing on personal experiences as officials and consultants, the authors reflect on opportunities for a breakthrough that were lost. Most of the volume covers the period from 1991 to 1999 to show how Tokyo and Moscow differed in their assessments and how the logic of decision-making affected the course of negotiations. Coverage of the preceding four decades explores the background. Comparisons shed light on domestic factors behind these relations and on the great power context in which they operate. Gilbert Rozman, the editor, is Musgrave Professor of Sociology at Princeton University.



THE END OF TOLERANCE: ENGAGING CULTURAL DIFFERENCES. *Dædalus*, Vol. 129, no. 4, fall 2000. Guest edited by Richard A. Shweder, Martha Minow and Hazel Rose Markus. Sponsored by the Working Group on Ethnic Customs, Assimilation and American Law. 259 pp.

The title "The End of Tolerance" has several meanings: the aim of tolerance, the scope of tolerance, the limits of tolerance, the possibility of going beyond "mere tolerance" and, of course, the discontinuation of tolerance. The essays in this issue of *Dædalus* are concerned with the end of tolerance for cultural differences in all of those senses. How are Western democratic legal systems responding to increasingly diverse populations as growing numbers of people from Asia, Mexico and Latin America, and parts of Africa who—emigrate because of better labor market opportunities abroad or persecution or political conflict at home—and how should they respond?

The public and legal responses to immigrants are closely tied to the more general issue of what shape multiculturalism should take in tolerant societies that are also committed to advancing liberal human rights, including commitments

[illegible]

The essays collected here explore patterns of migration; the variety of legal arrangements used to govern populations across lines of religion, culture, race and gender; the scope and limits of pluralism in liberal democracies; and the strategies used by individuals and groups both to evade conflict with formal legal regimes and to prompt state involvement when it seems advantageous. The authors participated in the activities of an interdisciplinary working group on Ethnic Customs, Assimilation, and American Law, supported by the Russell Sage Foundation and organized by the Social Science Research Council. Some of the essays published here seek to discern the grounds upon which a given cultural practice is deemed tolerable within particular contemporary societies that embrace democratic values. Others try to articulate the circumstances under which a liberal, democratic order should treat certain practices as intolerable. They seek to understand precisely what it is about an emigrating community's beliefs, values and practices that makes them seem foreign to the normative culture and laws of the United

The 11 essays published here are a sample of a larger collection of papers developed in the context of the activities of the Russell Sage Foundation/Social Science Research Council Working Group. The full set will be published subsequently in a book titled *The Free Exercise of Culture: How Free Is It? How Free Ought It To Be?*

In an era of changing demographics and values, this volume provides a cross-national and interdisciplinary perspective on the question of who cares for and about the elderly. It collects papers that grew out of discussions at two conferences sponsored by the Abe Fellowship Program in 1997 and 1998. The authors, a half dozen of whom were Abe fellows, reflect on research studies, experimental programs and personal experience in Japan and the United States to explicitly compare how policies, practices and interpretations of elder care are evolving at the turn of the century.

Susan Orpett Long is associate professor of anthropology at John Carroll University; she has written extensively on welfare issues and social change in Japan.



SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL
 810 SEVENTH AVENUE
 NEW YORK, NY 10019 USA
phone: 212.377.2700
fax: 212.377.2727
e-mail: lastname@src.org
web: www.src.org

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