

# **PROSPECTS FOR FACULTY IN AREA STUDIES**

*A Report from the*

**National Council of Area Studies Associations**

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# CONTENTS

PREFACE	v
AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION	1
AFRICAN STUDIES	<i>Edna Bay</i>
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SLAVIC STUDIES	19
SOVIET & EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES	<i>Dorothy Atkinson</i>
ASSOCIATION FOR ASIAN STUDIES	35
ASIAN STUDIES	<i>L. A. Peter Gosling</i>
MIDDLE EAST STUDIES ASSOCIATION	53
MIDDLE EAST STUDIES	<i>Anne H. Betteridge</i>
CONCLUSIONS	75

## PREFACE

This report is the product of a survey conducted jointly by the members of the National Council of Area Studies Associations (NCASA): the African Studies Association, the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, the Association for Asian Studies, the Latin American Studies Association, and the Middle East Studies Association.

Cognizant of recent studies that indicate possible future shortages of faculty within the American academy, and uncertain about the specific prospects for area studies within the general national projections, the Council decided it would be useful to investigate the situation in each of the fields of area studies and to compare the position of faculty in area studies with that of faculty in general.

Each of the area studies associations had a wealth of data on its own members, but lacked a methodology for analysis. This problem was solved with the appearance of the broad study by William G. Bowen and Julie Ann Sosa, *Prospects for Faculty in the Arts and Sciences: A Study of Factors Affecting Demand and Supply, 1987-2012* (Princeton, 1989). By adopting some of the analytical tools used there, particularly the formula for calculating faculty "exit probabilities," the associations were able to project the departures of faculty from their fields over the next several five-year periods. In calculating exit ratios for these reports the more conservative "standard quit" assumptions were employed in all cases. The Bowen and Sosa work made it possible to compare projected faculty losses in each area sector specifically with those for all humanities and social sciences nationally. This was especially helpful since the faculty in area studies are virtually all in humanities and social sciences.

The goals of this study were limited, and the preliminary findings presented here invite further investigation. The reports that follow provide an outline of the emergence of the various fields of area studies and a description of some of their current features, along with an assessment of trends ahead in the supply of faculty. To facilitate comparison of the different fields, NCASA members agreed to standardize the categories used and the general format of the reports so far as possible, while accommodating variations among fields and allowing for differences in the availability of data. Each report contains a short historical introduction describing the development of the area studies field and its scholarly association, a statement about the data sources used in the report, a statistical description of faculty and students in the field, and a projection of faculty supply. A brief statement of conclusions ends each section, and a concluding summary provides a general overview. The full report of the Latin American Studies Association is not included here; it will be available in the future directly from the LASA secretariat. Some important data from surveys conducted by LASA and from its database have been incorporated in the general conclusions.

The specializations of scholars have been categorized for the most part in the ten disciplines most common to the area studies fields, with an eleventh "other" category, the contents of which vary from one field to another. In some cases, several disciplines were aggregated under a single heading, and this should be kept in mind in reading the tables. "Arts," for example, includes art history, music, and cinema; "anthropology" includes folklore and folklife; "economics," business and management; "political science," international relations and military affairs. Religion and philosophy were combined in one category, as were language and linguistics. Unless otherwise indicated, the data in tables are for 1990.

NCASA would like to express its appreciation to the many area studies faculty members who contributed the data that made these reports possible, to the beleaguered staffers who processed the data in and out of bulky computers growling the guttural of ASCII, to the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation which provided critical support for this study, and to the Ford Foundation for helping to make possible the regular meetings of NCASA where it germinated.

A list of addresses of NCASA members is provided at the end of this publication.

*D. A.  
Stanford, California  
July 1991*

# AFRICAN STUDIES

## *African Studies Association*

*Edna Bay*

### OVERVIEW: PAST & PRESENT

#### Founding of the African Studies Association

The growth of African studies in U.S. universities, like area studies in other major world regions, developed out of the blossoming of interest in foreign areas prompted by World War II and reinforced by the changed post-war geo-political situation and impetus for decolonization.

Scholarly interest in Africa had existed among African Americans well before 1945. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century a series of dedicated scholars that included W. E. B. DuBois, Carter Woodson, E. Franklin Frazier, Ralph Bunche and Leo Hansberry had studied and published in the African field. Howard University had pioneered a program of African studies as early as 1923. As late as the mid-50s, only three U.S. scholarly journals, two of which were edited by African Americans, evidenced interest in Africa: *The Journal of Negro History*, *The Journal of Negro Education* and *The American Anthropologist*.

Formal study of the African continent internationally was dominated until World War II by scholars who were nationals of the colonial powers, most particularly of Britain, France, Belgium and Germany (though Germany lost her African colonies in 1918). They were joined only rarely by white American scholars, anthropologists for the most part, of whom the most prominent was the anthropologist Melville J. Herskovits of Northwestern University.

The growing interest in African studies was apparent in the immediate post-war period. As early as 1947 discussions were held on the establishment of an area studies organization for Africa. More talks were held in the context of a Carnegie Corporation-sponsored conference at Princeton in 1953, and the groundwork was continued in the following two years by an informal group of scholars based in the New York area. Meanwhile, universities such as Northwestern (1948), Boston (1953) and Howard were developing their curricular programs in African studies, in part prompted by funding from the Ford Foundation. The extension of Carnegie Corporation grants to universities for African area studies provided funds for fellowships and, most importantly, an impetus for development of the field. Institutions that included Duke, UCLA, Duquesne, SAIS at Johns Hopkins, Stanford, Roosevelt and Yale established research institutes and curricular programs in the late 50s. The Hartford Seminary Foundation, which had trained missionaries from as early as 1918, formed part of this early academic nucleus but discontinued its program in the 1970s.

A founding conference for the African Studies Association was held in New York in late March 1957. Herskovits became the first president while L. Gray Cowan of Columbia University was elected secretary-

treasurer. A secretariat was set up at Columbia where it remained until 1969. The Bylaws initially provide for two categories of member: 1) fellows, those actively teaching and doing research on Africa, and 2) associates, persons interested in the general field of African studies. All of the 48 founding fellows of the ASA were Americans or American-based scholars. Two were African-American males and four others were female. The number of fellows grew to 178 within a year. Early documents discuss the problem of attracting associates to the organization, but records do not indicate their numbers during the first decade of the Association's life.

Though many of the early ASA members promoted a humanistic approach, the predominance of social scientists was striking. With the exception of history, by far the most prevalent disciplinary backgrounds of fellows were anthropology, economics, geography and political science (Table 1). One of the most significant changes in the field and in the Association's membership over the past 30 years has been the gradual development of humanities interest.

Table 1

DISCIPLINE PROFILE			
ASA Members, Percent			
	1960*	1970*	1990**
Anthropology	28.6	15.5	16.7
Arts	1.4	2.9	6.7
Economics	9.4	8.0	6.1
Geography	10.3	5.8	3.2
History	12.7	19.6	22.6
Languages/Linguistics	2.8	8.1	2.9
Literature			5.9
Political Science	23.0	21.5	23.3
Religion			1.3
Sociology	7.5	4.6	3.6
Other	3.2	8.5	7.7
Total	100	100	100

\*Philip D. Curtin, "African Studies: A Personal Assessment," *African Studies Review*, XIV, 3 (Dec. 1971), 359. Column 1 is drawn from list of fellows of the African Studies Association, December 31, 1959. Column 2 is based on the preliminary draft of the Lambert Report (Richard D. Lambert, *Language and Area Studies Review*. Philadelphia, 1973).

\*\*Based on 1989-1990 African Studies Association membership data.

Expressing his vision for the Association, President Melville Herskovits in the first presidential address of the organization (1958) laid out a series of principles that reflected a consensus on the form of the field that has changed little in the organization's 34-year history.

Herskovits stressed the interdisciplinary nature of African studies, and underlined the importance of its becoming a permanent feature of the academy. At the same time, he cautioned that Africanists should obtain degrees in disciplines, so that they might be not only good area specialists, but good historians, anthropologists, political scientists, and so on, as "our best insurance against the vagaries of academic faddism." Indeed, despite the existence of some interdisciplinary African studies degrees on the MA level, virtually all degrees in the field at the doctoral level have continued to be granted in specific disciplines. Even the largest and oldest

of African studies centers in the U.S. typically have few permanent faculty lines, but depend upon the active participation of colleagues housed in disciplinary-based departments.

Making a claim for objectivity, Herskovits noted that American scholars occupied "a certain physical and psychological distance" from the problems that they studied, a position not enjoyed by scholars from the colonial powers. As the colonial era receded after 1958, any advantage to the American background became less and less significant. Indeed, Herskovits failed to anticipate the challenge to American objectivity based on the history of U.S. race relations and U.S. foreign policy that would explode barely a decade after his presidential address.

Herskovits went on to observe that scholars in American African studies were characteristically less interested in American interests and policies in the African context, but more concerned with African perspectives. The concentration on exploring African points of view persisted and is perhaps a major reason for the current strength of U.S. scholarship in the field. Early scholars expected African universities to take the lead in training Africanists, but the weakness of African economies has precluded the development of leading centers there. By 1980 if not before, the United States was generally recognized as the leading academic setting for African studies worldwide.

Related to the Africa-centered nature of African studies in the U.S. was an interest in applied research. That thrust was reflected in the 1950s in a scholarly concentration on nation-building, in the 1960s in an interest in the recovery of African history in order to promote national unity and identity, in the 1970s in work on the problems of development, and in the contemporary period in recommendations for economic recovery and an interest in the growth of democracy.

The interest in applied research was related, too, to the nature of individuals drawn to the field. The late 60s and early 70s saw numerous students drawn to African studies after field experiences in the Peace Corps and Operation Crossroads Africa. Their commitment was both to scholarship and to change.

### Montreal and After

The ASA membership reached an estimated total of just over 1,400 individuals by 1969. Philip D. Curtin, who surveyed the history of African studies in his ASA presidential address of 1970, discerned two periods of growth in the field. The first, the post-war period of the 1950s, Curtin dubbed the "Small Awakening," with a second and larger thrust, the "Great Awakening," taking place in the 1960s. The Great Awakening was characterized by the expansion of African studies programs, by the training of American scholars including a significant rise in the numbers of African-Americans, and by the lateral entry of scholars from two areas: faculty in place in U.S. universities who moved into Africa as a new research area, and scholars from Europe and Africa who moved into the U.S. academy.

The 1969 Annual Meeting in Montreal took place in an academic environment growing increasingly polarized over black nationalist and anti-Vietnam war issues. Confrontations in sessions at Montreal led to a break-down in the conference program and a fundamental questioning of scholars' personal and scholarly positions toward Africa and peoples of African descent. It is difficult to exaggerate the seriousness of the Montreal confrontation. Many anticipated the demise of the organization in its wake, and the 1970 Annual

Meeting took place in an atmosphere of tension and anxiety. There followed several years of heated and often bitter discussion centered on the structure of governance and the political role of the African Studies Association.

In the aftermath of Montreal, the "fellow" category of ASA membership, thought by some to be elitist, was abolished. However, constitutional changes that would have required a portion of seats on the Board of Directors to be reserved for individuals based on representation by race were voted down. Resolutions condemning racist and colonial policies of Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa were accepted, though the membership voted in principle against direct political action. The Association was beset with resignations, with some former members permanently alienated. A new learned society, the African Heritage Studies Association, was established by members of what had been the ASA Black Caucus.

Though Africans and African-Americans became more visible in the leadership of the organization in the 1970s and 1980s, concerns about appropriate racial balance continued to be expressed from time to time. The reluctance of the ASA to take positions that could be deemed political grew. Efforts were made to allow the airing of political issues but to avoid the adoption of positions by the organization. A Current Issues Committee was established to promote the discussion of political questions and to publish *Issue: A Journal of Opinion*, a member publication meant to explore controversial topics. By 1977, the membership had voted down a resolution that "It is appropriate for resolutions on political issues that arise in relation to African affairs to be moved, debated and voted upon at the annual business meeting." By 1978, the minutes recorded that "the Board declined to engage in activities that might be characterized as lobbying."

Meanwhile, the Association moved into a period of self-imposed isolation and withdrawal that would characterize it for more than a decade. The crisis precipitated by Montreal had coincided with the move of the secretariat to Brandeis University and the appointment of a new Executive Secretary, James Duffy. Duffy signaled the change in his 1972 report to the Board:

*Partly as a result of the move to Brandeis, partly as a result of the Montreal meeting, and partly as a result of the temperament of the executive secretary, the administrative workings and the executive policies of the Association have changed in the past three years. The secretariat has become more provincial, and the Association is not engaged, as it was formerly, in discussions and exchanges with foundations, agencies, institutions, and other associations, nor is it engaged seriously with the African studies programs in the United States.*

Despite Montreal, individual membership levels returned to 1,400 by 1972 and fluctuated in the 1,400-1,600 range until the late eighties. The Association undertook a vigorous publications program in the 1970s under the imprimatur Crossroads Press, proceeds of which supported committee activities of the organization. At the end of the seventies, the Association moved the secretariat to UCLA, where membership and the publications program continued to be stable.

African studies as a field continued to grow and develop. J. Gus Liebenow noted in 1978 that the decade of the late 60s to the late 70s had seen the establishment of 108 scholarly journals on Africa in the U.S. alone. The Association of African Studies Programs by 1978 included 40 institutions with programs that included everything from undergraduate majors to PhDs. In addition, using the 1976 *ASA Directory*, Liebenow counted a total of 197 colleges and universities with at least three departments that included faculty and



courses in African studies. The study of African languages had increased from a 1958 total of seven students to a 1970 figure of 2,083 students in colleges and universities plus 875 in secondary schools.

### Recent Changes

A series of dynamic and activist Boards of the ASA in the late 1980s began to lead the Association away from the insularity of the 1970s and early 1980s. A closer working relationship was created with the Association of African Studies Programs, and the Association became a member respectively of CAFLIS (Coalition for the Advancement of Foreign Language and International Studies), ACLS (American Council of Learned Societies), and NCASA (National Council for Area Studies Associations). In 1989 the ASA co-sponsored with the African Association of Political Science an international conference on the Horn of Africa.

The Association began, too, to adopt a more assertive role in promoting the concerns of Africanists. In 1990 two ASA representatives testified before a congressional committee considering the establishment of a Library of Congress office in West Africa. Beginning with statements on behalf of African academics named prisoners of conscience by Amnesty International, the Board began to move toward the development of policies for responding to human rights questions in Africa. It took a strong stance against efforts by the CIA to work more closely with academics.

Signs of growth in the field are now apparent. Registration figures at Annual Meetings have risen from averages of 1,400-1,500 to approximately 1,600-1,700. By 1990 individual memberships had grown to approximately 2,000, representing a 30 percent increase over 1988 figures. The secretariat moved in 1988 to Emory University, where it is at the present.

As the ASA enters the nineties, a series of questions about the health and vigor of African studies as an area of strength in the American academy must be faced. Like other fields, African studies enjoyed vigorous expansion in the 1950s and 1960s and experienced a dramatic drop-off in faculty hirings in the 1970s and 1980s. With interest in the area apparently on the rise, is African studies about to experience a serious disjuncture between student demand and available faculty and course offerings? Are large numbers of retirements to be expected in this decade? Is production of young scholars sufficient to meet expected needs?

Though definite answers to these questions are perhaps impossible to provide, we are able to provide a profile of Africanist faculty and students currently at work in the American academy, to suggest expected retirement patterns and to speculate on the health of the field.

Statistics used for this study were drawn from more than 2,100 individuals who were 1989 or 1990 domestic U.S. members. An estimated 80 percent were American citizens resident in 47 states and one territory of the United States.

### ASA AND THE FIELD OF AFRICAN STUDIES

Analysis of the 1989-1990 domestic U.S. membership records of the African Studies Association indicates that 64 percent of the members providing occupational data were employed in the academy (Table 2). Ninety

percent of those (or 57.7 percent of the total membership) were teaching faculty or professional librarians engaged in work in university research libraries. Because individuals involved in training Africanists are the focus of this study, further analysis except where noted will be based on data drawn from the responses of these individuals alone.

Table 2

**OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE**  
ASA Members, 1989-1990

	Number	%
Assistant Professor	190	10.8
Associate Professor	177	10.1
Attorney	1	0.1
Business	14	0.8
Clergy	5	0.3
Consultant	46	2.6
Curator	23	1.3
Diplomat	7	0.4
Editor/Publisher	17	1.0
Foundation	11	0.6
Government	55	3.1
Instructor	12	0.7
Lecturer	26	1.5
Librarian	78	4.4
NGO/Non-profit organization	49	2.8
Pre-collegiate teacher	7	0.4
Professor	313	17.8
Professor, rank unknown	218	12.4
Researcher/Fellow	40	2.3
Retired	56	3.2
Student	341	19.4
University Administrator	71	4.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1757</b>	<b>100</b>

Occupational data was derived from title and address information provided by members. It is possible that a number of persons indicated "professor" as a generic title rather than an indication of faculty rank and hence the totals in that category may be distorted.

Clearly, not all Africanists in the academy are members of the African Studies Association. Estimating the numbers of those actively involved in Africanist training in U.S. institutions is difficult for a number of reasons. First, because Africanists as a rule are trained in disciplines, a scholarly identity as an Africanist is one that is individually ascribed. For reporting purposes, National Resource Centers define an area specialist as a person who has taken 15 to 18 semester credit hours of instruction in area courses. Yet training or a lack thereof does not prevent changes in the research identity of scholars over the course of their careers. Scholars with little formal training in the African area, by dint of long study and research in Africa, sometimes become members of the ASA and call themselves, justifiably, Africanists. On the other hand, others with specialized training in Africa may undertake major projects in other world areas and effectively drop their Africanist identity.

Table 3

**AGE, GENDER AND DISCIPLINE PROFILE**  
ASA Members, 1990

	Under		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		45-49		50-54		55-59		60-64		65-69		70-74		75+			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
Anthropology	0	0	2	0	4	6	4	6	7	27	13	22	18	10	8	8	13	6	5	3	6	3	3	2	0	1
Arts	0	2	1	3	0	3	5	10	7	11	9	9	2	2	4	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Economics	1	1	2	3	5	3	16	2	8	0	9	2	10	1	3	0	1	0	2	2	2	0	1	0	0	
History	2	0	3	2	19	9	23	9	30	16	45	15	32	10	11	3	10	2	5	4	4	0	0	1	0	
Language/Linguistics	0	2	0	1	1	5	2	3	1	4	3	2	3	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Library/ Information Science	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	1	1	7	0	2	0	4	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	
Literature	1	0	0	3	1	2	8	4	5	4	11	8	1	3	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Political Science	1	1	14	7	22	11	26	10	26	7	30	9	36	3	15	3	5	3	9	1	5	0	1	0	0	
Religion/Philosophy	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Sociology	1	0	0	1	3	0	4	3	8	1	6	3	3	1	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
Other	7	2	7	6	9	8	16	10	20	16	21	7	14	7	14	10	11	1	4	4	4	1	3	1	0	
<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>155</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>		
<b>Age Group Total</b>	<b>23</b>		<b>63</b>		<b>125</b>		<b>190</b>		<b>206</b>		<b>227</b>		<b>148</b>		<b>96</b>		<b>53</b>		<b>44</b>		<b>23</b>		<b>8</b>			

## FACULTY AND GRADUATE STUDENTS

In order to determine if the ASA faculty membership accurately reflects the numbers and disciplinary distribution of African area specialists and to estimate numbers of Africanists in the academy, we compared ASA faculty membership data with two additional sources: listings of dissertations produced on African topics and faculty lists provided by the current National Resource Centers.

Two exhaustive compilations of dissertations in the African area provided a data base of individuals granted terminal degrees by American universities and who thus represented potential Africanists in the American academy: Michael Sims and Alfred Kagan, *American and Canadian Doctoral Dissertations and Master's Theses on Africa, 1886-1974* (Waltham, 1976) and Joseph J. Lauer, Gregory V. Larkin and Alfred Kagan, *American and Canadian Doctoral Dissertations and Master's Theses on Africa, 1975-87* (Atlanta, 1989).

The dissertation lists indicate that five disciplines have dominated training in African studies at least since 1974: anthropology, economics, education, history and political science (Table 4). Three of those disciplines—anthropology, history and political science—coincide with the three major disciplines of both the ASA general and faculty membership (Tables 1 and 5). Anthropologists, historians and political scientists together represent 62.6 percent of the Association's general membership and 60.9 percent of ASA members who are faculty. However, the numbers of ASA members in economics and education do not begin to approach expectations based on numbers of degrees granted.

Graduates in economics or business, it can be argued, are often drawn to work outside the academy. The names of degree recipients in these fields and in education include large numbers of African nationals, many of whom may have returned to their countries to work. Moreover, both economics and education tend to

promote strong adherence to disciplinary approaches and hence may discourage practitioners from pursuing multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary interests as represented by membership in the African Studies Association.

Table 4

**AFRICANIST DISSERTATIONS BY DISCIPLINE**  
1974-87

Discipline	Number	%
Anthropology	528	8.2
Arts	150	2.3
Economics	796	12.4
Education	1370	21.4
Geography	134	2.1
History	638	10.0
Language/Linguistics	401	6.3
Literature	322	5.0
Political Science	794	12.4
Religion/Philosophy	196	3.1
Sociology	372	5.8
Other	711	11.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>6412</b>	<b>100.1</b>

Note: In this table "Language" includes language and communications; "Other" includes agriculture, health sciences, natural and applied sciences, and urban and regional planning.

Source: Joseph J. Lauer, Gregory V. Larkin and Alfred Kagan, *American and Canadian Doctoral Dissertations and Master's Theses on Africa, 1975-87* (Atlanta, 1989), xvii.

Table 5

**ASA FACULTY BY DISCIPLINE**  
1989-1990

Discipline	Number	%
Anthropology	128	13.8
Arts	47	5.1
Economics	45	4.9
History	228	24.6
Language/Linguistics	26	2.8
Library/Information Science	16	1.7
Literature	67	7.2
Political Science	208	22.5
Religion/Philosophy	12	1.3
Sociology	37	4.0
Other	112	12.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>926</b>	<b>100</b>

Analysis of data provided by the National Resource Centers currently funded in the African area tends to support the hypothesis that many persons who earn terminal degrees in economics and education do not maintain an Africanist identity in the American academy. Data were provided by seven of the nine current centers (Table 6). Economics and education are represented among the faculty of the NRCs in greater proportion than in the ASA membership. Yet even there, they are far fewer than would be anticipated by the production figures of doctoral degrees. For example, economists comprise only 5.4 percent of the faculty of NRCs but 12.4 percent of degrees granted, while educators represent 4.7 percent of NRC faculties compared to 21.4 percent of all degrees granted.

Table 6

## AFRICANISTS TEACHING IN NATIONAL RESOURCE CENTERS

Discipline	Total	ASA Members	ASA Members as Percentage of Total
Anthropology	37	11	29.7
Arts	19	8	42.1
Economics	15	1	6.7
Education	13	4	30.8
Geography	12	3	25.0
History	33	19	57.6
Language/Linguistics	35	8	22.9
Library/Information Science	5	4	80.0
Literature	15	7	46.7
Political Science	20	11	55.0
Religion/Philosophy	5	0	0.0
Sociology	15	4	26.7
Other*	53	9	17.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>277</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>32.1</b>

\*Includes health sciences (including veterinary medicine), agriculture, geology, African studies, forestry, urban planning, criminal justice, land tenure, law, psychology and women's studies.

The three most populous disciplines on the NRC faculty lists are anthropology, history and language/linguistics. Anthropology and history are two of the three strongest disciplines among the ASA membership. Language/linguistics faculty among NRCs may be particularly numerous because competition for funding through the U.S. Department of Education requires commitment of major resources to African language instruction. Hence a disproportionately large representation of that specialty may be expected.

Political science is the third heavily represented discipline in the ASA general membership and among ASA teaching faculty. Moreover, as noted above, it is one of the five major disciplines represented among individuals earning terminal degrees. Apart from the possible distortions inherent in the relatively small size of the numerical sample provided by our NRC data, we are at a loss to explain why political science among the NRCs is less strong as a discipline. Beyond the major disciplines, numbers are so small that statistical comparisons between NRC faculty and ASA members might prove distorting. However, it is worth noting that the "other" category of NRC faculty represents a diversity that is not reflected strongly in ASA membership ranks.

Given the comparative perspective allowed for by the doctoral dissertation data and NRC faculty lists, we would argue that the ASA membership provides a reasonably representative sample of the disciplinary distribution of U.S. faculty who call themselves Africanists. We return to the NRC faculty lists in order to estimate the relative numbers of such faculty in the academy. An average of 32.1 percent of all NRC faculty members are members of the African Studies Association. Assuming that such a percentage is indicative of the academy as a whole, we can estimate the total number of Africanists actively involved in training a new generation of Africanists at approximately 3,000.

Professor J. Gus Liebenow in 1979 estimated the total number of Africanists in the U.S. at more than 4,000 persons. Individual ASA membership in that period was approximately 1,400-1,500. Individual membership today has increased some 30 percent to 1,900-2,000. Assuming a similar proportion in the academy during that period, there would have been approximately 2,300 active faculty a little more than a decade ago. Similarly, applying the proportion of academic versus non-academic members to our 3,000 estimate, there is a possible pool of 5,000 Africanists in the U.S., an increase that seems reasonable in light of recent membership increases.

Age data were submitted by 1,106 of the members of the Association for 1990, 622 of whom were active faculty and 341 graduate students. The respective distribution of general members, faculty members and student members by age and discipline are provided by Tables 3, 7 and 7A, and by Graph 1.

Table 7

**FACULTY BY AGE, GENDER AND DISCIPLINE**  
ASA Members, 1990

	25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		45-49		50-54		55-59		60-64		65-69		Totals	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Anthropology	0	0	2	5	5	18	9	8	14	4	8	4	9	1	4	2	5	1	56	43
Arts	0	0	0	2	4	3	4	6	2	5	1	2	4	1	0	1	1	0	16	20
Economics	0	0	1	2	10	1	6	0	1	0	8	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	29	4
History	0	0	9	3	11	7	22	9	33	5	26	9	10	1	10	1	4	2	125	37
Language/Linguistics	0	1	0	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	3	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	9	8
Library/Info Science	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	3	0	2	0	4	0	1	0	2	3	13
Literature	0	1	0	0	4	3	5	4	9	5	1	3	4	0	3	0	0	0	26	16
Political Science	3	0	7	6	14	9	16	2	23	5	36	2	11	3	3	3	4	1	117	31
Religion/Philosophy	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	8	1
Sociology	0	0	2	0	3	0	6	1	3	2	3	1	3	0	2	0	0	0	22	4
Other	0	0	1	1	3	1	6	3	5	1	4	0	2	2	4	0	1	0	26	8
<b>Totals</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>437</b>	<b>185</b>
No. in Age Group	5		42		102		113		126		114		59		37		24		622	
Percent	0.8		6.8		16.4		18.2		20.3		18.3		9.5		5.9		3.9		100	

Table 7A

**STUDENTS BY AGE, GENDER AND DISCIPLINE**  
1990

	<20		20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		45-49		50-54		55-59		60-64		65-69		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Anthropology	0	0	0	2	4	6	2	12	1	7	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	7	32
Arts	0	0	0	1	1	3	0	1	0	3	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	9
Economics	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	4
History	0	0	2	1	3	2	8	4	6	0	2	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	23	12
Language/ Linguistics	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	5	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	10
Library/ Info Science	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Literature	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	5
Political Science	1	0	0	1	11	4	13	5	8	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	33	12
Religion/ Philosophy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0
Sociology	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Other	1	0	6	1	3	5	2	3	5	4	3	4	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	22	19
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>105</b>
Age Group Totals	2		20		47		59		44		20		12		0		5		0		1		210	

Tables 3, 7 and 7A document a growing proportion of women within faculty ranks. Women faculty constitute only 29.7 percent of the total faculty membership of ASA and 36.2 percent of total general membership, figures which suggest that women have not been admitted to faculty positions at the same rate as men. However, a breakdown of female percentages by age shows a larger proportion of women in lower age groups. Forty-five percent of ASA faculty under 40 are women, compared to 27.6 percent women in the 40-49 cohort and 22.2 percent in the 50-and-over cohort. Moreover, the 45 percent women among faculty under 40 is virtually identical to the percentage of women under 40 in the membership as a whole (45.4 percent). Women constitute 50 percent of student membership, which suggests that hiring patterns may be approaching gender proportions in the pool of available scholars.

Disciplinary patterns suggest gradual changes in the female component of departments, with two exceptions. Anthropology has changed dramatically from a heavily male-dominant discipline to a female-dominant one, at least among African specialists, with a turning point in the 40-44 age cohort. Political science continues to show a majority of male faculty in the lower age groups, but indicates a strong change towards a larger proportion of women under 40.

Graph 1 reveals that faculty members within the organization are relatively older than the general membership.

Graph 1

FACULTY AND MEMBERSHIP AGE PROFILE

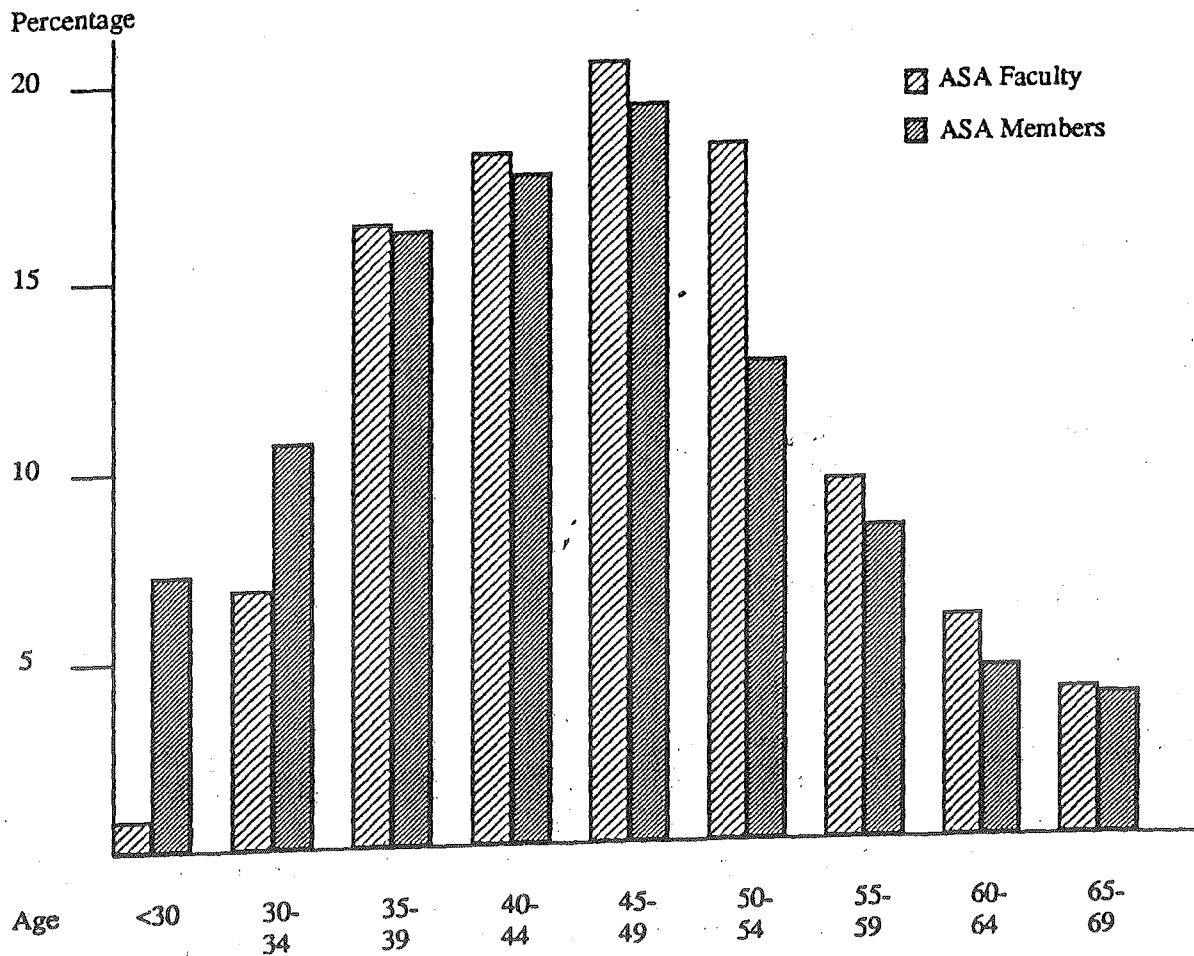


Table 8

FACULTY AGE DISTRIBUTION  
percent

	Under 40	40 - 49	Over 49
ASA Faculty (1990 data)	24.0	38.4	37.6
National Averages (1987 data)			
Arts and Sciences*	21.7	39.4	38.9
Humanities and Social Sciences**	20.3	40.0	39.7

\*Source: William G. Bowen and Julie Ann Sosa, *Prospects for Faculty in the Arts and Sciences* (Princeton, 1989), 17.

\*\*Source: Bowen and Sosa, 19.



Table 8 compares Africanist faculty age distributions with national averages for all faculty and for faculty in the humanities and social sciences. ASA faculty compare favorably with both sets of national statistics, showing relatively larger numbers in cohorts below the age of 50, and particularly among those under 40.

However, a closer look at two of the major disciplines (Table 7), history and political science, shows relatively larger numbers of faculty in the over-49 cohort and, for history, sharply fewer in the below-40 ranks. Although possibly statistically insignificant, it is interesting to note that the history figures confirm a fall-off in the production of historians that is also evident in the dissertation records. A count of total numbers of dissertations produced in African history for three mid-decade years over the three decades between 1960 and 1990 provided the following results:

Years	Average no. dissertations per year
1965-67	9.9
1975-77	33.9
1985-87	17.2

Table 7A indicates that numbers of current students in history continue to be low relative to faculty percentages in the discipline. Of the three major African studies disciplines (anthropology, history and political science), history includes the smallest proportion of students, with 16.7 percent. In short, the dramatic drop in numbers of Africanist historians in the below-40 age cohort (18.5 percent of the total) coupled with evidence that the drop-off in production continues suggests future replacement problems for the field.

ASA student member data indicate a distribution of disciplinary interests roughly comparable to those of the faculty (Tables 4 and 9). Table 7A, which shows students by age and discipline, suggests that graduate students in African studies are relatively older than might be expected. Alternatively, the age data may simply reflect the joining of the Association by students who are relatively far along in their graduate programs.

Table 9

**STUDENTS BY DISCIPLINE**  
ASA Members, 1989-90

	Number	%
Anthropology	39	18.6
Arts	13	6.2
Economics	10	4.8
History	35	16.7
Languages/Linguistics	12	5.7
Library/Info Science	0	0.0
Literature	7	3.3
Political Science	45	21.4
Religion/Philosophy	4	1.9
Sociology	4	1.9
Other	41	19.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>210</b>	<b>100</b>

The National Resource Centers provided data on the disciplinary interests of their PhD students which are summarized in Table 10. Their data, though from a sample of only four centers, differ from the patterns of dissertation production in significant ways. The large numbers of anthropology students are striking, comprising as they do more than 26 percent of the total. The next four most populous areas of study are economics, education, history and language/linguistics. For reasons noted above, we can anticipate that a large proportion of students in economics and education will not retain their Africanist identity. The large proportion of language/linguistics students parallels the large numbers in those fields among faculty of the NRCs, as indicated above. The relative lack of political scientists among PhD candidates is telling, however. Though it is possibly only a distortion related to the small size of the sample, it could confirm informal impressions expressed by Africanist colleagues that students in political science are under pressure to develop as theorists rather than area specialists.

Table 10

## NATIONAL RESOURCE CENTER STUDENTS IN PHD PROGRAMS

1990

	Number	%
Anthropology	50	26.2
Arts	1	0.5
Economics	18	9.4
Education	27	14.1
History	30	15.7
Language/Linguistics	25	13.1
Library/Info Science	2	1.0
Literature	8	4.2
Political Science	14	7.3
Religion/Philosophy	0	0.0
Sociology	3	1.6
Other	13	6.8
Total	191	99.9

Based on data provided by four NRCs.

As in the case of NRC faculty, we compared student numbers reported with ASA membership rolls. ASA student members at the four NRCs included 20.4 percent of the total reported. Assuming that these figures accurately reflect proportions of the entire pool of students, we would calculate a potential 1,600-1,700 students currently being trained. Unfortunately, we have no way of estimating the numbers of such students likely to seek employment in academic posts upon completion of their degrees.

## PROJECTED SUPPLY OF FACULTY

William G. Bowen and Julie Ann Sosa (*Prospects for Faculty in the Arts and Sciences*, Princeton, 1989) developed a formula for estimating net exit probabilities from faculty positions, that is, a formula for estimating numbers who would resign, retire or die over a five-year period taking into account numbers who would re-enter the academy from other sectors over the same period. Using the Bowen and Sosa formulas, we projected faculty exits from African studies over the period 1990-2005 (Table 11).

Table 11

### PROJECTED 1990 AFRICANIST FACULTY REMAINING AFTER EXITS 1990-2010

Age Cohort	No. in 1990	No. in 1995	No. in 2000	No. in 2005	No. in 2010
30-34	42	35			
35-39	102	90	31		
40-44	113	104	83	28	
45-49	126	116	96	76	26
50-54	114	101	103	85	67
55-59	59	45	77	78	64
60-64	37	15	18	31	32
65-69	24	2	1	1	2

Table 11 begins with the 617 current faculty members for whom age data were available, then calculates the probable numbers that will remain in the academy by 1995. By 1995, 17.7 percent of current faculty will have exited. Calculations for the year 2000 are based on the aging of the 1995 cohorts, each having moved to an older group. Table 12 provides exit percentages drawn from Table 11.

Table 12

### PROJECTED EXIT PERCENTAGES AFRICANIST FACULTY 1990-2010

Years	Percent Exiting	Cumulative Exit Percentage
1990-1995	17.7	17.7
1995-2000	16.0	33.7
2000-2005	17.8	51.5
2005-2010	17.5	69.0

Earlier we estimated the number of Africanist faculty in the U.S. at 3,000, with the number of students at 1,600-1,700. If our estimates are correct, and if our exit percentages are correct, we may assume that 531 persons will exit the academy by 1995, at an average rate of 106 per year. Assuming that graduate students take an average of eight years to complete their degree work, there will be approximately 200 new PhDs available each year to fill positions in the academy. However, the academy must compete with business, government and foreign universities for the services of such graduates.

## Replacement Expectations

Factors other than simple replacement are at work in the filling of positions left open by exiting Africanists. Positions were created for Africanists in the 1960s in the wake of enthusiasm for the new field of African studies and in the context of dramatic expansion in higher education. Many Africanists fear that their positions as Africanists will not survive their departure. To test the apparent long-term viability of the field, the ASA surveyed all current members age 55 and over to assess trends in retirement and replacement among individuals holding faculty appointments. A questionnaire and response postcard were mailed to 222 persons. Responses were received from 121 persons (55 percent); of those responses, 110 were from teaching faculty and were analysed.

Respondents were asked their age, discipline, the year of retirement or expected retirement, and their replacement expectations. A final open-ended question asked if their position would be or was redefined upon retirement.

Table 13 indicates responses by discipline to the question, "Do you expect to be (or were you) replaced upon retirement?"

Table 13

### REPLACEMENT EXPECTATIONS OF RETIRING FACULTY

Discipline	Yes	No	Not known, No Response
Anthropology	17	6	5
Arts	2		1
Economics	5	2	
Geography	2	4	1
History	16	2	3
Library/Information Science	4	1	1
Literature, Linguistics	6	1	2
Political Science	16	2	3
Religion/Philosophy	1		1
Sociology	1	1	
Other	4		
<b>Total</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>Percent</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>15%</b>

Responses to the open-ended question of position redefinition were revealing.

Several respondents in geography (2) and anthropology (5) pointed out that positions in their disciplines are often defined to fill particular disciplinary specialties such as social or cultural anthropology, archaeology, and the like. Though by definition most candidates in these disciplines are area specialists of some kind, the hiring of a specialist in a particular area is a secondary consideration.

Six historians noted that they were likely to be replaced by specialists in the Middle East or Latin America. Their experience suggested that there may be a tendency for history positions in non-western areas to rotate over time among Africanists, Latin Americanists or Middle East specialists.

Four political scientists noted a trend in their departments away from African area studies and towards international relations or comparative politics.

Five persons made general comments about the health of area studies. Three noted a general lack of interest in African studies in their institutions, including one person who noted serious retrenchment in his institution with the loss of six positions in Asian studies, four in African, two in Latin American and two in Russian studies. On the other hand, two noted a strengthening of institutional commitments to African studies.

## CONCLUSIONS

African area studies would appear to be strong in the American academy. Having expanded dramatically in the 1960s and suffered contraction along with all other fields after 1970, Africanists nevertheless have continued to be trained and hired over the past 20 years.

Exit calculations suggest that Africanists will disappear from positions during the coming 20 years at a relatively even rate. Numbers of students currently being trained are greater than the numbers of faculty being lost. However, there is no way to estimate the numbers of students-in-training who will be drawn into government, into business or into teaching outside the U.S. Market forces thus could require the American academy to bid salaries up or to expand training to attract and assure the necessary replacement faculty.

Though overall figures are reasonably optimistic, there are disturbing signs of change in two of the three central disciplines within African studies. A probable over-production of historians in the 1960s and 1970s resulted in a severe cut-back by graduate programs in numbers of students by the end of the seventies. Numbers of dissertations dropped dramatically in the 1980s and there is no evidence that larger numbers of students are currently being recruited to African history. There could well be difficulty in replacing individuals from that discipline during the next ten years. In the fall of 1990, for example, at least 22 positions in African history were advertised nationally, a figure that is approximately three times the average number of history job openings in the 1980s.

Political science has been a mainstay of African studies since the 1950s. However, pressures within the discipline to work on theoretical issues may be contributing to a decline in the training of Africanist political scientists, a trend that is suggested by data from the National Resource Centers. A survey of ASA members over 55 suggests, too, that political science departments appear to be moving from area studies toward comparative politics or international studies.

An even more difficult question to assess is the number of positions that may be lost as Africanists retire and departments redefine their positions. Even though African studies has remained and grown within the academy during the past 35 years, Africanists are often fearful that movements to "return to basics" and other conservative trends may reduce or eliminate African studies. Those fears are reflected in Africanists'

expectations for replacement upon retirement. Fully 17 percent of ASA members 55 and over do not expect to be replaced upon retirement, while another 15 percent do not know what will happen to their positions. The older ASA members voice a concern common in the field, that departments will sometimes define only one position for "non-western" studies, and hence Africanists must compete with Latin Americanists, Asianists, and Oceanists for a non-western position.

This study has suggested that African studies as a field is for the moment in reasonably good health within the U.S. academy. Nevertheless, it will be incumbent upon area studies specialists to continue to educate colleagues to the importance of the study of cultures other than those of the U.S. and Europe and of the importance of the theoretical and cultural scholarship generated by scholars in the area studies field.

# SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

## *American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies*

*Dorothy Atkinson*

### OVERVIEW: PAST & PRESENT

Soviet and East European studies, like some other major fields of area studies, is a relative latecomer to American halls of ivy. Like other area fields, it has developed in response to the shrinkage of the modern world. Advances in communications technology, radio, jet travel, satellite TV, and electronic news services have opened instant access to the sights, sounds, and daily realities of once far-away places. "Out of sight" has changed in the mind as well as in the vernacular. Yet communications are only part of the story; accessibility alone does not ensure interest. Recent history, particularly the relationship between the US and the USSR during and since the Second World War, has played a large role in drawing American attention to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Before the 20th century there was little academic interest here in that area. A ground-breaking course in Russian and Polish history was offered at Harvard University in 1894 by Archibald Cary Coolidge. Two years later Harvard established the first chair of Slavic languages and literatures in the US. Gradually, a small group of scholars established their specializations at other leading institutions. The most commonly taught subjects were and remain the literatures, languages, and history of the area. In literature, especially, the focus was often on the common Slavic tie extending through much of the region. The historic relationships of Russia with Eastern Europe argued for an integrated areal approach, and the creation of the eastern "Bloc" after World War II cemented the union in scholarship. The name "Slavic" has persisted, though it is inaccurate, since the field of "Slavic Studies" includes many non-Slavs in the USSR, as well as in East-Central and Southeastern Europe.

The field matured slowly. At the outbreak of the First World War the Russian language was being taught at only three American universities (Columbia, Harvard, and the University of California at Berkeley). Russian history was offered only at the last two. Following the collapse of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires as a result of the war, and the subsequent rupture of American diplomatic relations with the new Soviet regime, the US government felt a need to improve its sources of information on the area. It is a reflection on the state of American studies of the region in the 1920s that young trainees (including such later notables as George F. Kennan and Charles Bohlen) had to be sent abroad by the State Department to obtain specialized education. A few eminent Russian scholars who emigrated after the Bolshevik take-over found employment at US universities and helped to prepare a small coterie of young American specialists over the next decades. In 1938 some of these joined ranks in a Committee on Slavic Studies, formed by the American Council of Learned Societies as part of its growing network of scholarly committees dealing with specific world areas. Yet on the eve of World War II in 1941 the US government still had fewer than 20 people (including support staff) specializing on the Soviet Union.

The outbreak of the war made the lack of American expertise on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union acutely evident. Government-sponsored language and training schools were hastily assembled. The handful of specialists in academia was quickly pressed into service to provide advice on and handle relations with the countries of the area. With the restoration of peace a number of the returning scholars, convinced of the value of an areal approach to study of the region, were instrumental in establishing new interdisciplinary centers. Columbia University's Russian Institute (now the W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union) received start-up funding from the Rockefeller Foundation. The Russian Research Center at Harvard was supported by the Carnegie Corporation. At the University of California in Berkeley, the first "Slavic Studies" program was launched. Meanwhile, in 1948, a group with links to the earlier ACLS Committee on Slavic Studies became incorporated in New York as an independent organization, the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, for the purpose of publishing a multi-disciplinary journal for the burgeoning field. Still the leading journal in the field, it is known today as the *Slavic Review*.

By 1951 there were five integrated area programs in the field (the three above had been joined by centers at the University of Washington and Yale), and significant programs of area studies were offered at the Universities of Chicago, Indiana, Minnesota, Stanford, Syracuse, Texas, and Wisconsin. The total faculty in the field nationwide numbered 64. There were 246 registered graduate students in the field, and about 300 students enrolled in Russian language courses at American universities. The 1950s brought the McCarthy era and a poor climate for entry into Soviet/East European Studies (SEES). Academics studying the area became accustomed (if not reconciled) to being challenged as to whether they were "for or against" communism. However, the waning of that troubled interlude, plus the jolt of the successful Soviet "Sputnik" launch in 1957, created a surge of national concern about the USSR and interest in global developments in general. In 1958 Congress passed the National Defense Education Act administered by the Department (then Office) of Education. This provided some financial support to major area studies centers (for all global sectors) throughout the country. That same year a Cultural Exchange Agreement with the USSR opened the first opportunity in several decades for Americans to study in the Soviet Union. This was a major breakthrough for scholarship on the area, and academic exchanges grew rapidly in the sixties.

In 1960 the AAASS was transformed into a membership organization with the goals of promoting study, teaching, research, and publication about the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Membership grew rapidly as the field expanded, reaching over 2,000 by the end of the decade. At the start of the seventies there were 58 centers of Soviet and East European studies in the US, and 83 degree-granting programs in the field. An unparalleled 40,000 students were enrolled in Russian language classes. But the boom period was over, although it took some time before this became apparent. The slackening was due to a complex of factors. Other global and domestic concerns (Vietnam, Civil Rights issues, the OPEC crisis, the economy, etc.) distracted American attention from the then relatively tranquil Soviet/East European area. The shift of attention was made easier by nuclear and strategic arms limitations agreements, which created a perception that the "threat" from the Soviet Bloc area was, if not diminishing, at least not imminent. Some of the factors at play here, notably those in the economic sphere, affected not just area studies in the 1970s, but the entire higher educational structure in this country.

Economic problems brought cuts in university budgets, and led to retrenchment throughout academia. Area studies were particularly hard hit. As academic newcomers, they were more susceptible to cutbacks than the traditional core disciplinary programs. And they were hard hit by an abrupt withdrawal of public and private



funding support. Passage of the International Education Act in 1966 contributed to the cut-off of support from private funders such as the Ford Foundation, which had been providing substantial assistance for the development of area studies. Expecting that the new federal program would assume more of the burden, and experiencing financial reverses of its own, Ford pulled back. In one year, 1967-68, its support for international and area studies fell by almost 45 million. Yet the funds authorized by the Act in 1966 were never appropriated, and federal funding for external foreign affairs research was cut in half between 1967 and 1970. The result was an extended period of program cuts, layoffs, and failure to fill vacated positions. Yet students already in the training pipeline continued to pour out in the 1970s, and freshly-minted PhDs emerged to find that the job market had vanished.

By the beginning of the 1980s, Russian language enrollments had dropped below 24,000 (fewer than were studying Latin at the time). Under 2,000 were studying Polish, the second most widely used language in the field, and fewer than 200 were pursuing Serbo-Croatian, the next in line. The loss of faculty positions cannot be documented, but membership in the AAASS, which had peaked at over 2,500 in 1975, fell to about 2,000 in the early eighties. Graduate enrollments fell off sharply. By the mid-eighties the number of PhDs awarded in the field annually dropped to half that of a decade earlier. Meanwhile, Soviet involvement in the war in Afghanistan, developments in Poland, and a rapid succession of leadership changes in Moscow was drawing renewed attention to the area and to the national need for a core of specialists knowledgeable about it.

As a result, both public and private support began to trickle back into the field. The Soviet and Eastern European Research and Training Act of 1983 (the "Title VIII" Program) administered by the US Department of State was a critical factor in helping to arrest, then reverse, the erosion of US expertise on the area. The timing of the turnaround, coming on the eve of perestroika in the USSR, was highly fortuitous. Thanks to the improved funding situation and a widespread surge of public interest in the area, Soviet and East European studies have shown a healthy re-invigoration over the past several years. The momentous revolutions of 1989 in Eastern Europe markedly accelerated the process. Data collected by the AAASS show an increase in SEES programs, in faculty positions, in the number of courses offered, and in graduate student enrollments. Annual conventions, held in different sections of the country, are well attended, as are local meetings sponsored by the nine regional affiliates of the AAASS. Twenty-one additional affiliated societies serve special interest groups in the field, and an annual *American Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies*, published by the AAASS, tracks American publications on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The Association in 1991 includes approximately 4,000 individual members, about 400 of whom are foreigners or residing abroad. The primary occupations pursued by members are indicated in Table 1. Faculty in higher educational institutions make up the largest bloc. Over half the membership consists of faculty, and if non-primary occupations are included, the ratio approaches two-thirds. After faculty come students, researchers, government employees, librarians, and administrators. Specialists in government service are under-represented in the Association; although a substantial group of specialists is employed by the government, only six percent of AAASS members fall in this category.

A little over a third of the membership falls in the "under 40" category, and about the same proportion is 50 or over. Women account for a scant quarter in the older sector, but their substantial share of the youngest cohorts attests strikingly to their changing role in the profession. AAASS members have a wide range of interests, but as Table 2 demonstrates, close to ninety percent specialize in one of the ten major academic disciplines listed in the standardized table used for this NCASA survey. For the Association as a whole, the largest category of specialization is history, followed by political science and literature.

Table 1

**OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE**  
AAASS Members

	Number	%
Adjunct Professor	44	1
Administrator	163	4
Assistant Professor	400	11
Associate Professor	478	13
Attorney	21	1
Business	88	2
Clergy	4	-
Editor/Publisher	60	2
Government	206	5
Instructor/Teacher	162	4
Lecturer	50	1
Library/Information	167	5
Military	32	1
Professor	773	20
Professor Emeritus	162	4
Researcher	238	6
Retired	56	1
Student	648	17
Translator	34	1
Writer	11	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>3797</b>	<b>100</b>

\*Includes only those members who provided information on occupation, and only the primary category indicated.

For some time, those familiar with the field of Soviet and East European studies have worried that difficulties may lie ahead. The rollercoaster track of the field's development suggests a fitful and possibly problematic supply of faculty. The sections that follow address that concern by aggregating and analyzing the available data on faculty. Before turning to the data, however, a brief word is provided about the sources used.

Table 2

## SPECIALIZATION AND AGE PROFILE

## AAASS Members

Specialization	Number of Members	% Total	Age														NA
			Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80+	
Anthropology	50	1	0	0	3	4	9	11	3	4	6	3	3	1	2	0	1
Arts	81	2	0	0	5	8	11	14	12	5	10	6	1	1	1	2	5
Economics	196	5	0	2	14	21	19	25	26	15	13	19	18	9	2	4	9
History	1208	32	0	22	116	117	135	145	172	162	107	86	68	29	2	11	26
Language/ Linguistics	314	8	0	8	31	24	26	44	42	45	29	19	15	8	1	3	19
Literature	542	14	0	7	33	49	79	80	89	64	38	36	23	7	7	5	25
Library/ Info Science	116	3	0	1	7	10	22	28	23	9	6	5	0	1	1	0	3
Political Science	790	21	2	19	100	118	107	110	89	71	49	43	36	18	9	1	18
Religion/ Philosophy	33	1	0	0	5	3	5	1	4	3	4	3	1	1	2	0	0
Sociology	61	2	0	0	3	8	6	17	9	4	1	5	1	2	0	1	4
Other	406	11	0	9	42	53	41	54	56	36	31	24	27	9	11	5	10
Sub-Total	3797	*100	2	68	359	415	460	530	525	418	294	247	193	86	48	32	120
Specialization NA	91		0	1	3	2	3	3	2	0	1	2	2	2	1	0	69
Total	**3888		2	69	362	417	463	533	527	418	295	249	195	88	49	32	189
Percentage*		100	-	2	10	11	13	14	14	11	8	7	5	2	1	1	
Percent in age bracket:																	
Male		65	50	43	54	59	58	61	69	70	77	79	86	80	94	81	45
Female		35	50	57	46	41	42	39	31	30	23	21	14	20	6	19	55

\*Percentages for specialization (vertical column) based on 3,797 AAASS members identified by specialization and, for age categories (horizontal columns), on the 3,699 identified by age. Table includes only members who provided information on age, gender or specialization.

Table 2A

## SUMMARY AGE PROFILE

## AAASS Members

	Under 40	40-49	over 49
Total	36%	28%	35%
Male	30%	28%	42%
Female	46%	30%	24%

Note: Percentages have been rounded here and in most of the following tables.

## DATA SOURCES

In recent years the information provided on annual membership forms has been entered into a computer database which provides the most comprehensive single source of information on the field. Part of this information is regularly distributed to all members in the AAASS *Directory of Members*. For the last several years the AAASS has also systematically collected data on programs in Soviet and East European studies at higher educational institutions throughout the country. This provides another database which enables the AAASS to publish its *Directory of Programs in Soviet and East European Studies*, with information covering approximately 300 institutions, and 2,800 faculty in the field.

In addition, this survey makes use of data on 15 area studies centers dealing with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. These "National Resource Centers," partially funded by the US Department of Education, are selected periodically in national competitions on the basis of uniform criteria. Although they have special characteristics, the NRCs provide a good sample of leading institutions within each field of area studies, and the data permit comparison of different fields. Data on NRCs has been drawn from the program directory files, and from the statistical reports of the Center for International Education in the Department of Education. Information on retirements in the field was obtained in a special survey of AAASS members aged 55 and over, conducted in the fall of 1990.

## FACULTY AND GRADUATE STUDENTS IN SEES

The specialization of faculty in the AAASS (Table 3) generally parallels that shown in Table 2 for the entire membership. However, comparison of faculty in the AAASS with faculty listed in the program directory and at NRCs reveals some differences, despite the substantial overlap of the three groups. There are relatively more historians and fewer language specialists among faculty in the Association than in institutions listed in the program directory (PD) or at NRC institutions. Historians have always been well represented in the Association, and the lighter showing of language specialists can be explained by the existence of two professional organizations specifically for teachers of Soviet and East European languages.

Graduate students in the AAASS show an even stronger interest than that of their faculty mentors in history. The discipline claims a smaller, though quite substantial, share of students reported in graduate programs. Student interest in political science (combined here with international relations) has been steadily rising, and has outstripped faculty specialization both in the educational institutions and in the AAASS. This appears to be a response to recent developments in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

In literature, on the other hand, the percentage of graduate students is considerably below that of faculty. Both within the AAASS and at NRCs, the proportion of students in the field specializing in literature is roughly half that of faculty. A similar pattern is evident in economics, where the interest shown by students lags well behind that of their professors. This is somewhat surprising in view of the intense and widespread interest in the economic transformation sweeping the entire Soviet/East European area. The small number of graduate students in the field specializing in economics at present may be explained in a number of ways (a response lag, a view that the economics of socialism are outmoded, the resistance of economics departments to area

specialization and their preference for more theoretical approaches to economics), but for whatever cause, and despite the fact that course enrollments in Soviet/East European economics are growing, only 3 percent of current graduate students are specializing in this understaffed branch of the field.

Table 3

**SPECIALIZATION OF FACULTY AND GRADUATE STUDENTS**  
Soviet and East European Studies  
(percent)

	AAASS Members		National Resource Centers*		Program Directory Institutions	
	Faculty	Students	Faculty	Students	Faculty	Students**
Anthropology	1	1	3	2	1	2
Art	2	2	4	1	2	1
Economics	5	3	8	3	7	3
History	34	41	16	20	18	23
Language/Linguistics	11	6	17	17	38	31
Literature	19	11	22	10		
Library/ Information Science	-	-	2	-	-	-
Political Science	17	24	16	24	19	22
Religion/Philosophy	1	1	1	1	2	-
Sociology	2	1	3	1	2	1
Other	8	10	8	20	11	16
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
(Number)	(2069)	(631)	(578)	(1623)	(2760)	(2220)

Faculty includes only those of known specialization.

\* 1988-91 Centers at:

University of California (Berkeley); UCLA-RAND; Columbia U; Emory U; Harvard U; University of Illinois; Indiana U; Universities of: Kansas, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Texas (Austin), Virginia, Washington; Yale U.

\*\* Data on students from program directory institutions is incomplete.

The rank and age profile of faculty is presented in Table 4, which shows that three out of four faculty members in the field are men. Compared to the demographic structure of the entire membership (including faculty) shown in Table 2, the faculty profile shows a pronounced rightward shift. A far larger percentage of faculty falls in the higher age groups. In part this reflects the inclusion of student members in the general profile, but comparison of the faculty age profile for 1990 with that for 1985 also shows a shift toward the higher age categories. In 1985, 37 percent of faculty were over 49; in 1990, 46 percent fell into that group. In the earlier year there were 6 members in the 80+ category; in 1990 there were 23.

Table 4

**FACULTY BY AGE AND POSITION**  
AAASS Members  
(Age as of 12/31/90)

Position	<20	20-	25-	30-	35-	40-	45-	50-	55-	60-	65-	70-	75-	80+	Age	Number	%	%	%
	24	29	34	39	44	49	54	59	64	69	74	79	NA	Total	Male				
Prof	0	0	0	1	7	67	150	180	140	121	71	10	1	0	25	773	37	84	16
Assoc Prof	0	0	0	10	67	114	126	71	41	19	13	2	0	0	15	478	23	68	32
Asst Prof	0	0	15	93	140	73	27	20	12	5	2	1	0	0	12	400	19	55	45
Prof Em	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	4	13	50	39	30	20	3	162	8	90	10
Adj Prof	0	0	2	0	6	12	9	4	5	3	1	0	0	1	1	44	2	45	55
Lecturer	0	0	5	4	12	6	10	3	4	0	3	2	0	0	1	50	3	44	56
Instr/Teacher	1	4	8	22	24	31	26	20	10	6	3	1	0	1	5	162	8	48	52
Total for age	1	4	30	130	256	303	350	299	216	167	143	55	31	22	62	2069	100		
% Total	-	-	2	6	13	15	17	15	11	8	7	3	2	1		100		# known age = 2007	
% Male	100	25	33	65	57	62	71	74	81	87	88	82	94	77		72		# known age = 1438	
% Female	-	75	67	35	43	38	29	26	19	13	12	18	6	23		28		# known age = 569	

Table 4A

**DISTRIBUTION ACROSS FACULTY RANKS**  
AAASS Members

Position	% of all Male Faculty	% of all Female Faculty	% of Faculty with PhDs
Professor	45	20	94
Associate Professor	22	25	93
Assistant Professor	15	30	88
Professor Emeritus	10	3	88
Adjunct Professor	1	4	68
Lecturer	2	4	63
Instructor/Teacher	5	14	30
Total	100	100	86

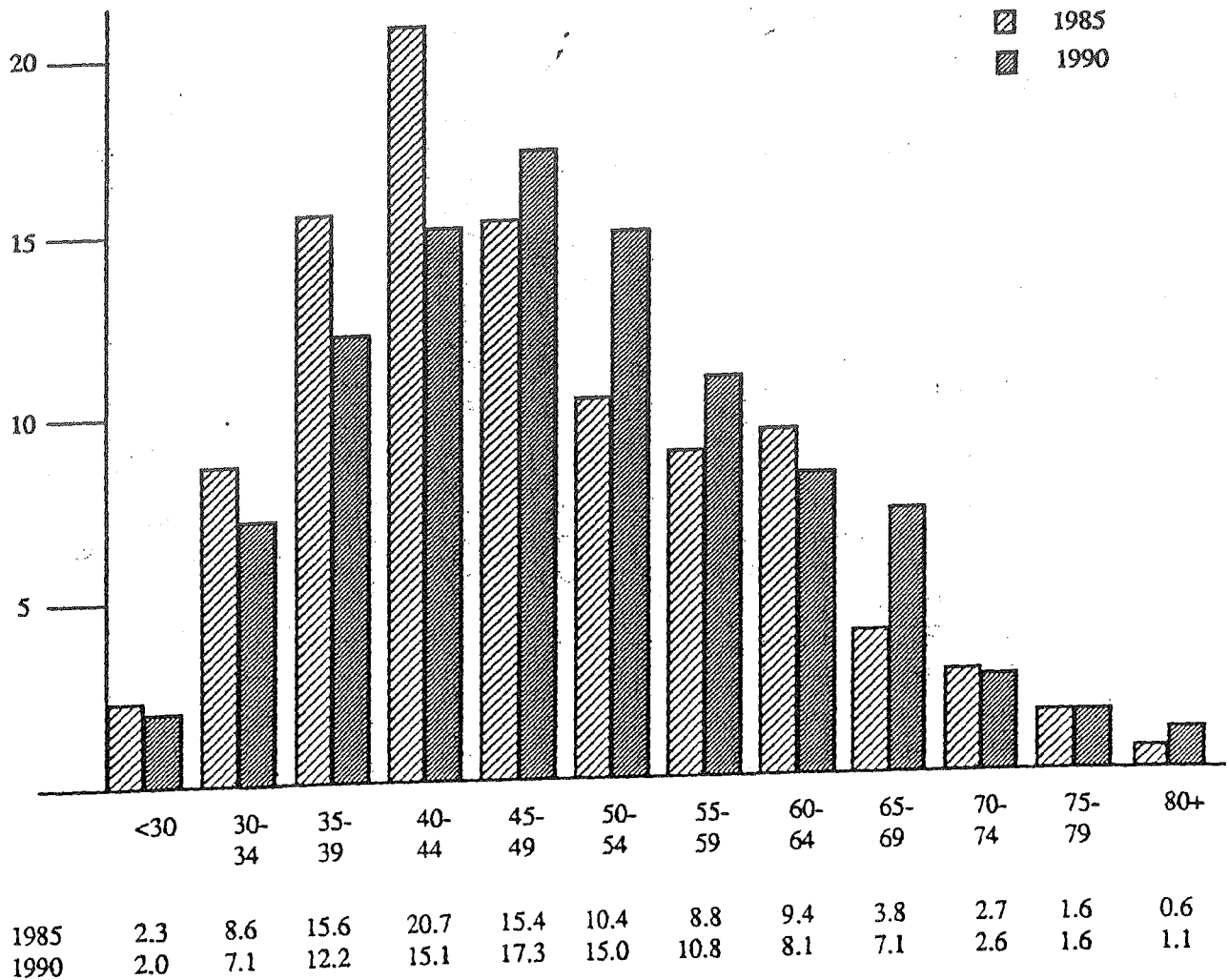
As might be expected from the age data, there is a heavy weighting in the highest academic ranks. Well over a third of all faculty in the AAASS are full professors. However, as Table 4A shows, in line with the difference in the age profiles of men and women, 45 percent of the faculty men are full professors while only 20 percent of the faculty women hold that rank. A larger proportion of the men hold top rank, but a larger proportion of men are also older. The growth in faculty members in the upper age echelons is not due solely to the

maturation of cohorts. Nor, in view of the age category, is it likely to represent new graduates (even though it now takes an average of 12 years to earn a doctorate in history). Rather, it appears to represent in part new entrants into the faculty, presumably from the pool of professionally un- or under-employed graduates who had been unable earlier to secure academic positions.

Graph 1 depicts the shift in age cohorts over the last five-year period. Bars representing age cohorts in 1985 show a relatively higher percentage in the younger ages at that time, while those for 1990 show a shift to the older groups. A clear break occurs in the group in their forties, reflecting the drop in new hires from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s.

*Graph 1* AGE PROFILE OF FACULTY IN SOVIET & EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

Percentage



In order to compare the age pattern of faculty in Soviet and East European studies with that of American faculty in general, we use data (for 1987) from Bowen and Sosa's *Prospects for Faculty in the Arts & Sciences*. Since their study indicates that the age distribution of faculty in the humanities and social sciences (HSS) differs somewhat from that of faculty as a whole, and since virtually all faculty in SEES are humanists or social scientists, the HSS data may be most relevant.

Table 5

**FACULTY AGE DISTRIBUTION BY SECTORS**  
(percent)

	Under 40	40-49	Over 49
All Faculty (Bowen/Sosa 1987)	21.7	39.4	38.9
Humanities & Social Sciences	20.3	40.0	39.7
Humanities	16.4	39.8	43.8
Social Sciences	25.2	40.3	34.5
Faculty in Soviet/E E Studies* (1990)			
In AAASS - Total	21.0	32.5	46.5
Women	31.3	37.8	30.9
Men	16.9	30.5	52.6
In National Resource Centers	17.5	26.5	56.0

\*Includes only faculty of known age, i.e., virtually all faculty in AAASS, and approximately half of National Resource Center faculty.

Table 5 confirms what has long been suspected by SEES veterans. Due to the boom and bust pattern of the field's development, the age distribution of faculty in Soviet and East European studies is even more skewed than that prevailing in the humanities and social sciences. The proportion of the Soviet/East European field clustered in the higher age brackets is exceptionally high. And in leading institutions in the field, the National Resource Centers, the imbalance is highest. Although Bowen and Sosa show that age distribution varies with the type of institution, no group of institutions comes close to the ratios prevailing among Soviet and East European faculty. According to their study, less than 40 percent of all humanities and social sciences faculty in the country are over 49 years old. Yet AAASS data indicate that 46 percent of all SEES faculty and 56 percent of the SEES faculty in NRCs are in that age category. In the middle (40-49) category, from which replacements would normally be drawn, the field has a deficit. For the humanities and social sciences as a whole, 40 percent of faculty fall in this range, but less than 33 percent of SEES faculty are located here. At the National Resource Centers not only the mid-range, but the under-40 group as well, is exceptionally small.

The faculty age pattern and its implications give particular interest to the changing share of women in the field. Although they currently account for less than 30 percent of the faculty, women constitute about half of all graduate students. And since the specializations of women vary to some extent from those of men, the growing



proportion of women in the field could bring about shifts in interest patterns. Women faculty and students both show a strong interest in literature and language, but female students are drawn more heavily than faculty to history, political science, and economics. Women already provide almost half of the assistant professors in the AAASS, and should provide a stronger component of the senior faculty ranks in the years ahead. That there will be openings to fill seems likely.

Table 6

**WOMEN**  
**FACULTY AND GRADUATE STUDENTS**  
Soviet and East European Studies  
(as a percent of all faculty and graduate students in major disciplines)

Disciplines	AAASS Members		National Resource Centers		Program Directory Institutions
	Faculty	Students	Faculty	Students	Faculty
Anthropology	50	50	33	52	28
Art	49	60	17	30	32
Economics	23	37	22	40	12
History	19	40	11	40	14
Language/Linguistics	48	41	35	53	37
Literature	47	59	37	56	
Library/Info Science	33	0	54	67	55
Political Science	19	40	11	27	15
Religion/Philosophy	0	38	0	50	6
Sociology	33	63	30	32	19
Other	22	65	NA	NA	NA
% Women in Total	29	45	24	42	24

### PROJECTED SUPPLY OF FACULTY

Bowen and Sosa's investigation leads to the conclusion that there is likely to be some loss of faculty ahead in the humanities (especially) and social sciences, due primarily to the age distribution of faculty. They expect the supply of HSS faculty to drop by about 6 percent by the end of the century, and to remain stable thereafter. They also consider the demand side of the picture. Enrollments in higher education are not expected to fluctuate widely in the 90s, so no immediate or acute shortage of faculty is foreseen. The basic need throughout most of the decade, in their view, will be for replacement rather than expansion of faculty. However, they anticipate that significant shortages of faculty will develop by and after the turn of the century as demand overtakes the supply of faculty.

In an attempt to get a clearer picture of the prospects for faculty in the Soviet and East European field, we have made use of the "exit probability" ratios developed by Bowen and Sosa. The ratios, which involve

assumptions about departures due to death, retirements, and "quits" (voluntary or involuntary) out of higher education, make it possible to calculate anticipated losses of faculty for successive five-year periods when age distribution is known.

The results, summarized in Table 7, show that in contrast to the general situation in the humanities and social sciences, where a shortage of faculty is expected to reach problem levels only toward the close of the century, the Soviet and East European field faces an imminent and steep drop in faculty. Rather than the "remarkably steady" outflow anticipated for faculty in higher education in general over the next two decades, the SEE field, on the basis of this projection, can expect to lose over a quarter of all current faculty between 1990 and 1995 alone. Subsequently, the hemorrhage will be stanching and the outflow will diminish. But before the end of the century another 16 percent will have left the field. Later losses should then drop to slightly below those anticipated for humanities and social sciences in general.

Table 7

PROJECTED FACULTY EXITS, 1990-2010

Humanities & Social Sciences		Soviet & East European Studies		
	%		Number	%
1987-92	19.6	1990-94	539	26.8
1992-97	17.2	1995-99	320	15.9
1997-2002	16.9	2000-04	309	15.2
2002-07	16.8	2005-09	290	14.4

\*Based on age profile of AAASS faculty members (Table 4) projected according to overall five-year exit probabilities provided by Bowen and Sosa, chapter 2 and appendix B. N = 2,007 (1990). HSS figures calculated from ratios provided by Bowen and Sosa, p. 28, Table 2.4.

The destabilizing impact on the field of the anticipated outflow over the next five years could be aggravated by a rising demand curve. Enrollments may not be changing much across the board in humanities and the social sciences, but, as noted above, developments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe over the last few years have led to heightened interest in the field, an expansion of course offerings, growth of student enrollments, and an increase in faculty. The reserve pool of un- or under-employed specialists in the field appears now to have been drained, and continued growth would create a need for additional new faculty at the very time when large numbers are likely to be needed simply to replace retiring faculty.

The demand for replacements however, remains uncertain. Despite the recent revitalization of the field, it cannot be assumed that all institutions plan to replace all retiring specialists. Area studies specialists rarely hold positions as such in their academic homes. Anchored in discipline-based departments, they have no assurance that their faculty slots or chairs will be reserved for successors in their area of expertise.

In an attempt to learn more about the retirement plans of senior faculty in the field, and to find out whether they are being replaced as they retire, the AAASS sent out a questionnaire in the fall of 1990 to faculty members aged 55 and over. Almost two-thirds of the group responded. One of every five respondents had already retired. The distribution across disciplines approximated that of the entire group, so the respondents may be considered a fair representation of the senior faculty in Soviet and East European studies.

Given the age of the group, a high rate of imminent retirement "exits" from the field would be expected, and this is confirmed by the respondents. Approximately half of the unretired respondents plan to retire in the period 1991-95, and another 37 percent plan to do so by the end of the century. The peak year for retirements will be 1995. The age of retirement appears to be moving slowly upward, a movement that may reflect longer life expectancies, and which could gradually augment the supply of senior faculty. For those already retired, the average age at retirement was 66, but among the not-yet-retired, those in public institutions (60 percent of all respondents) plan to retire at age 67, and those in private institutions (40 percent) at 68.

Table 8

EXPECTED RETIREMENTS IN SEES  
% of respondents

	1991-95	1996-2000
Economics	73	27
History	49	32
Language/Linguistics	36	49
Literature	49	34
Political Science	35	46

The economists, perhaps with an eye to marginal utility, plan to work somewhat longer than most. The average age at which they intend to retire is 69. Yet in the next five years (1991-95) 73 percent of the respondents in economics plan to retire. In ten years all of them expect to be retired. By that time over 80 percent of all respondents will be retired. The responses appear to confirm predictions that the end of mandatory retirement is unlikely to affect retirement age significantly.

Somewhat surprisingly, 4 out of 5 formally "retired" members indicated that they remain professionally active, primarily through part-time teaching and/or research and writing. The proportion of activists may be inflated because the sample is from AAASS members, and professionally inactive retirees are less likely to retain membership. Nonetheless, active emeriti appear to be a significant part of the actual faculty pool, and this could help cushion the shock of heavy departures over the next five years.

Responses to the survey question about replacement of retiring faculty revealed that among those already retired, only 57 percent had been replaced with someone in the Soviet/East European field. Those not yet retired expected little improvement in this respect: sixty-one percent anticipated being replaced with a SEES specialist, 23 percent were confident they would not be replaced, and 16 percent were uncertain. Replacement is of critical concern if the field is to achieve stabilization and avoid the destructive consequences of its erratic past development. There is no way at present to assess the accuracy of faculty projections, but it appears that the replacement rate has been rising of late in concert with rising demand for area specialists in Soviet and East European studies. In many cases, however, it appears that retiring senior faculty are being replaced by untenured junior faculty at the entry level, primarily as a cost-cutting measure.

The other side of the question has to do with supply, and this is closely tied to the training of new experts in the field. The PhD is virtually mandatory for faculty positions (See Table 4A), and 70 percent of all graduate students in SEES National Resource Centers (where the ratio is highest) are pursuing doctorates. According to statistics compiled by the Department of Education on the career choices of NRC graduates (U.S. Dept. of Education, Center for International Education, *Report on 1985-88 Center Graduates*, compiled by Ann I. Schneider, March 29, 1990), about 40 percent of all new area studies PhDs in 1985-88 went into higher education. Among those in the Soviet and East European field, the proportion was considerably higher — 49 percent. This may be attributable to the lack of alternative employment opportunities (e.g. in business) for specialists on the area.

The annual record of PhDs produced in the Soviet and East European field throughout the 1980s (Table 9) shows that about 2,600 doctorates were awarded in that period. The 49 percent ratio indicates that approximately 1,300 new PhDs may have entered higher education over the course of the decade. (This includes PhDs accepting non-faculty positions such as librarians, administrators, etc.) If the production of PhDs in the field were to continue at the same rate, about the same number might be expected to enter higher education in the next decade. However, a number of factors could affect entries. On the one hand, the data for the last few years suggest that the number of PhDs being produced in the field is rising. But at the same time, the changing situation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is creating new job opportunities for specialists, and this could reduce the proportion of new PhDs entering the academic market, bringing it closer to the 40 percent average of all NRC PhDs. If these two contrary tendencies offset one another, the projection of 1,300 new specialists entering the field in higher education over the next decade may be a reasonable guidepost.

Table 9

**DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES\***  
1980-89

	All Institutions Total	NRC Institutions Total	NRC as % of Total
1980	259	77	28
1981	281	71	24
1982	214	69	30
1983	226	65	28
1984	244	72	28
1985	252	72	27
1986	263	71	26
1987	273	84	29
1988	326	89	26
1989	256	68	25
<b>Total</b>	<b>2594</b>	<b>738</b>	<b>28</b>

\*Based on annual reports compiled by Jesse Dossick and published in the *Slavic Review*. Data for recent year(s) may be incomplete, but lists are updated as additional information becomes available.

From the data on projected exits (Table 7), it appears that over 2,000 departures from the field can be anticipated during the nineties. By the end of the century, if the projections are valid and if most retiring academic specialists in the field are replaced, there will be a shortage of roughly 700 faculty in Soviet and East European Studies. This will be the case even if no further demand develops in the field. Should demand continue to grow, the shortage could be greater. On the other hand, if full replacement does not occur, the anticipated deficit will be correspondingly reduced. In any case, the capacity of the academy to provide sufficient area expertise to the American public and its leadership over the coming decade is likely to be strained.

## CONCLUSIONS

According to the above analysis the decade ahead may witness the development of significant shortages of faculty in Soviet and East European Studies. Due to the historical evolution of the field and its erratic growth pattern, an unusually large contingent of the current faculty is in the higher age brackets and approaching retirement. Especially heavy losses will occur over the next five years, and in some disciplines, such as economics, they will be critical. The entry of new PhDs into the field during the nineties cannot be counted on to fill the gap left by the exodus, since contemporary developments, and the opening of alternative employment prospects for graduates with expertise on the area, are likely to keep academic demand high.

To address the problem of an imminent outflow of faculty from the field, senior faculty should be encouraged to continue part-time teaching and research following official retirement. Many AAASS survey respondents indicated that they would welcome some continuation of their professional work under certain conditions. Among these were opportunities to assume a reduced teaching load, and more support for ongoing research. Such measures would help to ward off or reduce impending shortages and would be a sensible investment, maximizing the academic output of the field's most experienced human resources.

At the same time, and with greater long-range significance, young scholars should be encouraged to enter the field and to persist throughout the extensive training essential for academic careers in the Soviet/East European field. Motivated and able graduate students should be able to find needed assistance as they seek to acquire language competency, obtain on-site experience of the region, complete the dissertation, and establish themselves as professionals. In the long run, shortages would be less damaging to the health of the field and its ability to serve national needs than continued instability.

Note should be taken also of the changing role of women in the field. Increasingly, women account for a larger part of the national pool of expertise on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and their growing numbers could have a positive bearing on the question of faculty supply. To the extent that the disciplinary

specializations of women differ from those of men, the gender shift may also influence future trends in specialization.

The states (and would-be states) in the area covered by the Soviet Union, Eastern and East Central Europe, and the peoples in that area, are currently involved in a complex process of political, economic, and ethnic re-identification. In the throes of a major historical transition, they are undergoing a reformation that is likely to proceed unevenly and to take considerable time. Meanwhile, the field of Soviet and East European scholarship will be involved in its own process of redefinition as it responds to the changes within the area. Whatever the outcome, American interest in the region is likely to remain high in the foreseeable future, as is the national need for expertise to interpret developments there.

# ASIAN STUDIES

## *Association for Asian Studies*

*L. A. Peter Gosling*

### OVERVIEW: PAST & PRESENT

Analysis of Asian studies requires separate examination of each of its four major component regions: China and Inner Asia (China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macau, Mongolia); Northeast Asia (Japan and Korea); South Asia (India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and sometimes Afghanistan); and Southeast Asia (Philippines, Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei, Thailand, Burma, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam).

These four regions of Asia are reflected in the organization of the Association for Asian Studies which is divided into four councils covering China and Inner Asia, Northeast Asia, South Asia and Southeast Asia. Current interest and the relative importance of each of these regional divisions is reflected in the distribution of AAS membership among these four councils (39 percent are affiliated with the China and Inner Asia Council; 29 percent with the Northeast Asia Council; 16 percent with the South Asia Council; and 15 percent with the Southeast Asia Council).

The four regions of Asian studies have experienced different patterns of development in the U.S. Both the orientalist tradition and the colonial stimulus for Asian studies, which were so important in Europe, were largely absent in the United States. Chinese studies were the earliest to develop in the U.S., stimulated both by missionary activities and by minor involvement of U.S. universities in China after the Boxer uprising. In the period between World War I and World War II, a number of American scholars undertook fieldwork in China and elsewhere in Asia, aided by the Rockefeller Foundation and the American Council of Learned Societies. In 1928, the growing importance of Chinese studies was marked by the establishment of the Harvard-Yenching Institute. Both the American Council of Learned Societies and the American Oriental Society sponsored conferences and fostered increased attention to Chinese scholarship, and the Institute of Pacific Relations also focused attention on contemporary China affairs. The growing number of China specialists was vastly increased during World War II resulting from major language training programs and experience in Asia.

The continued interest in Chinese studies has mirrored a continued fascination for China in the U.S., which survived the quarter century after 1949, when there was no direct access to China. Current popular interest in China seems to assure continued growth of this most established and stable area of Asian scholarship.

The earliest American scholarship on Japan was fostered by persons with a missionary background, or those who had worked in Japan in the Meiji period. Courses dealing with Japan were started in U.S. universities before the first World War, and in the 1930s the activities of the Institute of Pacific Relations, together with

the valuable role played by the American Council of Learned Societies, Rockefeller Foundation and Carnegie Endowment, all fostered increased research in Japan and the establishment of courses in U.S. universities. World War II made Japan an obvious high priority area for development, and language and area training programs created a large pool of Japan specialists. In the post-war period, Japanese studies maintained modest growth until the second, current wave of interest based on Japan's economic influence and its close and complex relationship with the U.S. At the present time, selected disciplines in Japanese studies are major areas of growth.

South Asian studies were largely underdeveloped in the U.S. prior to World War II, except for scattered courses in Sanskrit and religion/philosophy. South Asia was almost the exclusive preserve of British scholarship until American wartime experience in the region, combined with Indian independence, fostered the rapid growth of American interest and scholarly activity. However, South Asian studies does not seem to have maintained the steady growth which characterizes East Asian studies, possibly reflecting long-term lower-level American awareness and involvement with the region.

Southeast Asian studies is a post-World War II phenomenon in the U.S. Prior to that time, most scholarly work on Southeast Asia was produced by scholars of the various colonial powers, which limited U.S. interest and work to the Philippines. With the wartime and postwar involvement in the region, the U.S. rapidly became the major center of Southeast Asian studies in the world. Direct U.S. involvement, such as the long Vietnam war, seemed to depress public interest in the region rather than to enhance it, a phenomenon also seen in the aftermath of the Korean War. Early growth has not been sustained, partly due to the high cost of multiple language instruction for this varied region.

There are many factors influencing the growth or decline of the different sectors of Asian studies. In the immediate post-World War II decade, there was widespread acceptance of the importance of area studies and the desirability of developing expertise in all parts of the world. Funding from the National Defense Education Act, together with major investments of foundation funds, created multiple centers for the study of the several regions of Asia in most of the major universities. However, over the last thirty years, there has been gradual decay of this early commitment, based on the tightening of university budgets and the narrowing of their priorities in combination with reduction of federal funding and elimination of most foundation support. To generalize an obviously complex situation, East Asia studies have been able to chart continued growth and remain the most established part of Asian studies. Most institutions feel it is desirable to provide coverage of one of the world's major cultures and polities, China, while finding it less important to cover India or Thailand. Japanese studies, sustained by a large number of specialists trained during World War II, suffered slight decline but have been subject to great demand and expansion over the past decade, based on the major role Japan has gained in the world and the particular demand for Japanese expertise by the American public. The growth of Japanese studies represents a response to a major market demand which has not happened on such a scale previously in Asian studies.

The static position of South Asian studies is more difficult to understand. It should have the same stability and gradual market growth as Chinese studies because it subtends a major world culture and a major nation state. However, the American fascination with China has never extended to India, and South Asia studies have not yet established themselves as a defined part of liberal education to the extent realized by East Asia.

Southeast Asia has remained the lowest priority in most institutions, partly because the region does not provide a major recognized culture such as do China or India, and partly because of the cost of providing



instruction in a number of different languages with relatively small enrollments. Recent foundation investment in Southeast Asia has revived a number of declining centers, but long-term institutional commitment is still in doubt.

## THE AAS

The American Oriental Society was founded in 1842, and for the next century provided a home for the scattered specialists on eastern and southern Asia. However, the AOS's primary focus on the premodern period and its philological and Middle East orientation did not accommodate many Asia scholars with contemporary interests. However, its role in nurturing Sanskrit, classical Chinese, and early Japanese scholarship was an important foundation for the later creation of the AAS.

Between World War I and World War II, the number of Asia specialists grew steadily, and in 1936 the *Bulletin of Far Eastern Bibliography* started publication. In 1941, the Far Eastern Association was formed to publish the *Far Eastern Quarterly*. In 1949, the first annual meeting of the Far Eastern Association was held, and in 1956 the Far Eastern Association was reorganized into the Association for Asian Studies to accommodate the increasing number of South and Southeast Asia specialists. With the support of the Ford Foundation, the AAS expanded its range of scholarly publications and services to its membership and developed into the largest society of Asia scholars in the world with almost 6,000 U.S. members and more than 1,000 foreign members.

In addition to the national organization, there are eight regional conferences of the AAS, located in the major geographic regions of the U.S. These organizations have annual meetings and publications, and extend the scope of the AAS to several thousand additional members who belong to the regionals but not necessarily to the national organization. Several of the regionals play a particularly important role in serving Asian studies in pre-collegiate education.

## DATA SOURCES

The major data source for this report is the AAS membership file. AAS placement service records are also used.

The AAS had 6,994 members as of March 1991. Of this number 1,058 are foreign members. Table 1 provides the full occupational distribution of only the U.S. members. This report will use data for U.S. members only in the ten occupational categories which represent persons who are involved in U.S. college or university education in Asian studies: this includes university, college and junior college faculty and administrators, librarians, graduate and undergraduate students. These ten categories comprise 4,292 persons or 72 percent of the U.S. membership of the AAS. The proportion has remained roughly the same for the past decade.

We do not know how many Asia specialists are not members of the AAS, but can offer a few examples of the possible size of the larger community of Asia scholars, and how representative AAS membership data is of the larger community.

- (a) The AAS recently compiled a detailed directory of Japan specialists in the U.S. and Canada. Of the 1,294 faculty and other professionals listed in the directory, 58 percent are members of the AAS.
- (b) There are 26 federally funded graduate training National Resource Centers in Asian studies, divided into 13 for East and Inner Asia, 9 for South Asia, and 4 for Southeast Asia. A sample of 10 of these centers indicates that 86 percent of their faculty of 251 members belong to the AAS.
- (c) There are many graduate training centers of Asian studies in the U.S. without federal funding. A sample of 10 of these centers indicates that 79 percent of their 183 faculty members are AAS members.
- (d) A sample of 10 liberal arts programs in Asian studies reveals that 71 percent of their 103 faculty members are AAS members.

The above samples suggest that the AAS membership represents about 80 percent of college and university faculty.

Table 1

**OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE OF U.S. MEMBERS**  
Association for Asian Studies  
April, 1991

	Number	%
Faculty-elementary school	7	0.1
Faculty-secondary school	91	1.5
Faculty-junior college	40	0.7
Faculty-college (undergraduate programs only)	444	7.5
Faculty-college (with graduate programs)	212	3.6
Faculty-university (undergraduate programs only)	248	4.2
Faculty-university (with graduate programs)	2052	34.6
Educational administration	122	2.1
Librarian	232	3.9
Undergraduate student	25	0.4
Graduate student	574	9.7
Active PhD candidate (ABD)	367	6.2
Research organization	98	1.7
Foundation or other non-profit organization	167	2.8
Diplomacy	52	0.9
Government service	160	2.6
Military service	31	0.5
Media (journalism, publishing, radio, TV, etc.)	61	1.0
Business	117	2.0
Translator	24	0.4
Writer	29	0.5
Law, attorney	25	0.4
Museum curator	53	0.9
Interpreter	2	0.0
Independent Scholar	66	1.1
Other	121	2.0
None indicated	516	8.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>5936</b>	<b>100</b>

It is more difficult to estimate the portion of graduate students represented by AAS membership, given the lack of data sources for the number of graduate students in Asian studies. The *University Microfilm* dissertation data base indicates that 1,404 persons completed PhDs in Asian studies in 1988. Factored for PhDs granted to U.S. graduate students in the core disciplines reduces this number to 290. Current AAS graduate student members number 1,019: assuming that 20 percent complete their degrees in any given year, it would suggest that about 66 percent of graduate students in the core disciplines in Asian studies are AAS members. In general, graduate students become AAS members as they approach their PhD degree, so AAS membership does not include many students destined for a terminal BA or MA degree.

In addition to membership file data, we added questions on our biennial membership questionnaire asking retirement cohort faculty (55-69) if their positions would be renewed upon their retirement, and asked graduate students if they intended to enter college- or university-level teaching. The response rate for this questionnaire was 78 percent of the faculty membership and 94 percent of student members.

Given this relatively strong representation among our members of the faculty of graduate training programs, we feel that analysis of AAS membership records, placement records, and special surveys may be of value in defining the current human resource pool in Asian studies, and examining trends in production and market for Asian specialists. The data base from each of our sources is limited by the failure of members to respond or to provide the required data, and by the small size of many of our disciplinary and language categories. However, we hope that the data we present can be used to identify trends, and in conjunction with data from other sources, may suggest some problem areas for more detailed study and analysis.

## FACULTY AND GRADUATE STUDENTS

Table 2 provides data on specialization of faculty and students for all of Asia, and Tables 2A, 2B, 2C and 2D provide a breakdown for the four regions of Asia. Tables 3, 3A, 3B, 3C and 3D provide the age of faculty by their fields of specialization for all of Asia and its four component regions.

Table 2

### SPECIALIZATION OF FACULTY AND STUDENTS AAS Members (All Asia)

	Faculty		Student	
	Number	%	Number	%
Anthropology/Archaeology	324	9.6	126	13.7
Arts	160	4.7	57	6.2
Economics	100	3.0	19	2.1
History	880	26.1	211	22.9
Language/Linguistics	300	8.9	83	9.0
Library/Information Science	159	4.7	13	1.4
Literature	359	10.7	116	12.6
Political Science	482	14.3	123	13.3
Religion/Philosophy	260	7.7	45	4.9
Sociology	122	3.6	32	3.5
Other	224	6.6	97	10.5
Total	3370		922	

Table 2A

**SPECIALIZATION OF FACULTY AND STUDENTS**  
AAS Members (China and Inner Asia)

	Faculty		Student	
	Number	%	Number	%
Anthropology/Archaeology	65	5.0	41	9.3
Arts	60	4.6	27	6.1
Economics	36	2.8	9	2.0
History	462	35.8	131	29.8
Language/Linguistics	97	7.5	31	7.0
Library/Information Science	66	5.1	6	1.4
Literature	163	12.6	78	17.7
Political Science	163	12.6	50	11.4
Religion/Philosophy	74	5.7	16	3.6
Sociology	29	2.2	11	2.5
Other	77	6.0	40	9.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1292</b>		<b>440</b>	

Table 2B

**SPECIALIZATION OF FACULTY AND STUDENTS**  
AAS Members (Northeast Asia)

	Faculty		Student	
	Number	%	Number	%
Anthropology/Archaeology	67	6.5	26	10.6
Arts	37	3.6	11	4.5
Economics	27	2.6	3	1.2
History	234	22.7	45	18.3
Language/Linguistics	155	15.0	46	18.7
Library/Information Science	49	4.8	4	1.6
Literature	156	15.1	29	11.8
Political Science	116	11.3	33	13.4
Religion/Philosophy	63	6.1	11	4.5
Sociology	41	4.0	11	4.5
Other	85	8.3	27	11.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1030</b>		<b>246</b>	

Table 2C

**SPECIALIZATION OF FACULTY AND STUDENTS**  
AAS Members (South Asia)

	Faculty		Student	
	Number	%	Number	%
Anthropology/Archaeology	89	14.0	26	23.0
Arts	44	6.9	10	8.8
Economics	19	3.0	3	2.7
History	113	17.7	15	13.3
Language/Linguistics	26	4.1	1	0.9
Library/Information Science	23	3.6	1	0.9
Literature	31	4.9	7	6.2
Political Science	106	16.6	16	14.2
Religion/Philosophy	114	17.9	15	13.3
Sociology	34	5.3	8	7.1
Other	38	6.0	11	9.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>637</b>		<b>113</b>	

Table 2D

**SPECIALIZATION OF FACULTY AND STUDENTS**  
AAS Members (Southeast Asia)

	Faculty		Student	
	Number	%	Number	%
Anthropology/Archaeology	103	25.1	33	26.8
Arts	19	4.6	9	7.3
Economics	18	4.4	4	3.3
History	71	17.3	20	16.3
Language/Linguistics	22	5.4	5	4.1
Library/Information Science	21	5.1	2	1.6
Literature	9	2.2	2	1.6
Political Science	97	23.6	24	19.5
Religion/Philosophy	9	2.2	3	2.4
Sociology	18	4.4	2	1.6
Other	24	5.8	19	15.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>411</b>		<b>123</b>	

The above mentioned tables illustrate important differences among the four regions of Asia and the different disciplines. The China and Inner Asia segment has the youngest faculty, with only 25 percent in the 55-69 retirement cohort, Northeast Asia has 29 percent and Southeast Asia has 28 percent, while South Asia has the oldest faculty, with almost 37 percent in the retirement cohort. This same pattern is seen in the relative size of the graduate student population for the two areas. Tables 2 and 3 can be used to identify disciplines

where current student stock appears to be inadequate to replace projected retirements over the next fifteen years. The greatest shortfalls occur in library science for all areas of Asia. Northeast Asia has too few students in economics and in religion; South Asia has too few students in economics, history, political science and language; and Southeast Asia falls short in economics.

Table 3

FACULTY BY SPECIALIZATION AND AGE  
All Asia

Discipline	20-	25-	30-	35-	40-	45-	50-	55-	60-	65-	Over	No		
	24	29	34	39	44	49	54	59	64	69	69	Resp	Total	%
Anthropology/Archaeology	0	0	18	32	56	39	42	23	25	21	17	51	324	9.6
Arts	0	0	1	19	27	16	19	12	10	13	8	35	160	4.7
Economics	0	0	5	10	5	12	8	10	10	7	9	24	100	3.0
History	0	2	17	57	106	138	136	96	69	47	48	164	880	26.1
Language/Linguistics	1	3	24	36	32	32	29	26	11	9	9	88	300	8.9
Library/Information Science	0	1	2	5	12	17	19	23	16	6	12	46	159	4.7
Literature	0	3	21	46	55	56	33	32	22	8	11	72	359	10.7
Political Science	0	1	16	28	37	59	68	55	56	33	43	86	482	14.3
Religion/Philosophy	0	1	2	33	39	32	31	18	23	6	21	54	260	7.7
Sociology	0	0	3	9	14	24	13	13	9	6	7	24	122	3.6
Other	0	1	13	21	24	25	21	23	17	8	9	62	224	6.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>296</b>	<b>407</b>	<b>450</b>	<b>419</b>	<b>331</b>	<b>268</b>	<b>164</b>	<b>194</b>	<b>706</b>	<b>3370</b>	
<b>Percent</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0.4</b>	<b>3.6</b>	<b>8.8</b>	<b>12.1</b>	<b>13.4</b>	<b>12.4</b>	<b>9.8</b>	<b>8.0</b>	<b>4.9</b>	<b>5.8</b>	<b>20.9</b>		

Table 3A

FACULTY BY SPECIALIZATION AND AGE  
China and Inner Asia

Discipline	20-	25-	30-	35-	40-	45-	50-	55-	60-	65-	Over	No		
	24	29	34	39	44	49	54	59	64	69	69	Resp	Total	%
Anthropology/Archaeology	0	0	5	7	11	11	4	5	2	4	4	12	65	5.0
Arts	0	0	0	10	9	3	8	5	5	5	3	12	60	4.6
Economics	0	0	4	4	0	7	3	1	2	1	4	10	36	2.8
History	0	2	8	32	62	77	65	48	36	18	32	82	462	35.8
Language/Linguistics	0	0	5	12	6	12	16	8	5	3	5	25	97	7.5
Library/Information Science	0	0	0	0	4	7	7	9	7	2	5	25	66	5.1
Literature	0	2	10	24	24	23	16	17	6	2	8	31	163	12.6
Political Science	0	0	6	14	13	26	22	14	17	9	10	32	163	12.6
Religion/Philosophy	0	1	1	10	15	10	10	6	1	1	6	13	74	5.7
Sociology	0	0	0	3	3	5	8	1	1	1	1	6	29	2.2
Other	0	0	6	11	10	6	12	6	1	2	2	21	77	6.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>187</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>1292</b>	
<b>Percent</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0.4</b>	<b>3.5</b>	<b>9.8</b>	<b>12.2</b>	<b>14.5</b>	<b>13.2</b>	<b>9.3</b>	<b>6.4</b>	<b>3.7</b>	<b>6.2</b>	<b>20.8</b>		

Table 3B

**FACULTY BY SPECIALIZATION AND AGE**  
Northeast Asia

Discipline	20-	25-	30-	35-	40-	45-	50-	55-	60-	65-	Over	No	Total	%
	24	29	34	39	44	49	54	59	64	69	69	Resp		
Anthropology/Archaeology	0	0	2	6	20	7	3	2	7	2	4	14	67	6.5
Arts	0	0	0	5	6	3	2	3	2	3	5	8	37	3.6
Economics	0	0	1	3	1	1	1	5	2	2	4	7	27	2.6
History	0	0	6	15	26	28	38	23	25	16	12	45	234	22.7
Language/Linguistics	1	3	18	21	17	13	7	14	5	5	2	49	155	15.0
Library/Information Science	0	0	2	3	4	6	5	6	4	2	3	14	49	4.8
Literature	0	0	10	20	24	28	10	11	12	5	1	35	156	15.1
Political Science	0	1	4	7	14	12	14	9	13	8	15	19	116	11.3
Religion/Philosophy	0	0	1	8	10	7	4	5	8	4	5	11	63	6.1
Sociology	0	0	1	3	6	10	3	6	3	0	1	8	41	4.0
Other	0	1	3	9	10	12	5	8	8	5	4	20	85	8.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>230</b>	<b>1030</b>	
<b>Percent</b>	<b>0.1</b>	<b>0.5</b>	<b>4.7</b>	<b>9.7</b>	<b>13.4</b>	<b>12.3</b>	<b>8.9</b>	<b>8.9</b>	<b>8.6</b>	<b>5.0</b>	<b>5.4</b>	<b>22.3</b>		

Table 3C

**FACULTY BY SPECIALIZATION AND AGE**  
South Asia

Discipline	20-	25-	30-	35-	40-	45-	50-	55-	60-	65-	Over	No	Total	%
	24	29	34	39	44	49	54	59	64	69	69	Resp		
Anthropology/Archaeology	0	0	4	9	11	8	20	7	10	7	2	11	89	14.0
Arts	0	0	0	3	6	7	6	3	3	4	0	12	44	6.9
Economics	0	0	0	1	1	2	3	2	3	3	1	3	19	3.0
History	0	0	3	6	12	13	20	19	6	9	2	23	113	17.7
Language/Linguistics	0	0	0	1	4	3	3	3	1	0	1	10	26	4.1
Library/Information Science	0	0	0	0	1	3	4	6	3	1	2	3	23	3.6
Literature	0	1	0	2	5	3	6	3	4	1	1	5	31	4.9
Political Science	0	0	3	6	6	6	15	16	18	9	9	18	106	16.6
Religion/Philosophy	0	0	0	14	13	15	17	6	12	0	8	29	114	17.9
Sociology	0	0	2	1	2	3	2	5	4	4	3	8	34	5.3
Other	0	0	2	1	3	4	2	5	7	1	2	11	38	6.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>637</b>	
<b>Percent</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0.2</b>	<b>2.2</b>	<b>6.9</b>	<b>10.0</b>	<b>10.5</b>	<b>15.4</b>	<b>11.8</b>	<b>11.1</b>	<b>6.1</b>	<b>4.9</b>	<b>20.9</b>		

Table 3D

**FACULTY BY SPECIALIZATION AND AGE**  
Southeast Asia

Discipline	20-	25-	30-	35-	40-	45-	50-	55-	60-	65-	Over	No Resp	Total	%
	24	29	34	39	44	49	54	59	64	69	69			
Anthropology/Archaeology	0	0	7	10	14	13	15	9	6	8	7	14	103	25.1
Arts	0	0	1	1	6	3	3	1	0	1	0	3	19	4.6
Economics	0	0	0	2	3	2	1	2	3	1	0	4	18	4.4
History	0	0	0	4	6	20	13	6	2	4	2	14	71	17.3
Language/Linguistics	0	0	1	2	5	4	3	1	0	1	1	4	22	5.4
Library/Information Science	0	1	0	2	3	1	3	2	2	1	2	4	21	5.1
Literature	0	0	1	0	2	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	9	2.2
Political Science	0	0	3	1	4	15	17	16	8	7	9	17	97	23.6
Religion/Philosophy	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	2	1	2	1	9	2.2
Sociology	0	0	0	2	3	6	0	1	1	1	2	2	18	4.4
Other	0	0	2	0	1	3	2	4	1	0	1	10	24	5.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>411</b>	
<b>Percent</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0.2</b>	<b>3.6</b>	<b>6.1</b>	<b>11.7</b>	<b>16.8</b>	<b>14.1</b>	<b>10.7</b>	<b>6.1</b>	<b>6.1</b>	<b>6.6</b>	<b>18.0</b>		

Table 4 presents faculty age distribution in the three age categories used in Bowen and Sosa's analysis (under 40, 40-49, and over 49), and compares Asia faculty in the humanities and social sciences with the overall faculty in humanities and social sciences as cited in Bowen and Sosa. This demonstrates that Asia faculty in the humanities are reasonably close to the Bowen and Sosa sample, but that Asia faculty in the social sciences are substantially older than the Bowen and Sosa sample, with 55 percent over age 49 as compared with 35 percent.

Women comprise over one third of the current faculty in Asian studies, with the highest representation in Northeast Asia (38 percent). China (34 percent), Southeast Asia (33 percent), and South Asia (28 percent) follow. In age distribution, men comprise 81 percent of the retirement cohort (ages 55-69), but only 52 percent of recent hires (ages 20-39). Women comprise 49 percent of current graduate students, a trend which is increasing. The distribution of women among the disciplines in Table 5 indicates the traditional concentration in language, literature, the arts, library science and anthropology, but among current graduate students there are marked increases in the portion of women in history, philosophy, religion and sociology. This suggests that over the next few decades, women in the field of Asian studies will probably outnumber men, and that traditional distributions among disciplines will even out.



Table 4

**AAS FACULTY AGE DISTRIBUTION**  
(compared with all humanities and social sciences)

	Under age 40 %	Ages 40-49 %	Over Age 49 %
<b>Humanities (including History)</b>			
In General (B & S)	16	40	44
China	19	41	40
Northeast Asia	24	31	45
South Asia	13	36	50
Southeast Asia	13	44	43
All Asia	20	35	45
<b>Social Sciences</b>			
In General (B &S)	25	40	35
China	18	37	56
Northeast Asia	17	34	49
South Asia	13	21	66
Southeast Asia	13	31	56
All Asia	15	30	55
<b>Bowen &amp; Sosa</b>			
Humanities/Social Sciences	20.3	40	39.7
<b>AAS</b>			
Humanities/Social Sciences	17	35	48

Graph 1

**AAS MEMBERS FACULTY AGE PROFILE**

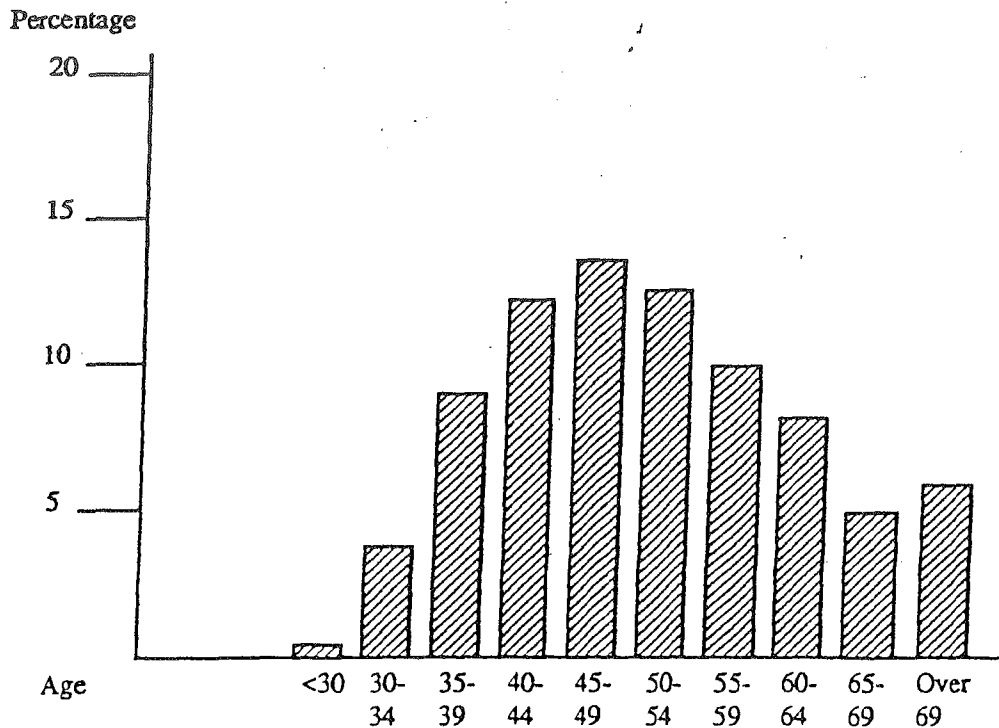


Table 5

**FEMALE FACULTY AND STUDENTS**  
(by specialization)

	Total	Faculty		Total	Students	
		# Female	% of Total		# Female	% of Total
Anthropology/ Archaeology	299	129	43	108	69	64
Arts	140	84	60	64	39	61
Economics	93	14	15	21	4	19
Geography	58	10	17	7	1	14
History	785	214	27	219	88	40
Language/Linguistics	270	148	55	89	49	55
Library/ Information Science	138	80	58	20	11	55
Literature	320	143	47	118	63	53
Political Science	373	73	20	112	29	26
Religion/Philosophy	243	50	21	41	25	61
Sociology	118	38	32	29	20	69
Other	197	86	44	85	46	54
<b>Total</b>	<b>3057</b>	<b>1069</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>908</b>	<b>445</b>	<b>49</b>

### PROJECTED SUPPLY OF FACULTY

Table 6 indicates the projected exits for Asia faculty from 1991-2005, and compares them with the five year exit rates used in Bowen and Sosa. It indicates that within the next decade, 41.2 percent of Asia faculty will exit, as compared with the Bowen and Sosa estimates of 33.9 percent for all faculty. Thus, Asian studies must anticipate the loss of almost a quarter of its faculty within the next five years, with a slight deceleration of the exit rate thereafter.

Table 6

### PROJECTED FACULTY EXITS FROM FIELD

	AAS		Bowen & Sosa	
	Number	%		%
1991-1995	574	23.0	1992-1997	17.1
1996-2000	454	18.2	1997-2002	16.8
2001-2005	416	16.7	2002-2007	16.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>1444</b>	<b>57.9</b>		<b>50.5</b>

Based on age profiles of AAS faculty in Table 2, projected according to overall five year exit probabilities provided by William Bowen and Julie Sosa, *Prospects for Faculty in the Arts and Sciences*, Chapter 2, and Appendix B.

In addition to the early and accelerated exit rate, Asian studies also must be concerned with the possible elimination of specific faculty positions which will not be replaced upon the retirement of current faculty. As some social sciences shift their priorities increasingly to appointments in theory, institutional priorities shift away from international studies and a number of area faculty positions are being terminated. This is particularly true in sociology, political science and geography.

Tables 7, 7A, 7B, 7C, and 7D provide the response of the retirement cohort of Asia faculty (ages 55-69) to a question regarding the possible continuation of their positions after retirement. Only 50 percent of this faculty cohort were able to answer the question. Using only the yes/no responses, this survey indicates that 5 percent of China positions, 8 percent of those in Northeast Asia, 18 percent of those in South Asia and 19 percent of those in Southeast Asia will not be replaced on retirement. (If all "don't know" replies are treated as "no" answers, these percentages rise to 27 percent for China, 31 percent for Japan, 45 percent for South Asia and 40 percent for Southeast Asia). If these positions losses are applied to the number of positions vacated by exits in the next fifteen years, there is a substantial reduction of demand for replacement faculty in selected disciplines and regions of Asia.

Assuming that all graduate students represent potential replacement stock for the retirement cohort of faculty (ages 55-69), indications are that the current graduate students in China comprise 166 percent of all needed replacement stock for the retirement cohort; Northeast Asia has 105 percent, South Asia has 70 percent and Southeast Asia has 120 percent. These replacement stock percentages increase as the above positions losses are applied to the retirement cohort positions, reducing the number of replacements required.

Table 7

**FACULTY POSITION CONTINUATION**  
**Response of Retirement Cohort (Age 55-69)**  
**AAS Members (All Asia)**

Discipline	Yes	No	Don't Know	No Resp
Anthropology/Archaeology	31	7	21	19
Arts	15	2	4	17
Economics	14	2	5	7
History	102	10	35	57
Language/Linguistics	17	2	10	12
Library/Information Science	14	0	3	27
Literature	23	0	19	13
Political Science	57	8	26	48
Religion/Philosophy	29	2	5	12
Sociology	14	3	1	11
Other	16	3	11	13
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>236</b>
<b>Percent</b>	<b>65%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>27%</b>	

Table 7 A

**FACULTY POSITION CONTINUATION**  
 Response of Retirement Cohort (Age 55-69)  
 AAS Members (China & Inner Asia)

Discipline	Yes	No	Don't Know	No Resp
Anthropology/Archaeology	5	1	4	4
Arts	5	1	3	7
Economics	4	0	1	0
History	50	3	14	32
Language/Linguistics	3	0	3	5
Library/Information Science	9	0	1	9
Literature	13	0	7	3
Political Science	21	0	6	12
Religion/Philosophy	6	0	1	2
Sociology	1	0	0	2
Other	4	1	2	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>78</b>

Table 7 B

**FACULTY POSITION CONTINUATION**  
 Response of Retirement Cohort (Age 55-69)  
 AAS Members (Northeast Asia)

Discipline	Yes	No	Don't Know	No Resp
Anthropology/Archaeology	6	2	4	1
Arts	5	0	0	5
Economics	3	0	2	4
History	34	3	9	13
Language/Linguistics	13	1	4	5
Library/Information Science	2	0	0	8
Literature	9	0	9	7
Political Science	12	1	5	13
Religion/Philosophy	11	1	2	3
Sociology	6	1	0	2
Other	6	0	5	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>68</b>

Table 7 C

**FACULTY POSITION CONTINUATION**  
Response of Retirement Cohort (Age 55-69)  
AAS Members (South Asia)

Discipline	Yes	No	Don't Know	No Resp
Anthropology/Archaeology	8	3	6	9
Arts	4	1	1	4
Economics	3	1	2	2
History	15	3	8	7
Language/Linguistics	1	0	0	2
Library/Information Science	3	0	2	6
Literature	0	0	3	2
Political Science	11	2	10	14
Religion/Philosophy	10	1	2	5
Sociology	5	1	1	7
Other	3	2	2	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>62</b>

Table 7 D

**FACULTY POSITION CONTINUATION**  
Response of Retirement Cohort (Age 55-69)  
AAS Members (Southeast Asia)

Discipline	Yes	No	Don't Know	No Resp
Anthropology/Archaeology	12	1	7	4
Arts	1	0	0	1
Economics	4	1	0	1
History	3	0	3	5
Language/Linguistics	0	1	1	0
Library/Information Science	0	0	0	4
Literature	0	0	0	1
Political Science	13	5	5	9
Religion/Philosophy	2	0	0	2
Sociology	2	1	0	0
Other	2	0	1	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>27</b>

The assumption that all graduate student members of AAS can be considered as potential replacement faculty is based on the fact that over 93 percent of the student members responded to a questionnaire regarding their professional plans with the indication that they intended to seek an academic career. In addition, we estimate that over a third of American graduate students are not members of the AAS and that they also comprise part of this replacement pool.

The student statistics provided by NRC centers, which indicate that many do not plan to teach, must be adjusted for the number of degrees granted to foreign graduates, many of whom return to their home nation or pursue careers outside the field of Asian studies.

Placement data from AAS records provide another perspective on replacement of faculty exits. Table 8 provides a summary of the 1989 "AAS Professional Personnel Registry" (placement). Fifty-four percent of the 349 positions offered were tenure or tenure track positions. The number of positions offered represent around 12 percent of all current faculty stock and about 38 percent of all current student stock. Replacement of faculty at the rate of 12 percent per year substantially exceeds the rate of exits. If we project a total of 574 exits for the next five year period, the current hiring rate of 349 positions per year is three times the rate required for replacement. Even if the "bulge" in hiring for language and literature positions is reduced, the replacement rate will probably remain more than adequate.

Table 8

**AAS PLACEMENT LISTING  
(1989-90)**

	All Asia	East Asia (China/Japan)	China	NE Asia (Japan/Korea)	S Asia	SE Asia	Total
Anthropology/Archaeology	-	1	-	3	2	2	8
Arts	3	1	-	-	-	-	4
Asian Studies	12	6	5	8	4	3	38
Economics	1	0	0	1	0	2	4
History	6	14	6	16	1	3	46
Language/Linguistics/ Literature	0	5	46	143	3	4	201
Library/Information Science	1	1	1	3	0	3	9
Political Science	4	3	9	2	0	2	20
Religion/Philosophy	6	4	3	2	3	0	18
Sociology	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>349</b>

Asian studies is growing, and the current hiring rate is more than adequate to cover both exits and substantial expansion. However, data indicate that growth is selective, focused heavily on language instruction. Certain areas and disciplines are not hiring, and a substantial number of current faculty positions will be eliminated. The social sciences in general demonstrate less vitality than the humanities, and within the social sciences, select disciplines in both South and Southeast Asia will lose their capacity to train an adequate number of area specialists in the near future.

## CONCLUSIONS

During the period of initial growth of Asian studies in the 50s and early 60s, specialists were trained in most major disciplines covering all regions of Asia, and the nation rapidly developed broad coverage of Asia in its major universities. Asian studies has continued to grow but much recent growth has been in undergraduate institutions where faculty are not engaged in specialist training. In the last five years, growth has been skewed by selective market demand focused on a few selected areas such as Japanese language instruction. At the same time, termination of foundation funding, reduction of federal support, and tightening of university budgets, have placed constraints on the growth and even the survival of the network of specialist training centers. Together with the shift of priorities in social science disciplines away from area studies, these developments have led to decreased support for certain sectors of Asian studies and the elimination of positions, which will become very evident over the next decade.

The faculty cohort within ten years of retirement, many of whom were involved in the development and early growth of Asian studies, represent 31 percent of all faculty positions. When this cohort retires, some of these positions apparently will not be replaced. In addition to those whose positions will not be replaced, there also appear to be several fields in which there is an insufficient replacement stock of students to meet current or projected demand.

There is a major dilemma facing Asian studies. In an increasingly globalized world, there is and will continue to be greater interest in international studies, and a market for persons with area and language training. However, the largest part of this market is for BA and MA students with some area background and not for PhD level specialists. Moreover, this demand will probably be focused on relatively few areas and disciplines. Therefore, there is a major demand for Japanese language teachers, but far less for Hindi and even less for Thai. Given the limited space for area and language in the undergraduate curriculum, it is unlikely that substantial growth there will benefit all disciplines and languages equally, and market demand may well result in an even more narrow focus of Asian studies in selected areas and disciplines than is currently the case. Thus, growth in some disciplines may well be a contributing factor to the reduction of other disciplines in Asian studies.

Japanese studies, and to a lesser extent, Chinese studies, represent the two areas in which the market as reflected in student demand for courses has contributed to the current growth of Asian studies. In most other cases, demand has not been the major factor in the growth of Asian studies nor in determining the priorities of institutions. Most centers were created by faculty entrepreneurs and are sustained by them often without reference to student demand and sometimes without major institutional commitment. Institutional priorities often reflect the priorities of the component departments/disciplines which, in the case of the social sciences, has resulted in declining commitment to area studies and area specialists. Also, institutional commitment may become more market influenced and the relatively balanced multiplicity of Asian area and language programs currently found in U.S. universities may be rapidly eroded. To use AAS placement data for 1989, 40 percent of *all* announced positions in Asian studies and 50 percent of all job interviews at our annual meeting were in the field of Japanese language instruction. This may be good for American business, but it is not promising for scholarship or the long-term national interest.

Ordinarily it would be expected that the established centers would continue to be supported in order to the role for which they were created: to train PhD specialists in Asian studies. However, increasingly, as the social science disciplines become more committed to theory, fewer area faculty will be replaced, leading to major gaps in the PhD training area centers. Therefore, even as there is substantial growth in undergraduate instruction, increasing the demand for area-trained faculty, there may be a reduction in the capacity of graduate training centers to provide these faculty. The future may well be marked by a reduction in the breadth of coverage of Asia as sectors with less market demand and departmental demand are reduced.



# MIDDLE EAST STUDIES

## *Middle East Studies Association*

Anne H. Betteridge

### OVERVIEW: PAST & PRESENT

The history of Middle East studies in the United States has paralleled the growth of American interests in the area. As United States involvement in the Middle East grew, so did religious, foreign policy, and commercial motivations for Middle East studies. Some interest in the Middle East was evident in the early nineteenth century in the United States, but did not prompt detailed study of the area. John Quincy Adams sent a young man to Algiers to learn Arabic because "we were in this country so destitute of persons versed in the Oriental languages that we could not even procure a translation of any paper which occasionally came to us in Arabic" (cited in Berger, *Mesa Bulletin*, November 1967). Adams' appreciation of the importance of language study did not dictate the course of U.S. educational policy; it would be more than another century before the U.S. government was prepared to make a substantial investment in Middle East studies.

Even scholars of the area have not always regarded Middle East studies as a subject compelling for reasons of cultural or political significance. MESA's first president, Morroe Berger, wrote in a 1967 assessment of the development and needs of Middle East and North African Studies that because it was neither a "center of great cultural achievement" nor an area of political importance to the U.S., the need for Middle East studies faculty and students was limited.

It is the numbers who study and teach Middle East-related topics that concern us here. The cultural and political significance of the Middle East are now more apparent, and the capacity for growth in the field less in question. This report investigates those areas in need of support and development if existing and future needs in the field are to be met. Ironically, it appears that the area's political significance both prompts government interest in funding Middle East studies, and mitigates against the investment of resources in it on some campuses, where officials are chary of the political implications of the subject.

Designation of the area as the "Middle East" reflects the area's geographical position in relation to Europe and Western political interests in the region. The term "Middle East" was originally used for military purposes in the nineteenth century, and in general denotes the modern Middle East. It was employed by the British during World War II to refer to the area west of India served by the Middle East Supply center and included Arab countries, Iran and Turkey. Ethnocentric implications, misleading geographical reference, and the military usage of "Middle East" by the British prompted the scholar Marshall Hodgson to avoid the term altogether, and instead refer to the area "from the Nile to the Oxus" in his *The Venture of Islam* (1974). Despite its questionable implications, "Middle East" has become the term commonly used to designate the vast and varied region which extends from Morocco to Afghanistan, including Turkey and the Sudan. This usage occurs in the names of most centers of study on the region.

"Near East," an older term, differentiated the area from the Far East. It is now more often associated with studies of the ancient history, languages, and culture of the area, and appears in the title of some academic centers.

Prior to World War II, programs in the ancient Near East existed at several prominent East coast universities—Chicago, Columbia, Johns Hopkins and Yale—and were considered an integral part of the classics curriculum. Courses on the Middle East often complemented religious studies and were prompted by the desire to understand Judaeo-Christian tradition, as well as by the need for information necessary to missionary endeavors.

Study of the Islamic Middle East began in earnest in the United States shortly before the Second World War, although scholars of the subject could at that time be counted on the fingers of one hand. The first courses to combine study of language, culture and history were offered in three summer programs in Near Eastern Studies at Princeton in 1935, 1938 and 1941, and were funded jointly by Princeton and the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS).

Concern for Middle East studies in the United States has often been crisis-driven, and the early days were no exception. The Second World War prompted a need for regional specialists. A training program in international administration was set up at Columbia University, and the Army Specialized Training Program (ASTP) established Middle East language courses at Indiana, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Princeton. Morroe Berger, the first president of MESA, was a student at the Princeton ASTP. As American foreign policy extended its interests, a continuing need for regional specialists became apparent. Yet, by the end of the war there was no organized university program in Middle Eastern studies.

Princeton again broke new ground when, in 1947, it founded an interdisciplinary program in Near Eastern studies specializing in the study of the modern and contemporary Near East. The program's existence can be credited to Philip Hitti, a pioneer in Middle East studies and one of the first immigrant scholars of Middle East studies to enrich the field in the United States.

Interest in the modern Middle East was growing in other circles as well, as evidenced by the establishment of The Middle East Institute (MEI) in 1946 and its publication, *The Middle East Journal*, in 1947. The MEI began its career under the aegis of the Diplomatic Affairs Foundation, where it worked in concert with the School for Advanced International Studies (SAIS). According to its charter, MEI was concerned to serve as a source for information on the modern Middle East in the U.S. and "to promote better understanding between the peoples of the two areas." MEI established itself as an independent organization in 1948, while SAIS joined The Johns Hopkins University in 1950. MEI's character has remained constant; its presidents have continued to be former foreign service officers with experience in the Middle East.

A report on Middle East studies in the United States was issued by the Committee on Near Eastern Studies of the ACLS in 1949. The committee included representatives of seven universities, two seminaries, the Library of Congress, and the Department of State. Glaring deficiencies in language training, in knowledge of geography and of aspects of Islamic culture, as well as the generally poor quality of existing research, were indicated. The report recommended several courses of action to remedy the situation. These included development of Middle Eastern language programs, Middle East studies programs in four or five universities, training abroad, a translation program, a fellowship program, the support of programs such as summer

institutes and the preparation of bibliographies, and the formation of a guiding group of scholars. R. Bayly Winder, a founding fellow of MESA, has identified the latter as the origin of the ACLS-SSRC Joint Committee on Near Eastern Studies.

### Founding of the Middle East Studies Association

By the early 1960s a critical mass of Middle East studies scholars existed. A 1961 survey indicated that undergraduate courses on the Middle East were being taught at some 180 colleges and universities in the U.S., not including major centers of Middle East studies. Many of the courses had been introduced only after 1957. The growth in Middle East studies from this point on is marked, in large measure due to federal support initiated in 1958 under the National Defense Education Act. Consequences of the funding are illustrated by U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare statistics. In 1958, 286 students studied Middle Eastern languages at federally funded centers; the number had risen to 1,084 by 1964.

As the Middle East studies community grew, it became apparent that existing scholarly organizations did not necessarily provide a logical home for scholars of the modern Middle East. Still, for years scholars of the area were

*wary about offending the AOS [American Oriental Society] which was 'sort of' their professional home, wary about bringing down the wrath of the MEI on their heads, and wary that the Arab-Israeli dispute would polarize if not blow up any academic group interested in the modern Middle East.*  
(R. B. Winder, *Middle East Journal*, Winter 1987)

The movement to found a scholarly association of Middle East studies was initiated in a spring 1960 meeting of the Joint Committee of the SSRC/ACLS on the Near and Middle East. Members of the committee discussed the possibility of sponsoring a conference on the Middle East, but the subject of the association was held in abeyance until the following fall. After extended discussion, it was decided in the fall of 1960 to hold a conference to determine whether there was a need for yet another scholarly association. A conference was held in late October, 1961. Although it did not result in the establishment of an association, a Cooperating Committee on the Development and Organization of Near East Studies was organized.

The Committee met three times and considered a number of forms that an association might take. Among the options considered was the possibility of establishing a Middle East studies section in an existing organization such as the American Oriental Society (AOS), the Association for Asian Studies (AAS), and the Middle East Institute. At length, the Committee made application to the AAS in 1962 when the AAS and AOS met jointly in Boston. The Association for Asian Studies rebuffed the bid for affiliation on the grounds that the AAS was already replete with constituent groups. MESA has its older sibling to thank for the rejection which prompted the establishment of an independent association.

In 1963 the establishment of an association and annual conference were proposed in a memorandum to the Committee, but did not yield any results. There was at that time some doubt about the viability of a new association and little inclination to proceed, so the association remained conceived, but unborn.

The fourth and final meeting of the Committee failed to produce an association, but did lead to lengthy discussions of a journal, its financing and organization. The journal did not eventuate from these discussions,

but they provided the basis for the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (IJMES) which at last came into being along the lines proposed.

The American Association of Middle East Studies (AAMES) was created in the early 1960s as a membership organization devoted to the improvement of teaching Middle East studies. Not an association of Middle East scholars, AAMES met an early end mid-decade, "apparently because of an alleged connection with Zionist circles," according to I. William Zartman, MESA's first executive secretary. He also noted that the association's publications did not reflect such a stance. AAMES's premature demise reflects the volatile nature of Middle East studies and the sentiments attached to it. Subsequent attempts to form an association were framed with the nonpolitical character of the group as a defining characteristic, necessary to its survival.

In 1965 a final attempt was made to form a Middle East studies association. Fellows of the Middle East Institute discussed the need for a professional association of Middle East scholars in the fall of 1965, and proposed the idea to the Joint Committee of the SSRC/ACLS. Independently, the Joint Committee, chaired by Morroe Berger of Princeton, broached the subject of the formation of both an association and a journal in October of the same year. Zartman reported that the Committee was "unenthusiastic about the organization of an association," but Berger was authorized to investigate the possibility of both the association and the journal.

In the spring of 1966 the Joint Committee drew up a list of leading scholars in Middle East studies who had expressed interest in the formation of an association. The scholars met, agreed to establish an association, and convened a constituent meeting on December 9, 1966. At the meeting 50 founding fellows of the Middle East Studies Association approved draft by-laws, elected officers, and decided to organize an annual meeting to be held beginning the following year. New York University's offer to provide an institutional home for the association was accepted, and I. William Zartman was appointed executive secretary. A press release announcing the existence of MESA was issued on February 14, 1967. It noted that, "The newly formed professional organization was established by leading American and Canadian scholars on the Near and Middle East 'to promote high standards of scholarship and instruction and to facilitate communication' on the area."

The founding group was made up primarily of modernists, with many young scholars among them. By the late 1960s the founding fellows had a solid record of publications and university appointments to their credit, and made up a strong cadre of members for the fledgling association.

Initial support for the association was provided by one-time contributions of \$500 from eleven universities. In 1967 application was made to the Ford Foundation, which generously provided a five-year grant of \$56,000. Membership dues and annual meeting revenues added to MESA's income after its founding. In the early 1970s the Ford Foundation funded the work of MESA's Research and Training Committee to support a review of scholarship on the Middle East. Most recently, MESA has benefitted from a National Endowment for the Humanities Challenge Grant, received in 1985, which helped provide a more solid financial foundation for the organization.

## Membership

MESA's membership has increased steadily. From a modest beginning with 307 in 1967, MESA grew to a membership of 2,372 in March 1991. The categories of membership have been three from the outset: fellow (now full), student and associate. Full members have PhDs, teach and publish in Middle East studies; student members must provide proof of full-time registration; associate members include those interested in Middle East studies, but not actively involved in academic pursuits.

Early on, the criteria for status as fellows were strictly applied. Membership as a fellow in the association was reserved for those who had a PhD in Middle Eastern studies, published and taught courses in the field, and had travelled in the Middle East. MESA has been more lax in recent years, allowing those who have received PhDs but not yet published to join as full members. Librarians are now also included as full members. Still, the category of full members is roughly coincident with that of faculty who belong to the organization.

MESA has included a relatively large proportion of student members since its early years. In 1967, 113 members, approximately 24 percent of the total, were students. By 1970 student membership was at 33 percent of the total. Student membership at that time included those who were employed as professors but had not yet completed their PhDs. Such individuals are now considered full members. MESA's 1990 student members constituted 20 percent of the total membership. This is a drop from the early years, but given the difference in membership criteria, may not in fact represent a marked change. A MESA Graduate Student Organization was formed in 1990; with increased services to student members, and higher visibility in the organization, the number can be expected to grow.

The proportion of associate membership has been steady over the years. In 1967, 11 percent of MESA's members were associates; in 1990, 11.2 percent of the members were in the associate category. Associate members do not vote in association elections. Retired members are included as a subcategory of membership; in 1990 all were full members. They constituted a small 3.6 percent of the membership. Full retired members have voting privileges, but pay reduced dues.

Table 1 provides more detailed information on the occupations of MESA members in 1990. The overwhelming majority of members are employed in academic or related professions. The Association's members include in their ranks a number of government employees, business people, and other professionals, as well as authors, a musician, and a sultan. Nonetheless, MESA is a scholarly association, with 88.8 percent being full and student members, actively involved in academic pursuits.

The interests of MESA's members have remained relatively constant. The disciplinary affiliations of MESA's founding fellows provide a good indication of the character of the association at its outset. Of the fifty founding fellows, a good half were equally divided between history and political science (25.5 percent each). Next most numerous were those with interests in literature and language (19.6 percent), anthropology (11.8 percent), Islamic studies and art (3.9 percent each), and the rest evenly divided among economics, philosophy, management, law, and sociology, to make up the remaining 9.8 percent. MESA's members in its first year were similarly distributed, with close to 40 percent in history, 26.8 percent in political science, and 12.4 percent in language and literature, according to figures provided by MESA's first executive secretary.

Table 1

**OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE**  
MESA Members, 1990

	Number	%
Adjunct Professor	39	2.6
Administrator	82	5.5
Architect	1	0.1
Assistant Professor	197	13.2
Associate Professor	163	10.9
Attorney	8	0.5
Author/Writer	6	0.4
Business	36	2.4
Clergy	2	0.1
Consultant	20	1.3
Economist	6	0.4
Editor/Publisher/Bookseller	32	2.1
Foundation/Funding	7	0.5
Government	46	3.1
Instructor/Teacher	28	1.9
Lecturer	23	1.5
Library/Information	33	2.2
Media	7	0.5
Medical	3	0.2
Military	4	0.3
Museum	11	0.7
Musician	1	0.1
Numismatist	2	0.1
Professor	297	19.8
Professor Emeritus	17	1.1
Researcher	59	3.9
Retired	11	0.7
Student	352	23.5
Sultan	1	0.1
Translator	3	0.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>1497</b>	<b>99.9</b>

Data based on August 1990 MESA members who provided occupation information. Total here and in the following tables does not always add up to 100 percent, due to rounding.

Table 2 indicates the specializations of MESA's full members resident in the U.S. in 1990. Historians have continued to have the largest representation among MESA members, and constituted 30.3 percent of the full membership. Political scientists make up a smaller share of the total, but are the next most numerous at 19.9 percent of the full members. Literature and language follow with 12.2 percent of the membership, a good bit less than the representation of those fields among the founding fellows. Anthropology's share is also smaller, but still significant at 10.7 percent, while sociology constitutes 4.4 percent. Religious studies comprises 4.1 percent, art and art history a small 2.0 percent, and other fields make up the remaining 11.5 percent of the association's members. Student specializations are similar and appear in Table 2A. Comparison of the two groups will be discussed below in Section 3.

Table 2

**SPECIALIZATION AND AGE PROFILE**  
MESA Full Members

Specialization	Totals		Under	25-	30-	35-	40-	45-	50-	55-	60-	65-	70-	75-	80+
	#	%	25	29	34	39	44	49	54	59	64	69	74	79	80+
Anthropology	98	10.7	0	0	2	10	23	23	11	8	5	4	2	0	0
Arts	18	2.0	0	0	0	1	8	4	2	1	2	0	0	0	0
Economics	26	2.8	0	1	1	4	4	5	1	6	1	1	2	0	0
History	279	30.3	0	1	11	22	49	60	46	28	36	15	11	0	0
Language/Linguistics	43	4.7	0	0	3	6	12	12	7	4	2	7	0	0	0
Library Science	20	2.2	0	0	1	4	3	2	4	3	1	1	1	0	0
Literature	69	7.5	0	1	3	6	12	20	11	5	6	4	1	0	0
Political Science	183	19.9	0	3	11	33	20	33	33	25	9	7	9	0	0
Religion/Philosophy	38	4.1	0	1	3	6	6	8	4	3	4	1	2	0	0
Sociology	40	4.4	0	0	2	12	4	10	2	3	3	3	1	0	0
Other	106	11.5	0	0	3	12	21	19	15	6	12	3	1	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>920</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>164</b>	<b>198</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>

Full Membership generally indicates those who are faculty. Data in Tables 2 and 2A based on August 1990 members, resident in the U.S., who provided date of birth information. "Other" includes geography, Middle Eastern studies, and other fields.

Table 2A

**SPECIALIZATION AND AGE PROFILE**  
MESA Student Members

Specialization	Totals		Under	25-	30-	35-	40-	45-	50-	55-	60-	65-	70-	75-	80+
	#	%	25	29	34	39	44	49	54	59	64	69	74	79	80+
Anthropology	17	6.6	1	5	3	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Arts	12	4.7	1	3	4	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Economics	6	2.3	0	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
History	79	30.6	2	26	30	12	6	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Language/Linguistics	12	4.7	0	1	5	3	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Library Science	0	0.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Literature	24	9.3	1	2	8	7	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Political Science	52	20.2	2	13	19	11	5	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Religion/Philosophy	9	3.5	0	1	4	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sociology	14	5.4	1	2	4	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	33	12.8	1	6	11	7	3	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>258</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>

The founding fellows were just that, all male. MESA's March 1991 membership included 32.6 percent women. This is one of the more notable changes in the organization's membership. MESA's full and associate membership includes 28.8 percent women, while 48 percent of student members are women. The overall proportion of female membership will increase substantially over time if female students continue to enter the field, complete their degrees, obtain academic jobs, and gain full membership status.

In an effort to determine the extent to which MESA's membership is representative of the national faculty in Middle East studies, we turned to our *1989 Directory of Programs* and information provided by National Resource Centers, and noted the proportion of faculty members at these federally funded Middle East centers who belonged to the association. The National Resource Centers include many of the well-established and prominent programs in the field. Their faculty provides a good gauge of the extent to which Middle East studies-related faculty belong to MESA.

There was a great deal of variability in this regard, ranging from a high of 93.1 percent of faculty belonging to MESA at the University of Utah and 84.4 percent at the University of Michigan, to a low of 15.8 percent at Berkeley. The reason for wide differences is due in part to the varying character of Middle East studies programs on different campuses. Faculty in a number of fields tend not to belong to MESA. These include Hebrew, Judaic studies, Ancient Near Eastern studies, Balkan studies and South Asian studies, all of which may be represented in lists of faculty associated with Middle East centers. These fields do not traditionally join MESA, preferring other professional associations such as the American Oriental Society, the Association for Jewish Studies, the Society of Biblical Literature, the National Association of Professors of Hebrew, or other area studies or discipline-based groups.

When faculty in these fields were subtracted from the total at given centers, the proportion of remaining faculty who belonged to MESA rose markedly. For example, faculty listed by the Middle East Center at the University of Texas, Austin included 48.7 percent MESA members; the corrected figures brought the percentage to 61.3 percent who belonged to MESA. Thus, although MESA cannot claim to provide an organizational home for all faculty in Middle East studies, it is the major professional association for study of the modern Middle East in North America, and a large proportion of faculty with such interests are members. Conclusions drawn from information provided by the MESA membership will represent, in large measure, the state of the field.

Information about the history of Middle East studies has been gathered from a number of sources, including *A History of MESA's First Years* by I. William Zartman, the *MESA Bulletin*, the *Middle East Journal*, and conversations with MESA members and staff at a number of centers.

Information about the MESA membership and Middle East studies also has been gleaned from a variety of sources. Most important are MESA's membership records. The association maintains a database with information on degrees held, birth date, citizenship, specializations, and area interests. MESA began to collect data on gender and ethnicity in 1991; data on gender for 1990 is from identification by name. Information on job categories is derived from titles and work addresses provided by members and so is to a degree incomplete; such information will be collected systematically in the future. For the purposes of this report we have, in most cases, restricted ourselves to use of data on full and student members resident in the U.S.

Use has also been made of MESA's *1989 Directory of Graduate and Undergraduate Programs and Courses in Middle East Studies in the United States, Canada, and Abroad*. The Directory contains information provided by the 196 programs included, and is published in alternate years. The 1989 issue is the most recent comprehensive source of information on programs. A questionnaire was mailed to National Resource Center (NRC) programs in Middle East studies to obtain additional information about courses offered, faculty, and students; six centers out of fourteen responded to our inquiries with important data.



Information on students and PhDs produced in Middle East studies is important to this report, and difficult to obtain. Not all NRC graduate programs in Middle East studies keep exact records on the number of students whose work relates to Middle East studies. In particular, students who do not apply for fellowships from the centers, and those in applied fields, often go unrecorded. Not all NRCs responded to our inquiries, so we have relied primarily on two sources of information. Data about MESA's student members has shaped our understanding of students' distribution among disciplines. Lists of dissertations produced in Middle East studies are included in the biannual *MESA Bulletin*. It is from these that information about PhDs has been derived. The *Bulletin's* editor requests such information from universities which are institutional members of MESA. These include all 14 NRCs and 22 other colleges and universities in the U.S. and Canada with programs in Middle East studies. Not all programs respond on a regular basis. Other programs may occasionally provide the editor with information, but it is not exhaustive. The editor believes that the coverage of dissertations provided in the *Bulletin* is incomplete in history and political science, and strongest in language and literature. Universities not included in those covered are omitted unless they submit information independently. University Microfilms has just begun to publish, by discipline, lists of dissertations related to Middle East studies. These will provide excellent sources of information for future study, but have not been available for this report.

In the summer of 1990, MESA undertook a survey of members aged 55 years and over to learn about retirement plans and the replacement of academic positions. Forty-nine percent responded to the questionnaire; 48 percent of the total questionnaires sent were relevant to the current study and counted. Responses were detailed and enlightening regarding the current status of Middle East studies in the United States. MESA's well-established members reflected thoughtfully on the questions posed, and provided important information, both qualitative and quantitative, for this study.

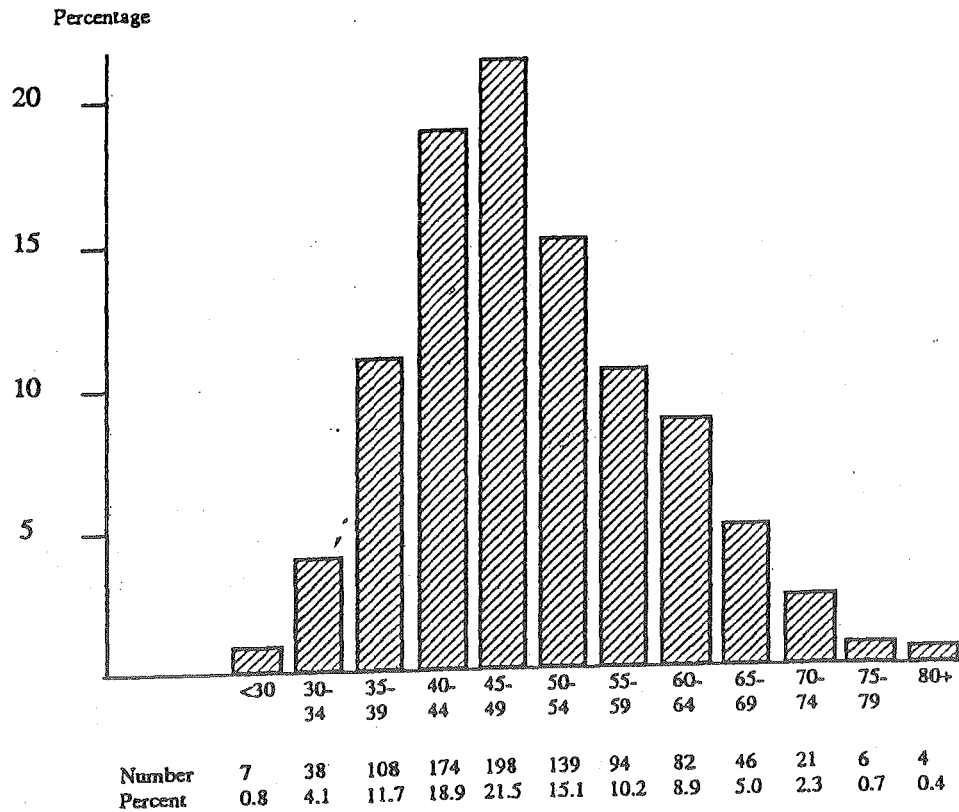
## FACULTY AND GRADUATE STUDENTS

In general, MESA full members are concentrated in the older age brackets (Graph 1), relative to the national faculty population, and in the higher academic ranks. Just over half of MESA's faculty of known rank and age cluster in the 40 to 54 year old age group (Table 3). Table 3A shows the percentage of MESA faculty in each rank, for faculty of known rank and gender. The upper reaches predominate, with 39.2 percent as professors, and 21.6 percent as associate professors. Assistant professors constitute 26.2 percent of the total faculty. All told, other ranks make up just over 13 percent of MESA's faculty population.

The situation of women faculty members of MESA, including the fact that they are clustered in the lower ranks, is clearly portrayed in Table 3A. Many women are relatively new to Middle East studies, and are just making their way through the academic hierarchy. Approximately 12.5 percent of all professors are women, while women constitute almost 38 percent of the assistant professors. Well over half of those who designated themselves lecturers are women (Table 3A). These proportions will alter if women continue to be hired, are promoted and tenured, and so gain greater representation in the higher academic ranks.

Graph 1

MESA MEMBERS FACULTY AGE PROFILE



Data based on August 1990 full members, resident in the U.S., who provided information on date of birth.

Table 3

MESA FACULTY BY RANK AND AGE

Faculty	Under 25	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80+
Professor	0	0	1	3	11	55	57	55	53	22	10	1	0
Associate Professor	0	0	0	7	41	54	22	11	11	3	0	0	0
Assistant Professor	0	2	19	59	49	29	7	3	1	0	0	0	0
Professor Emeritus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	5	1	2
Adjunct Professor	0	0	4	5	6	5	4	5	0	0	0	0	0
Lecturer	0	0	3	3	4	0	3	3	2	0	0	0	0
Instructor/Teacher	0	1	4	3	2	4	3	2	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>147</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>
% (base = 663)	0	.5	4.7	12.1	17.0	22.2	14.5	11.9	10.1	4.2	2.3	.3	.3

Data for Tables 3 and 3A based on August 1990 members who provided information on rank and date of birth.

Table 3A

## MESA FACULTY BY RANK AND GENDER

	Percentage of Total Males and Females in Each Rank						Percentage of Known Gender			
	Gender		Male	%	Female	%	Totals	%	Male	Female
	Unknown									
Professor	12	247	47.5	35	17.9	294	39.2	87.6	12.4	
Associate Professor	12	98	18.9	52	26.5	162	21.6	65.3	34.7	
Assistant Professor	6	119	22.9	72	36.7	197	26.2	62.3	37.7	
Professor Emeritus	0	16	3.1	1	0.5	17	2.3	94.1	5.9	
Adjunct Professor	4	16	3.1	14	7.1	34	4.5	53.3	46.7	
Lecturer	0	10	1.9	13	6.6	23	3.1	43.5	56.5	
Instructor/Teacher	1	14	2.7	9	4.6	24	3.2	60.9	39.1	
<b>Total</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>520</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>196</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>751</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>72.6</b>	<b>27.4</b>	

To compare Middle East studies faculty with U.S. faculty in general, we examined the age distribution of MESA full members alongside that of faculty in the U.S. as reported in Bowen and Sosa, *Prospects for Faculty in the Arts & Sciences* (1989). Table 4 records this comparison. Faculty of known age at National Resource Centers in Middle East studies were also included in the chart, on the assumption that such academic centers are among the most prestigious in the field, and are located at universities where a large number of graduate students are trained. Information about this group is of great importance to this report. Not surprisingly, faculty at the NRCs tend to be older than the general pool. It takes longer to attain the qualifications which result in hiring and promotion at such institutions.

Since most MESA full members are in the humanities and social sciences, it is most informative to compare them with Bowen and Sosa's figures on that group (Table 4). While 20.3 percent of the H & S group are under 40, only 18.1 percent of MESA's faculty are below 40. An even lower 16.3 percent of NRC faculty are in the under 40 age group. In the mid-range group, 40 percent of humanities and social science faculty are between 40 and 49 years of age; MESA full members are exactly the same, with a lower 36.2 percent in this group at the NRCs. The small NRC group corresponds to its counterpart at Research I institutions surveyed by Bowen and Sosa (1989: 18), where 36.6 percent were in the 40-49 age group.

Most striking are the differences in the over 49 year age group. 39.7 percent of the national humanities and social sciences faculty fall into this category, compared to 41.9 percent of MESA's faculty, and 47.5 percent of NRC faculty. Bowen and Sosa concluded that the age distribution in the humanities and social sciences in general, and at Research I institutions in particular, bodes ill for the future of the academic community in the United States. There are serious doubts that sufficient numbers of younger faculty will be trained and prepared to replace the large numbers who will retire in the near future. The age profile of Middle East studies faculty suggests strongly that faculty in the field may very soon be in short supply. It is difficult to predict accurately the number of students who will be trained, and the number of those who will pursue academic careers. Nonetheless, the age profile alone, with its heavy weighting in the older groups, is cause for concern.

Table 4

**MESA FACULTY AGE DISTRIBUTION BY SECTORS**  
(percent)

	Under 40	40-49	Over 49
All Faculty (Bowen/Sosa 1987*)	21.7	39.4	38.9
Humanities & Social Sciences	20.3	40.0	39.7
Humanities	16.4	39.8	43.8
Social Sciences	25.2	40.3	34.5
Faculty in Middle East Studies** (1990)			
MESA Members	18.1	40.0	41.9
National Resource Centers	16.3	36.2	47.5

\*From Bowen and Sosa (1989), Table 2.2, p. 19.

\*\*Data based on October 1990 full members in MESA, for those who provided date of birth information.

Table 5 provides startling confirmation that large numbers of Middle East studies faculty are likely to retire in the near future. Using overall five-year exit probabilities supplied by Bowen and Sosa, we calculated the faculty exits of MESA full members. These are recorded in Table 5 and represent the number and percentage of MESA full members who can be expected to leave the field of Middle East studies, beginning in 1990. The largest percentage (23.3 percent) is predicted to exit in the years 1990-94, with substantial percentages also leaving in the years from 2000 to 2009. It appears that the need for faculty in Middle East studies will be substantial and immediate, if those who retire are to be replaced. The question of faculty replacement is addressed in the next section of this report.

Table 5

**PROJECTED FACULTY EXITS\* FROM FIELD, 1990-2009**

	Number	%
1990-94	913	23.3
1995-99	700	13.4
2000-04	547	16.2
2005-09	399	16.3

\*\*Exits" include losses due to departures from the field, retirements, and deaths.

\*\*Based on age profile of MESA full members (Table 2) projected according to overall five-year exit probabilities provided by Bowen and Sosa (1989), chapter 2 and appendix B; standard quit assumptions.

The disciplinary distribution of MESA faculty is also important, particularly given the concern about impending retirements and the potential lack of replacements. Some disciplines may be better prepared for the future than others. As noted earlier, the distribution of faculty by disciplinary interests follows the traditional MESA pattern, with most in history, followed by political science, language, linguistics and literature. It is significant, however, that while 20 members in the 45-49 year age group note literature as a specialty, only 12 in the previous five-year cohort do. This imbalance raises questions about the future supply of literature specialists.

Information in Table 6 compares faculty and student interests; it provides additional and perhaps cheering information. While 12.2 percent of the faculty recorded specializations in language and literature, 14 percent of the students did so. In particular, a greater proportion of students (9.3 percent) cited an interest in literature than did faculty (7.5 percent). However, the greater expressed interest in literature may itself be a cause for concern, since it may be at the expense of language studies. At issue is the fact that, in general, studies of literature are more seriously regarded in academic settings than is the teaching of language. This is, at base, the distinction between teaching and research which is so problematic on many campuses. Tenure decisions often are based on research accomplishments, yet a strong language program depends on fine teaching. These difficulties are not unique to Middle East studies, but may have an unfortunate effect on the future of Middle East language teaching. Even those who list language study as the area of their specialization in MESA membership records may in fact wish to concentrate on studies of literature rather than language teaching. Those who are hired to teach language may prefer to teach literature or linguistics courses, and do so as soon as their positions are secure. Although our statistics, with linguistics and language combined, do not confirm the lack of prospective language teachers that is foretold, we do believe it is an area that merits attention.

Table 6.

**SPECIALIZATION OF FACULTY AND GRADUATE STUDENTS  
MESA**

Discipline	Faculty		Students	
	Number	%	Number	%
Anthropology	98	10.7	17	6.6
Arts	18	2.0	12	4.7
Economics	26	2.8	6	2.3
History	279	30.3	79	30.6
Political Science	183	19.9	52	20.2
Language/Linguistics	43	4.7	12	4.7
Library/Information Science	20	2.2	0	0
Literature	69	7.5	24	9.3
Religion/Philosophy	38	4.1	9	3.5
Sociology	40	4.4	14	5.4
Other	106	11.5	33	12.8
<b>Totals</b>	<b>920</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>258</b>	<b>100</b>

Data based on August 1990 members, resident in the U.S. "Other" includes geography, Middle Eastern studies, and other fields.

Student interest is notably lower than that of the faculty in anthropology. Faced with a choice dictated by limited budgets, anthropology students interested in the Middle East may prefer to join the American Anthropological Association. Although no students are listed in library science, students of library science may join a professional library association, rather than MESA. Nonetheless, there is in general a remarkable congruence between the interests of faculty and those of students who are MESA members.

A number of factors contribute to doubts about the future availability of faculty in certain fields. Not all students will remain in the U.S. or, if they do, seek academic employment. One center director cautioned that, "most of the students we are training in Middle East studies are not likely to contribute to U.S. academic

programs. Many are foreign students who will return home, and the Americans (in our program) are often in the military or seek employment in one of the various national security programs."

Although the students in question may not be representative of other centers' student populations, the comments do suggest that raw numbers of students in a given discipline or program are not in themselves meaningful. Knowledge of students' future plans is needed to interpret the statistics.

Potential problem areas, which do not surface clearly in the tables, were expressed by some members in our survey of those 55 years and over and in responses to the questionnaire sent to National Resource Centers. MESA members reported difficulty in replacing existing positions in economics and sociology. This was not due always to departmental disinterest, but rather to the lack of viable candidates for positions.

Although there appears to be a sufficient group of sociology students in line, MESA's membership records indicate that just over half of these students are non-U.S. citizens. Georges Sabagh and Iman Ghazalla have described a "thrust to indigenization" in their article, "Arab Sociology Today: A View from Within," in the 1986 *Annual Review of Sociology*. They cite a 1983-84 survey of 84 Arab sociologists, only 16 of whom lived in the U.S., Canada, or France. Half of those who responded had received their PhDs in the U.S. A 1976 survey yielded similar results. There is a likelihood then, that sociology students who are not U.S. citizens will return to their home countries when their degrees are completed. A vacuum, as far as sociologists available for hire in the U.S., will be left in their wake. It may well be that Middle Eastern sociologists follow the pattern of studying their own societies, unlike anthropologists who routinely venture beyond their home milieux. Indeed, a good 80 percent of the anthropology student members of MESA are U.S. citizens. Interestingly, similar citizenship percentages obtain for full members in these fields who are resident in the U.S.

The field most likely to suffer from an imbalance due to citizenship, unless most of the students plan to remain in the United States, is economics. While half of the faculty in this field are U.S. citizens, virtually none of the students are. One center director predicts a reduction in course offerings in both geography and economics on his campus. He attributes the situation in economics to "the potential inability to secure a person with a strong commitment to the Middle East" and adds that this "will reflect priorities emphasizing fundable areas of research." Within Middle East studies, economics has a dim future unless concerted efforts are made to recruit students who intend to remain in the U.S., will have strong theoretical backgrounds in the field, and choose to seek academic employment. In our survey of faculty at or nearing retirement age, 80% of those in economics said their positions would not be or had not been replaced; and although not included in Table 9, one of the two geographers who responded answered negatively.

Additional information about the student population can be gained from attention to the production of PhDs in the field. With the qualifications noted earlier in the discussion of data sources in mind, information provided by NRCs and in the *MESA Bulletin* is of interest. Table 7 notes the number and proportion of MA and PhD students in various fields at five National Resource Centers. In a number of fields, the proportion of PhD students is far greater than MA students. These are anthropology, arts, economics and history. The percentages are more equal in political science. MA students predominate in language, linguistics and literature, and religion. This may be due to the nature of employment opportunities in these fields and, of course, some of these students will go on to obtain the PhD.

Table 7

## MESA MA &amp; PhD STUDENTS AT NATIONAL RESOURCE CENTERS\*

	MA		PhD	
	Number	%	Number	%
Anthropology	3	2.6	24	11.1
Arts	1	0.9	7	3.2
Economics	0	0	2	0.9
History	10	8.5	56	25.9
Language/Linguistics/Literature	33	28.2	30	13.9
Library Science	0	0	0	0
Political Science	20	17.1	31	14.4
Religion/Philosophy**	4	3.4	1	0.5
Sociology	0	0	2	0.9
Other**	46	39.3	63	29.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>216</b>	<b>100</b>

% MA = 35.1    % PhD = 64.9

\*Data obtained from responding centers: Harvard University; Princeton University; University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; University of Utah; University of Washington.

\*\*"Religion/Philosophy" includes Islamic studies. "Other" includes geography, Middle Eastern studies, and other fields.

Table 8

PhDs PRODUCED IN MIDDLE EAST STUDIES  
MESA, 1988 and 1989\*

Discipline	National Resource Centers		Non-NRC		Totals	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Anthropology	8	80	2	20	10	100
Arts	4	100	0	0	4	100
Economics	9	53	8	47	17	100
History	23	79	6	21	29	100
Language/Literature/Linguistics	28	88	4	12	32	100
Library/Information Science	0	0	0	0	0	0
Political Science	19	63	11	37	30	100
Religion/Philosophy**	12	80	3	20	15	100
Sociology	16	67	8	33	24	100
Other**	7	35	13	65	20	100
<b>Total</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>181</b>	<b>100</b>

\*Source: *MESA Bulletin*, December 1988, 1989 and July 1989, 1990.

\*\*"Religion/Philosophy" includes Islamic studies. "Other" includes geography, Middle Eastern studies, and other fields.

The importance of the National Resource Centers in training Middle East studies experts is suggested by Table 8. PhDs produced in 1988 and 1989, as recorded in the *MESA Bulletin*, are listed by discipline. The National Resource Centers produced 70.9 percent of the PhDs listed in 1988, and 67.9 percent of those in 1989. The figures may include a disproportionate number of NRC students, due to the institutions from which information is gathered. These include all those with NRCs, and 22 other colleges and universities. Not all of these provide information regularly. Although we cannot regard these figures as absolutely authoritative, they do provide some measure of the National Resource Centers' significance. It appears that the NRCs have produced a large percentage of the degrees in most fields, including all of those in art history. The one field where other institutions are significant is economics. Given the difficulty in replacing positions in economics, one wonders how many of those who earn PhDs in economics of the Middle East go on to academic jobs.

Numbers of PhDs appear to be constant in certain fields, including anthropology, history, political science, and sociology. More erratic are numbers recorded for art/art history, economics, language related fields, and religion. Trends cannot be discussed based on information for only two years.

Lacking detailed information on the numbers of students who are being trained in Middle East studies, it is difficult to make accurate forecasts about the number of potential faculty that exist to fill future needs. However, information on the proportion of students in various fields is revealing, and suggests areas where significant gaps may occur. This, in combination with qualitative information provided by center directors and others, draws our attention to the fields of sociology, economics, and possibly language and geography as areas wanting particular attention. The difficulty of obtaining and interpreting information about degrees awarded in Middle East studies indicates the need for a concerted effort to collect such data in an organized fashion.

## PROJECTED SUPPLY OF FACULTY

Perhaps most revealing of the current state of Middle East studies on U.S. campuses and prospects for the field's future were comments provided by MESA members near or post-retirement. In answer to a questionnaire mailed in the summer of 1990 to all MESA members resident in the U.S. and aged 55 years or older, respondents provided thoughtful assessments of the field to which they have devoted much of their academic careers. Based on experience and personal commitment, their comments should be taken very seriously. Members surveyed were asked if they felt their positions, including expertise in Middle East studies, would be replaced upon their retirement. Those who had already retired were asked if their positions had been replaced. Respondents were also asked to indicate their actual or predicted age at retirement, if they taught at a public or private institution, and were invited to comment on the current state of Middle East studies, as well as Middle East studies at their own institutions.

Of those who answered the questionnaire and had already retired, 48 percent retired at 64 or 65 years of age. 43 percent of those who predicted their age of retirement indicated those ages. It may be that they, like their predecessors, will retire earlier than anticipated. A similar difference existed in relation to the upper reaches of retirement ages. 24 percent actually retired at age 70 or above; 36 percent predicted that they would do so. All others predicted or recorded actual retirement ages between 65 and 70. In estimating the time at which faculty will retire, it is probably more accurate to rely on the actual figures, and to assume that almost half will retire at age 65. Information offered in answer to our questionnaire provides an additional indication that large-scale retirements in Middle East studies are imminent. According to the survey's results, the largest



single group, 15 percent of those surveyed, will retire in 1997 and 1998. Proportions ranging from 11 percent to 14 percent plan to retire in the other two year periods between 1991 and 1992 (11 percent) and 1999 and 2000 (13 percent). The group surveyed recorded between 2 and 4 percent retiring in each two year period after 2000, when faculty aged 55 in 1990 would be 66.

The most obvious trend that surfaced in MESA's survey was the difference in the security of positions in Middle East studies at private and public institutions. Although the situation was not entirely encouraging in either setting, 59 percent of those surveyed who taught at private institutions reported that their positions had been or would be replaced; a much lower 47 percent from public institutions replied positively (Table 9).

Table 9

**REPLACEMENT OF POSITIONS  
MESA**

Institution Type	Yes		No		Uncertain		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Public	36	47	27	36	13	17	76	100
Private	22	59	10	27	5	15	37	100
Other (e.g. res. inst.)	3	50	1	17	2	33	6	100
<b>Total</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>By Discipline</b>								
Anthropology	1	20	2	40	2	40	5	100
Arts	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Economics	1	20	4	80	0	0	5	100
History	24	56	12	28	7	16	43	100
Language/Literature/ Linguistics	10	63	3	19	3	19	16	100
Library/Information Science	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Political Science	12	50	8	33	4	17	24	100
Religion/Philosophy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sociology	1	17	4	68	1	17	6	100
Other	12	52	5	22	6	26	23	100
<b>Total</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>100</b>

Based on response to a questionnaire mailed to all MESA members aged 55 and over in summer 1990. Of 249 questionnaires mailed, 122 were returned. Of these, 119 (48 percent of the total sent) were relevant and counted.

Those whose positions had not been, or likely would not be replaced, voiced similar concerns. Not surprisingly, the most frequently cited reasons for lack of replacement were financial. State budgets loom large in hiring decisions at public institutions, and are assumed to be an important factor in the difference in responses. One respondent from a large mid-western state university commented that, "Unless there is an infusion of large amounts of money from the Federal Government, even well-established Centers of Middle

East studies will suffer." Faculty from relatively secure programs agreed. Clearly, dependence on state funds puts Middle East studies at risk. The fact that only 59 percent of faculty at private institutions noted that their positions had been or would be replaced is also troubling. It appears that many positions are being lost for reasons which are discussed below.

Center directors noted the erosion of external funding for Middle East studies in recent years. Even when federal funds to a center have remained steady over a number of years, the real dollar value of support has decreased due to inflation. The virtual absence of funding from Middle Eastern countries, once a substantial source of support, was also noted by two directors.

Departmental hiring priorities were another concern. Middle East studies frequently were seen as a frill, not an essential element in a curriculum where the teaching of "bread and butter" courses such as world history and history of the U.S. are high priorities. Faculty with Middle East expertise found that they were not always able to offer courses on the Middle East, due to heavy teaching loads in basic courses.

Disciplines do not fare equally in the extent to which faculty surveyed reported that positions would be replaced. Table 9 indicates the percentages reported by responding faculty, according to discipline. Most secure are MESA's traditional constituencies: history, political science, and language and literature. Even here there was no assumption that all positions would be replaced, and negative responses ranged from 19 to 33 percent. In most dire straits were the fields of economics (20 percent yes, 80 percent no) and sociology (17 percent yes, 68 percent no). In both these areas faculty commented on the difficulty of finding suitable replacements. Where administrations were inclined to replace retiring faculty, and to include Middle East expertise in the job description, there simply was not a viable pool of candidates from which to draw. Anthropology fared not much better, with a mere 20 percent sure that their positions would be continued, and 40 percent sure that they would not. A very high 40 percent were uncertain. In a large number of instances, faculty commented that hiring decisions would be made based on theoretical interests, not area studies expertise. While our sample in these fields is small, there are few scholars involved overall. The figures do suggest areas of concern. We received no responses from faculty in art, art history, library science, or religious studies and so cannot speculate on these areas.

University-wide priorities and administrative indifference to Middle East studies were also identified as serious stumbling blocks to the development of Middle East studies. In a number of cases, administrations related funding priorities to class size. This is a disappointing trend given the importance of the Middle East in world affairs and the inevitably low class size in certain Middle East studies courses. In such a situation less commonly taught languages of the Middle East, such as Persian and Turkish, are early casualties in a budget crisis.

Where faculty are replaced, some backsliding can occur. An eminent professor at a major private university reported that he had expected to be replaced by a full professor. Budgetary constraints dictated that his successor be a visiting assistant professor who, it is hoped, will be given a tenure track position. This is not an isolated incident.

A division of labor among universities was also cited as an issue. Often only the largest state university was seen as able to afford the luxury of Middle East studies. For example, it was reported that because the University of Texas has a strong Middle East studies program, the University of Houston chooses to turn its

attention elsewhere. Similar situations were reported in Michigan and California. Such justifications are not always well-founded. In one such instance, the Center program cited is thriving, but another is foundering. In other cases, universities were said to emphasize certain world areas, such as Latin America or Eastern Europe, to the exclusion of other regions. It is entirely likely that large numbers of students will traverse their undergraduate careers without encountering any aspect of Middle East studies in their coursework.

Faculty at colleges and universities lacking a Middle East center lamented their isolation. Yet, even where a center does exist, it may not be able to strengthen the presence of Middle East studies on campus if it cannot make faculty appointments, admit students, or grant degrees. Reliance on disciplinary departments places the center in a weak position, with no obvious defender in the university bureaucracy. Where Middle East centers are able to contribute funds to faculty salaries, in some cases as seed money to establish new positions, they have been able to influence hiring decisions.

Political problems occasioned by circumstances in the Middle East also appear to affect university and departmental decisions. One respondent reported his college to be "frightened by the Middle East, especially the Israeli/Palestinian conflict." The fright sometimes translates into an avoidance of courses on the area. Another noted the public mood on the Middle East as a determinant of state funding priorities. World events can spark student interest at certain points in time, but, as one person remarked, such interest is "crisis-driven," not occasioned by genuine interest in the culture, religion or history of the area, and likely to be short-lived. Outside funding, from federal and private sources, is essential if decisions about university programs are to be made based on academic merit, not financial exigency or local politics.

The field of Middle East librarianship suffers from the same difficulties as other areas in Middle East studies. Shortages of funds translate into staffing cutbacks, and reduction in the budgets for collections. Middle East studies is frequently viewed as expendable, relative to other subjects. This problem is particularly pronounced at state universities.

Fortunately, the situation of Middle East studies does not appear bleak on all campuses. College and university commitments to courses on the third world and international studies in general provide some support for Middle East studies. Where general education requirements included coursework on non-Western culture, enrollments in Middle East studies courses rose markedly. Given administrators' inclination to attend to course enrollments, this is a cheering development. The institution of such requirements has affected both course offerings and hiring decisions on some campuses.

In a few instances, special temporary funding provided by private foundations has bolstered growing or already strong programs. One center director noted that "Mellon grants for younger scholars and faculty are significantly changing prospects for funding certain programs, especially in the development of language courses." There was some concern that temporary funding provides a shaky foundation, but it is hoped that Middle East studies programs can prosper and make secure places for themselves on campus with the support of such funding. The presence of a special institute, center, or program such as the World Education Center at the University of Connecticut, or the program in ethnic and third world literature at the University of Texas, can serve as supportive elements to the preservation and development of Middle East studies.

On some campuses Middle East studies flourish in applied fields, such as business, engineering and agriculture. Here, not surprisingly, commercial interests play an important role in defining university

priorities. At these institutions there is not always concomitant support of Middle East studies in the more conventional disciplines such as languages, history, and social sciences, yet these more traditional areas of study provide vital support for the preparation of students in the applied programs.

## CONCLUSIONS

Middle East studies appears likely to suffer in future years if remedial steps are not taken. In particular, losses have begun to occur, and are likely to continue, on two fronts. Retirement of senior faculty members will become particularly evident throughout the 1990s. Given that a large number of Middle East studies faculty are concentrated in the higher ranks, this is a worrisome prospect. The fact that existing positions in Middle East studies are not always being replaced when faculty retire is an additional cause for concern. As noted above, this is a particular problem at state institutions, but private institutions are undergoing losses of Middle East studies faculty as well.

Funding shortages are often at the root of the failure to replace Middle East studies faculty. Where Middle East studies is viewed as dessert, in comparison to the meaty stuff of traditional disciplines, it is likely to be eliminated when university belts are tightened. The influx of funds from private or federal sources is necessary if the situation is to be corrected. A number of universities have benefitted from private grants; but additional funding is needed if more institutions are to maintain or strengthen their programs. Funding from outside sources is crucial, not only to supplement scanty local funds, but also to assure that decisions will be made on the basis of a program's strength and promise, rather than its perceived political ramifications in a local context.

If Middle East centers are to improve the position of the field on their campuses, they need to be able to influence hiring decisions. Some funding from external sources could be earmarked to be contributed for the development of positions. This could be shared with disciplinary departments if suitable candidates with Middle East expertise are identified and hired.

A few fields are in special need of support. These are sociology, economics, and probably languages. If the situations of sociology and economics are not treated soon, there may be no faculty left to train incoming students. Indeed, at this point, there are few students to train and there is reason to believe that some of those may not remain in the U.S. Also, the teaching and study of Middle Eastern languages are fundamental to any developments in the field, and are to be encouraged. Where professional and applied fields in Middle East studies are strengthened on a campus, additional resources should be provided to facilitate the training of those students in the languages, history and culture of the area. Our study also suggests that the fields of anthropology and geography warrant attention.

Apart from an increase in funding, several measures can be taken to improve the status of area studies in general. Area studies colleagues need not see themselves as in competition for limited resources. On individual campuses the institution of general education requirements in non-Western culture and international studies will assure that undergraduate students encounter this important material, and create a secure place for area studies faculty within the university community.

During the Gulf War, Middle East studies centers and research institutes were besieged with requests for information. Many professors and researchers put their own work on hold, and devoted prodigious amounts of time to lecturing in their communities, media interviews, teach-ins, and writing in response to current events. A number of campuses reported large increases in student enrollments in Middle East studies courses during the crisis. At that particular moment in time, Middle East studies could not be dismissed as an expendable item in the curriculum. However, renewed interest in Middle East studies seems to last as long as media attention is focused on the area. When the fighting ended, there was an abrupt drop in the number of inquiries made of Middle East specialists. While the war's end was welcomed, the realization that the Middle East was once again receding into the background of the popular imagination was sobering and lamentable. Investment in Middle East studies cannot be limited to those historical instants when things fall apart, if well-trained specialists are to be available when they are needed. Only a lasting commitment to the development of Middle East studies will assure the continuing existence of an able group of experts who can contribute to our understanding and inform the public and policy makers.



# CONCLUSIONS

The advantages of having undertaken this study in joint collaboration will be obvious to anyone who has read through these reports. Each of them informs the others, highlighting similarities that reflect general tendencies in area studies, while underscoring the unique features of the different fields. The comparative perspective they open facilitates assessment of trends within the various sectors, and makes it possible to speak with greater confidence about developments within area studies as a whole.

One of the striking, though hardly surprising, aspects of the historical overviews of the various fields and their professional associations is the similarity in patterns of evolution. Although some had earlier beginnings than others, all experienced vital surges as a result of the internationalization or globalization of American popular consciousness brought about by the Second World War. The 1960s witnessed unprecedented gains as area studies in all fields expanded and became increasingly institutionalized in higher education. No less universal was the receding of the wave and the retrenchment of the following decade, due primarily to budgetary problems confronting universities, and the withdrawal of private and public funding support. This was a difficult time for higher education. Humanities and social sciences across the board were broadly affected, but area studies, as relative latecomers to the scene, were particularly hard hit.

It is notable that one of the earliest academic interests in foreign areas was in literature, and that the longest-established area studies fields still retain strong, although perhaps declining, interest in that discipline. In recent decades political science, and the social sciences in general, have claimed a growing share of area studies programs. Those branches established most recently (African and Middle East studies) reflect that shift. It appears that the fields last to emerge have also been most sensitive to political issues. In some cases these sensitivities have led to stresses within the learned societies. In others, they have produced a studied and carefully maintained apoliticism. Political science is the second most popular specialization in all branches of area studies except for the Soviet and East European field, and that exception may be short-lived since students are currently pursuing the discipline at twice the rate of faculty.

But as Table 1 makes clear, it is history that dominates area studies, claiming the largest share of faculty specialization in every one of the area fields surveyed. In the African studies field student interest in history appears to be down, but elsewhere the discipline is holding strong.

Table 1

**LEADING SPECIALIZATIONS OF FACULTY IN AREA STUDIES**  
(percent of NCASA faculty)

Field of Studies	First	Second	Third
ASA (African)	History (25)	Political Science (22)	Anthropology (14)
AAASS (Soviet/East European)	History (34)	Literature (19)	Political Science (17)
AAS (Asian)	History (26)	Political Science (14)	Literature (11)
LASA (Latin American)	History (27)	Political Science (22)	Lit/Lang/Ling (19)
MESA (Middle East)	History (30)	Political Science (20)	Anthropology (11)

Language study, the *sine qua non* of all area studies, appears to claim a small proportion of all fields, but the explanation for this is that much of the data presented here is for faculty who are members of the area associations. Since some language specialists prefer to join language-focused organizations rather than the multi-disciplinary area societies, the extent of language study is under-represented in those tables based solely on membership in the area studies organizations.

All area study fields, including those strongest in social sciences, show remarkably little interest in economics. In some, there are grounds for concern that impending retirements will deprive the field of the ability to train future specialists. The problem is compounded by a shortage of trainees, since students show declining interest in area specialization in economics. This may well be due to the reluctance of economics departments to take on area specialists, coupled with a growing tendency in the social sciences toward broader theoretical approaches to scholarship. This tendency may have limited advances in sociology within area studies as well. However, the minuscule representation of geographers (so small that it could not be shown as a separate category in these reports) appears to be just part of the generally woeful state of that discipline in American education.

On the brighter side, all of the area studies fields note significant growth in the proportion of women, and anticipate continuing gains in this direction since the ratio of women is highest in the youngest age categories. Women account for almost one-third of all faculty in area studies at present, but for a full half of the youngest cohorts. They are relatively under-represented in the top faculty ranks, but the situation is expected to improve as younger women advance through the professoriate.

Since one of the motivating forces prompting this survey was the question of faculty supply in area studies in the years ahead, the findings relating to this topic are of particular interest. The reactions of the investigators ranged from moderate complacency to "viewing with alarm." And in fact the data show differences in status that justify the range.

National studies that suggest a coming shortage of faculty in the humanities and social sciences reached that conclusion on the basis of projections of the supply and demand for faculty. The investigators in this study found it difficult to estimate demand within their branches of area studies. This involves such indeterminables as student enrollment levels within the field (which could vary substantially from general enrollment levels based on demographic trends), and economic factors ranging from academic budgets to the market for non-academic area specialists. It is obvious that world developments, such as the Gulf crisis, have a strong impact on area studies, but the nature and consequences of such developments do not lend themselves to confident forecasting.

It is clear, however, that demand for area studies faculty will be affected by departmental and administrative decisions regarding the replacement of retiring faculty. The information on replacement projections provided in these reports (summarized in Table 2) suggests that about two-thirds of all current faculty facing retirement expect to be replaced. If these expectations are realized, and if some of the less optimistic or uncertain faculty are also replaced, there will be substantial replacement demand in addition to the new demand for area specialists, both academic and non-academic, that can be expected to arise as globalization continues.



Table 2

**FACULTY REPLACEMENT EXPECTATIONS**  
(percent of respondents 55 and over)

Field of Studies	Replacement Expected	Replacement Not Expected	Uncertain
ASA (African)	67	17	15
AAASS (Soviet/East European)	61	23	16
AAS (Asian)	65	8	27
LASA (Latin American)	86	14	—
MESA (Middle East)	51	32	17

When its senior members were surveyed last year, the Middle East studies field was notably less sanguine than others about the prospects for faculty replacement. However, the recent sharp escalation of American interest in the area, and the likelihood of continuing instability there, may well raise replacement ratios above expectations. The positive response of the Latin Americanists, on the other hand, may have been boosted by the fact that the questionnaire they received provided for only a "yes or no" reply.

The question of how many faculty members will be available to meet academic demand can be dealt with more satisfactorily. From information presented in these reports it is clear that the faculty in area studies generally tends to be older than the (already heightened) national average in the humanities and social sciences. To a large extent the pattern results from the developmental history of area studies. Although all area fields were affected by the setbacks of the 1970s and early 80s, the circumstances and consequences in each differed. In some cases, the inability to take on younger faculty during this period led eventually to faculty age profiles that vary significantly from the national norm. The age distribution of faculty in area studies can be compared with that in humanities and social sciences nationally in Table 3.

Table 3

**FACULTY AGE PROFILE**

	under 40	40-49	over 49
All Humanities & Social Sciences*	20.3	40.0	39.7
ASA (African)	24.0	38.4	37.6
AAASS (Soviet/East European)	21.0	32.5	46.5
AAS (Asian)	17.0	35.0	48.0
LASA (Latin American)	23.1	43.4	33.5
MESA (Middle East)	18.1	40.0	41.9

\*All figures for HSS here and below are from Bowen & Sosa and are for 1987; they are provided for comparative purposes. The area studies data are for 1990.

The only fields in which the proportion of faculty in the highest age group falls below the national average for humanities and social sciences are the African and Latin American studies. The Asianists have the highest proportion of faculty in the top age bracket, with over 7 percent of the faculty of known age at 70 or above. Yet when exit probabilities are calculated with the Bowen and Sosa formula, Asian studies do not show the highest future loss rates since the formula places all faculty 65 and over in the same statistical category for retirement projections.

The projected faculty departure rates (Table 4), therefore, show a slightly different pattern. Although the five-year intervals are not fully coincident, the data for all humanities and social sciences faculty are appended for comparison.

Table 4

**ESTIMATED EXIT RATES OF PRESENT (1990) FACULTY**

	1990-94	1995-99	2000-04	2005-09
ASA (African)	17.7	16.0	17.8	17.5
AAASS (Soviet/East European)	26.8	15.9	15.2	14.4
AAS (Asian)	23.0	18.2	16.7	NA
LASA (Latin American)	19.9	14.6	15.5	17.4
MESA (Middle East)	23.3	13.4	16.2	16.3
	1987-92	1992-97	1997-2002	2002-07
All Humanities & Social Sciences	19.6	17.2	16.9	16.8

The data show that area studies are likely to experience a considerable, though unevenly distributed, loss of faculty in the years immediately ahead. If the assumptions on which the Bowen and Sosa exit rate projections are based are valid and a loss of faculty in the humanities and social sciences lies ahead, then the losses in area studies will be particularly heavy. Moreover, the calculations yielding the figures presented here made use of the "standard quit" assumptions. Had the "high quit" assumptions been employed, the projected losses would be much higher.

The only exceptions to the strong exit pattern in area studies, as might be expected, are the African and Latin American studies fields. This is due to their younger age profiles. After the turn of the century both fields can expect to have a slightly higher than average exit rate, but they should have reinforcements at hand, thanks to the current balance of young cohorts.

Asian studies and Middle East studies face a substantial exodus of faculty in the current five year period. The situation should improve markedly thereafter in the Middle Eastern field, but a heavier than average outflow is likely to persist throughout the decade in Asian studies.

The most severe losses in the next five years will be in the field of Soviet and East European studies, where faculty exits will be half again as high as the national averages for the humanities and social sciences. This outflow will come at a time when the field is expecting heightened activity as a result of recent and ongoing developments in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

Projected total losses by the end of the century across the four area studies fields are summarized in Table 5.

Table 5

**ANTICIPATED LOSS OF AREA STUDIES FACULTY, 1990-2000**  
(percent of faculty present in 1990)

<b>Field of Studies</b>	
ASA (African)	33.7
AAASS (Soviet/East European)	42.7
AAS (Asian)	41.2
LASA (Latin American)	34.5
MESA (Middle East)	36.7

The overall loss in all humanities and social sciences (for 1987-97) is expected to be 36.8 percent. However, the humanities will lose 37.6 percent of their faculty, while the social sciences can expect slightly less attrition with a loss of 35.7 percent. This difference explains a part of the difference in loss rates among the area studies fields. Soviet/East European studies, the field with the highest proportion of humanists, will have the highest loss of faculty, while African studies, with the lowest share of humanists, will experience the lightest loss.

The question of whether the current pool of graduate students and junior faculty will be adequate to fill the gaps created by imminent faculty departures finds different answers in the different fields, due largely to the variance in their age distribution curves and the ratio of age sectors within each field.

Asian studies face a particularly complex problem of assessment since levels of faculty and student interest vary strikingly from one geographic region to another. Regions such as Japan, Korea, and perhaps China, are likely to be able to maintain themselves, although the disciplinary focus of scholarship on these areas has narrowed in response to market demand. Studies of other regions within the Asian field are likely to suffer setbacks as senior scholars depart. An unusually low proportion of Asianists in the youngest age bracket also raises concern about long-term prospects for the field.

The Soviet and East European field, which has to date placed an unusually high proportion of its trained specialists in academia, is likely to find increasing numbers veering toward newly opening non-academic careers. This, combined with the anticipated unusually high exit ratio due to senior faculty retirements, raises the prospect of a near term shortage of faculty in the field.

African studies, with its healthy cohort of young scholars, appears to anticipate no immediate problems in finding replacements for exiting faculty, although the distribution of disciplinary specializations within the field is a matter of some concern. Similarly, the Latin American field, with the highest percentage of faculty in the 40-49 age bracket, seems to be facing no imminent shortage of replacements.

In Middle East studies there is some apprehension about the loss of senior faculty but perhaps even more with respect to replacement demand. Yet, with 40 percent of the field in its 40s, the supply of replacements may be less problematic than the demand for them. There is also concern about gaps in specific disciplines such

as sociology, economics, language, and geography; and the relatively small share of the membership in the youngest age sector presents additional challenges.

Every branch of area studies reporting here, whether anticipating immediate problems, or concerned primarily with maintenance and improvement, stressed the importance of adequate and stable public and private funding. The traditional institutional structure of higher education is adjusting slowly to the need of modern society to reconceptualize and reorganize the way we think, learn, and know about other parts of our world. The emergence of area studies has been in response to that need, but until they are fully integrated into the institutional framework of academia they will need the additional outside support that has helped them to take shape and develop to the present day.

The learned societies representing the various area studies fields have benefitted from the opportunity to exchange information and discuss common concerns within the National Council of Area Studies Associations. NCASA hopes that this report will prove useful to the 20,000 members of its constituent associations, and to others concerned with the future of international studies. Copies are available to members and other interested parties through any of the organizations listed on the following page.

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# **NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AREA STUDIES ASSOCIATIONS**

## **AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION**

Credit Union Building  
Emory University  
Atlanta, GA 30322

Tel. (404) 329-6410 Fax (404) 329-6433

## **AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SLAVIC STUDIES**

128 Encina Commons  
Stanford University  
Stanford, CA 94305

Tel. (415) 723-9668 Fax (415) 725-7737

## **ASSOCIATION FOR ASIAN STUDIES**

1 Lane Hall  
University of Michigan  
Ann Arbor, MI 48109

Tel. (313) 665-2490 Fax (313) 665-3801

## **LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION**

William Pitt Union, 9th Floor  
University of Pittsburgh  
Pittsburgh, PA 15260

Tel. (412) 648-7929 Fax (412) 624-7145

## **MIDDLE EAST STUDIES ASSOCIATION**

University of Arizona  
1232 North Cherry Avenue  
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