Scholar**Forum**

Freedom of Expression

Regional Focus:
THE MIDDLE EAST

Essays and creative works by
Open Society Scholarship Programs'
grantees and alumni

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Dear Readers,

It's a hard task to compile a selection of essays that reflect an accurate depiction of shifting sands, especially when that terrain is the Middle East in 2012. Despite the finality with which old regimes toppled throughout the Mediterranean nations of North Africa in 2011, the changes that continue to unfold have made writing essays in mid-2012 a definite challenge for contributors attempting to chronicle current events. And while the region has undergone rapid change, certain aspects of Middle Eastern societies also appear to suffer as habits persist. One fellow writes about how the uprisings have dismantled repressive dictatorships, but have also ushered in new governments that may reinforce existing social structures upon Egypt's citizens. In Jordan, another fellow describes how the perpetuation of existing roles and the widespread use of violence within the home has made the repression and abuse of women a social norm. A fellow from Lebanon working in Egypt provides an account of the feelings of disappointment held by those at the center of the revolutions. There is still much to do, and much more to change over the coming years.

Intimately bound with the regime changes in the Middle East was the explicit utterance of an opinion—often an opinion shared by many—and a space to express it. Freedom of expression is a powerful, fundamental right and a desire that is intrinsic to individuals across regions, nations, societies, and cultures. Freedom of expression is frequently accompanied by debates about where the limits to this freedom should be drawn, running the gamut from the "anything goes" environment of the internet, to carefully prescribed definitions of hate speech to the freedom of individuals to publicly express their opinions without fear of retribution or censorship.

In the spirit of the Arab Spring's confirmation of the power of freedom of expression and assembly, our contributors have used this edition of *Scholar Forum* to provide you with a myriad of views on recent events in the Middle East and North Africa. In turn, we welcome your informed and articulate reactions to these articles and images.

Best wishes to you all,

Open Society Scholarship Programs

Freedom of Expression

Armenian Nationalism and the Struggle against Intolerance

Yelena OSIPOVA, Armenia
Global Supplementary Grants Program, 2011

Freedom of expression is a fundamental human right, as outlined in key international legal instruments, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and is incorporated into most constitutions and legal codes around the world. It is essential, however, to recognize that the idea of freedom connotes distinct yet complementary notions. The first notion is freedom from oppression or persecution, and the second, perhaps even more important notion, is a positive and empowering one: it is the freedom to achieve individual dignity, prosperity, and happiness.

As a member of the United Nations, Armenia is legally bound, inter alia, by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights. Article 14 of the Armenian Constitution clearly outlines a commitment to human dignity, equality of human rights, and non-discrimination. Despite these articles and 20 years of independence, the lack of freedom—especially freedom of expression—is a major issue in Armenia.

In 2011, Freedom House classified Armenia as "partly free," giving it an average score of 5 (with 1 being most free, and 7 being least free). The 2011 reports—*Freedom of the Press* and *Nations in Transit*—note that the status of the press in Armenia is "not free," while democratization, in all its various facets, has deteriorated over the past decade. Another non-governmental organization, Human Rights Watch, also pointed out in its *2012 World Report* that freedom of expression continues to be restricted.

One should note, however, that freedom of expression is more than merely freedom of speech and freedom of the press. It also includes other rights, such as the right to publicly display one's identity—including one's gender identity—without fear of violence, intimidation, or persecution. Yet, in Armenia, discussion of sex and gender identity issues is very limited. As far as women's rights are concerned, discrimination and domestic violence are widespread, and there is no legislation in Armenia specifically criminalizing domestic violence against women or addressing marital rape and incest. Armenian public discourse has neither addressed these issues, nor the discrimination against the LGBTQI community, which has been increasingly ostracized, persecuted, and subjected to violence. A recent example can be seen in an attack on an openly LGBTQI-friendly bar in Yerevan, which was set on fire in the early morning of May 8, 2012, by homophobic and nationalistic young men.

Although it was the first incident of this kind and one which can be seen as an open act of "terrorism" against the establishment of "alternative community," it set off a chain of events that further emphasized a growing wave of open and widespread homophobia, racism, male chauvinism, and dangerous nationalism. The inevitable result of these intolerant attitudes and philosophies is curtailed

above: A diversity march in Yerevan, Armenia was overtaken by a homophobic and nationalistic crowd convinced it was a gay parade
photo Yelena OSIPOVA

freedom to express one's identity, be it gender, ethnic or religious.

The roots of the problem are numerous. First and foremost, Armenia's ruling Republican Party aggressively promotes nationalism and religion, most prominently through the Armenian Apostolic Church and a distortion of the teachings of an Armenian national hero and Aryanist, Garegin Nzhdeh. The Republican Party has openly adopted this ideology, the core concept of which is ethnocentric racism and ultranationalism, along with an unquestioning allegiance to the Armenian Church. This political stance, together with the strong social conservatism already present in Armenian society, has given way to movements such as Mek Azg (One Nation) and Hayots Artzivner (Armenian Eagles), which mobilize economically and politically-disgruntled youth around the rhetoric of a nationalist discourse rooted in supremacist and anti-Western values. Under such circumstances, a gradual slide to neo-Nazism is dangerously close.

The situation is made even worse by Armenia's demographic and geopolitical realities. With a population of less than 3 million people, Armenia currently faces sky rocketing emigration and tense relations with its neighbors. The CIA *World Factbook* estimates that 97.7 percent of the country's population is Armenian. The ethnic homogeneity of the population and the present economic and social problems in Armenia are coupled with the historical experience of being frequently divided up by various empires and brief periods of independence to create Armenia's current sense of "nationhood." It is an identity largely rooted in an introverted, xenophobic, and ethnocentric society, where any difference—be it political, national, ethnic, religious, or sexual—is frequently equated with deviance, immorality, and evil.

"Young people are frequently frustrated and frequently find destructive venues to channel their discontent"

Other important factors compound the nationalist and intolerant trends in Armenian society. The country is marked by a failing education system and a paucity of strong employment prospects, especially for a young generation that was promised prosperity after independence in 1991. Young people are frustrated and frequently find destructive venues to channel their discontent. It is, perhaps, in their attempt to overcome the despair and lack of self-confidence that young Armenians (and especially men) often attempt to reassert their sense of power through violence against women or an active search for scapegoats, be those religious minorities or the LGBTQI community.

An antigay demonstrator in Yerevan, Armenia.
The necklace worn is the reverse of a Nazi swastika and is a symbol for neo-Nazi groups and movements
photo Yelena OSIPOVA

In short, the problem with freedom of expression is much wider than mere media censorship, self-censorship, or even *prima facie* gender issues. It is about a monolithic and pervasive national conviction, a pan-national "norm," the correction of which would require a much more holistic approach by all those fighting for freedom, whether within or outside the country.

"A gradual slide to neo-Nazism is dangerously close"

Steps in combatting such deep-rooted discrimination, however, need to be well-planned and thoroughly thought through. The introduction of any hate speech laws, for example, would defeat the very purpose of freedom, especially in a country like Armenia, where they can easily become another tool in the hands of the government (and other interested parties) in curtailing free speech and expression. Instead, hate speech should be countered with greater awareness and education about tolerance. These can be achieved through the educational system—and it is important to start early in the educational process—as well as through the media. An appropriate outlet for this purpose, as suggested by a 2010 OSCE report on the subject, would be public broadcasters, which, to date, have failed to fulfill this mission.

Another approach would be to introduce new legislation against gender-based violence and discrimination: a process that has recently been initiated by the country's ombudsman, who has spoken out on the absence of legal protections and mechanisms to ensure equal treatment of women, the disabled, the elderly, and all minorities. However, several prominent NGOs working on women's rights and LGBTQI issues have pointed out that they were not consulted in the drafting process and had not seen the full text of the purported antidiscrimination law. Thus, they were unable to ensure all minorities would be covered by it. Even if the law addresses all concerns, it might face strong opposition in the parliament, or, in the event of its passage, there could be major problems with its actual implementation. Pressure from international institutions, such as the European Union or the Council of Europe, international NGOs, as well as local NGOs and activists will be indispensable in ensuring that this process goes smoothly and does not get hijacked halfway.

There is no silver bullet in addressing an issue of this scale and complexity. However, a comprehensive legal reform and, perhaps even more importantly, a fundamental transformation of the prevalent mentality can constitute the first constructive steps in the right direction for a country like Armenia. ■

> "Comprehensive legal reform and, more importantly, a fundamental transformation of the prevalent mentality can constitute the first constructive steps"

The Power of Speech

George KHISHTOVANI, Georgia
DAAD-OSF Scholarship Programs, University of Bremen, 2011-2014

When thinking about freedom of expression, I believe three basic elements are needed: an autonomous opinion, a language by which to convey it, and the courage to express it. These components find a basis in ancient Greek thought: those who did not have Greek as a language to express their opinions were deemed barbaric. For this ancient civilization, the expression of an opinion was not something which remained private, but was something publically articulated through the Greek language (Mamaradashvili, 1997).

In modern society, the significance of freedom of expression has remained just as important as in earlier times as it has at its core the achievement of the common good. In today's world, without the freedom to express one's opinion, there cannot be any development or evolution, because this concept is tied to established values which can only then be validated and defended through open dialogue. Simultaneously, a freely-spoken opinion needs the condition of a freely used language and a full vocabulary. The former Soviet Union provides an interesting example. Early communism attempted to restrict freedom of expression (or simply freedom in general) through the restriction of language itself. Every subject had not only to speak the same language, but also to articulate themselves in a simplified and significantly restricted manner. This "communist language" or "Party speak" was therefore not free and rendered the existence of a "free" citizen impossible.

The next important question centers on what the granting of freedom of expression demands in return from citizens and the obstacles they confront. Every society can be seen as primarily skeptical toward the freedom of expression, and thus each citizen must constantly stand up and defend it. As long as people feel that their opinions are their sole property, true freedom of expression can never be attained. An opinion articulated through language is symbolic of the preservation of one's personal freedom and simultaneously upholds the public good. This preservation is the precondition allowing the rights of property and ownership to be safeguarded in public life.

When an opinion is uttered, one is immediately taking part in "politics" in its truest sense. For that reason, many citizens across the globe live under restricted freedom of expression, as there is still an agenda from the side of some states to shut citizens out of politics. There is a need for citizens to say, not only everything they think, but also to make their own opinions public. Only in this manner can freedom of expression safeguard an active participation in public life and enable citizens to find their role

> "An opinion articulated through language is symbolic of the preservation of freedom and upholds the public good"

within the group and their own capabilities.

In this respect, we can take social networks such as Facebook and Twitter as an interesting development to the ancient Greek notion of agora, or a public trading space. Every person has the opportunity to "trade" their views and have access to the virtual community, regardless of how many resources they have or how interesting, fact-based, and up-to-date their opinions may be. It has actually become much easier to communicate one's opinions to a large group quickly, but at the same time, it is

also more dangerous. The personal risk of being punished by this virtual group for the views expressed has grown, but at the same time the danger exists of having an underdeveloped diction, which in turn, increases the possibility of being misunderstood.

In countries with a history of totalitarianism, in which both the language itself, as well as individual opinions, were to a large extent suppressed or voided, the population held the idea that only the elite had the right to freely express their opinions, which were thus considered the opinions of all. In this respect, academia has to take a leading role in the promotion of the freedom of opinion, as well as giving students the tools and skills to use language effectively. Teachers, translators, interpreters, and sympathetic editors are also key players in the process of the exchange of opinions.

Every citizen must understand that life in a market economy,

marked by forms of social security, property rights, and the general rule of law, reflect the achievements of a society to date. This understanding must always stay within us when we are confronted with a

"The ability to freely express one's opinion is key to an open and tolerant society"

situation that restricts our ability to express our opinions. The ability to freely express one's opinion must always be maintained, as this is key to developing an open and tolerant society. ∎

The Importance of Small Victories— LGBTQI Rights in Georgia

The freedom to express oneself openly in a society extends beyond words and images. As hardwired social beings, humans have a crucial need to maintain a physical presence in society. Individuals and groups with mannerisms, appearances, and sexual orientations that are outside of a society's accepted norms, can often be limited to a lonely, marginal space.

One alumnus is spearheading an initiative to break the barriers that isolation and intolerance create. An academic,

"Freedom of expression is a luxury for LGBTQI communities"

social worker, and LGBTQI activist in his native Georgia, Social Work and Faculty Development Fellowship Programs' alumnus, Irakli Vacharadze, speaks frankly about his views on the legal, governmental, social, and religious barriers that prevent the Georgian LGBTQI community from enjoying the freedom to be themselves.

ScholarForum (SF): Irakli, tell us about your NGO and its work.

Irakli Vacharadze (IV): IDENTOBA, a Georgian word for Identity, is a Georgian NGO, established in 2010, that works for equality for women, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and intersex (LGBTQI) people in Georgia. Our mission is to promote a kind of society in Georgia where sexual orientation and a gendered self-expression do not form grounds for discrimination. This is based on the idea that democratic, coherent, and strong societies are inconceivable without the full integration LGBTQI people. The marginalized for us also include women, Roma, disabled people, and orphans as groups which are all outside of the patriarchal mainstream. We have not yet technically been able to carry projects out targeted specifically at these populations due to both a lack of funding, particularly on Roma, disability and children's issues, and also due to the fact that LGBTQI people are the most despised and discriminated group in Georgian society, hence our focus on queer issues. Most of our work is

volunteer based and there is only so much a small, newly established organization can do. We have managed to gather a team of 12-15 people who work on LGBTQI issues. In November, 2012, we founded a sister organization, Trans-Georgia, with the goal to better serve the needs of Georgian transgender people. I hope that two years from now we will have established a distinct program for at least one more of our target communities.

SF: What does "freedom of expression" mean for the populations IDENTOBA serves?

IV: Defining freedom of expression for LGBTQI and other gender-based marginalized groups is both a simple and complex task. Freedom of expression, speaking from my position as a member of the gay community and as an activist, embodies our fight for ph ysical survival and mental stability. Freedom of expression is a luxury for LGBTQI communities. When society denies safety, empowerment, and space for these communities to express themselves, it effectively shuts them out of public policy and cultural debates and many other types of social participation. The hate in Georgia that is unleashed against LGBTQI persons, and non-dominant social groups in general, is so strong that when we speak out about the discrimination we suffer, it is equated with propaganda from the earlier Soviet period.

SF: What are the main factors that prevent people in Georgia from freely defining their sexual or gendered identity? Do these factors differ in rural and urban environments?

IV: I think the ability to prove that you are discriminated against socially, politically, legally, and economically depends on the amount of freedom of expression granted in any given society. In Georgia, it is severely limited. "Do whatever you want

"Placing the debate behind closed doors takes the voice away from the community"

in your bedroom, but don't you dare flaunt your sexuality in public" sums this up well. Needless to say, placing the debate behind closed doors takes the voice away from the community. Unsurprisingly, rural communities are completely closed to LGBTQI people. In rural areas, LGBTQI people have no visibility. This lack of presence combines with high levels of emigration, the general taboo surrounding talk about sexuality, poverty, and lack of access to modern media to breed enormous intolerance and stigma in rural areas. It's not good to be born "sexually deviant" in rural areas of Georgia. It's not good anywhere, but at least in Tbilisi, one can have a sense of community and shared values. Not in rural areas. Isolation is the destiny of LGBTQI people there.

SF: Have media or the government taken any actions to aid socially-marginalized groups?

IV: After the decriminalization of homosexuality in 2000, several Georgian laws were amended by the Parliament to outlaw discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and provide for a greater protection of LGBTQI rights. For example, Georgian law did not offer a definition of a hate crime. Until recently, in the Georgian Criminal Code, only certain crimes with a "hate motive" constituted the aggravating circumstances which lead to heavier sanctions. However, the provisions only referred to hatred toward racial, linguistic, religious, national or ethnic groups, thus

failing to include sexual orientation or gender identity. IDENTOBA decided to launch a campaign to include sexual orientation and gender identity in the draft law. We sent several letters of appeal to the relevant Georgian authorities and international organizations in Georgia. Along with other human rights NGOs, IDENTOBA, together with few other human rights organizations, was able to get involved in parliamentary committee meetings concerning the draft law. As a result of the campaign, the initiators of the draft law agreed to include sexual orientation and gender identity in 2012. The Georgian Criminal Code now recognizes homophobia as an aggravating circumstance for any crime committed, which is a huge step for securing a safer environment for LGBTQI people in Georgian society.

SF: What other improvements have you seen in terms of the ability of marginalized groups to express themselves?

IV: Organizationally, I think we have had several breakthroughs since our inception in late 2010. IDENTOBA is visible as a leading LGBTQI organization, and it is the only organization that does both research and engagement with the LGBTQI community directly. The scope of the organization's work spans areas as diverse as community empowerment programs, training and support services, rights advocacy, legal representation, media work, and research. I think if we were going to take account of the history of the LGBTQI movement in Georgia so far, we can certainly identify two defining activities. The first would be the efforts we have made to create a national debate on hate speech, an action unprecedented for Georgia. However, the discussion so far has mostly been confined to social media and some liberal traditional media. Another breakthrough was a public demonstration for the International Day

against Homophobia and Transphobia on May 17, 2012, which IDENTOBA, along with other activist groups, organized. It was the country's first LGBTQI rights march, and was even christened as a Georgian "gay pride" march. The demon-

Irakli VACHARADZE

stration included about 40 volunteers who marched in Tbilisi to mark the International Day against Homophobia. Unexpectedly, dozens of radical Orthodox Christians, led by priests, surrounded the marchers and demanded they stop. Orthodox Christian protesters, a part of an influential radical group called the Union of Orthodox Parents, told the marchers that their actions would lead to moral depravity among the younger generation. Some of the Orthodox group's members grabbed and trampled the marcher's rainbow-colored flags and several marchers were injured. The confrontation showed how much discrimination and hate exists towards LGBTQI communities. It also highlighted how much state

"The Georgian Criminal Code now recognizes homophobia as an aggravating circumstance, which is a huge step"

effort, coupled with educational and advocacy activities, is needed to ensure that human rights are extended to LGBTQI individuals. Georgia certainly has a long way to go. ■

Irakli VACHARADZE is Executive Director of IDENTOBA (www.identoba.org).

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REGIONAL FOCUS

The Middle East

An Introduction

Joseph GLICKSBERG
Senior Program Manager,
Open Society Scholarship Programs

Nearly two years have passed since the beginning of the "Arab Spring" in December 2010, which ushered in the most momentous changes the Arab world has experienced in centuries. However, the direction in which many individual countries' revolutionary paths are leading remains unclear.

Since 2010, Tunisia has seen a relatively peaceful governmental transition to Islamist rule despite heated debates over social issues regarding the role of Islam and women in public life. In Egypt, rule by the Muslim Brotherhood—an event that most analysts would never have deemed possible without a prolonged and bloody revolution––has occurred along with ongoing negotiations about the once all-powerful military's sphere of political influence. In Libya, various geographically and tribally-based militias overthrew the region's longest reigning dictator in a violent revolt, but these groups have

yet to unite into a stable ruling stratum. In Syria, initial protests have turned into full-blown civil war that could threaten the stability of the entire region. Jordan is currently witnessing calls for the institutionalization of full-scale parliamentary democracy based on an elected, rather than an appointed, prime minister, along with even more unprecedented calls for a constitutional monarchy.

Many regional observers have argued that the ongoing revolutionary wave in the Middle East and the surrounding countries of North Africa represents an unprecedented opportunity for local and international civil society to cooperate in efforts to institutionalize positive change in the direction of open societies. Major actors are focusing on the democratic potential of the moment, as reflected in their announcements of U.S. and European Union funds to support political transitions that many observers hope

Map adapted from CIA *World Factbook*. Public domain.

education in the region, such as the 2003 *Arab Human Development Report*, which focused on the comparative "knowledge" deficit in Arab societies and how an emphasis on education could improve it. The Scholarship Programs have purposely targeted this area by way of our programs for Middle Eastern students. Specifically, the Palestinian Faculty Development Program has supported doctoral studies and short-term educational curricula development visits for 50 Palestinian academics returning to teach and conduct research in Palestine. In addition, the recently discontinued Palestinian Rule of Law Program has supported numerous Palestinian lawyers who have gone on to teach law in the West Bank and Gaza, with one alumnus having developed the first clinical teaching program in the Arab world at Jerusalem's Al Quds University. Numerous other Scholarship grantees from the UK Programs are also contributing in unique ways to their home countries' educational development at various levels. Furthermore, the Scholarship Programs hope that alumni of our newly-instituted Middle East Rule of Law Program, which supports MA studies for students in public policy, media, social work, law, and gender studies, will also contribute to educational development and reform in their home countries.

In discussing her doctoral research and findings on "intimate partner violence" in Jordan, Mashura Akilova sheds light on a disturbing phenomenon and provides realistic, practical policy suggestions for decreasing its incidence by empowering women in various ways, including through education. The lack of women's participation in policymaking, governance, and public life in the Middle East has consistently been recognized as one of the crucial "deficit" factors contributing to human rights abuses and sociopolitical underdevelopment in the region. Accordingly, women's empowerment is another focus of the Scholarship Programs, as shown in the Arab Women's Professional Program, which supports MA studies for two cohorts of Arab women with strong leadership credentials and a commitment to public service at the American University in Cairo.

In our final guest contribution, Haissam Minkara provides a detailed timeline of major political events in Egypt since its revolution. Haissam's conclusion is that the Egyptian struggle is far from finished, as "Egypt today stands as Mubarak left it." Whether readers will agree is open to debate, but there can be no doubt Minkara's view that "the revolution continues" and stable democratic procedures have yet to be institutionalized. The same can be said for all of the revolutionary countries in the region, and we look forward to these pages featuring more Middle East analyses from Scholarship Programs' grantees in the future. ■

will bring about progressive social policy changes. In the region writ large, the history of both general policy and higher education reform bears witness to the fact that serious structural reform usually only happens in response to major political changes, such as the 1952 Egyptian Nasserist coup or the 1994 establishment of the Palestinian Authority. The current and upcoming period in the region's revolutionary countries has the potential to be such a window, as policy debates across the region are showing.

In the articles that follow, three guest contributors highlight the fact that in the midst of this period of radical change, old and new challenges continue to exist side by side in the Arab world. Rasha Batarseh makes the convincing case that educational support and reform efforts have been far too low on developmental agendas for far too long. In noting this, the writer echoes many analyses of

The Arab Spring: A Closer Look

Rasha A. BATARSEH, Jordan
OSF Chevening University of
Nottingham Program, 2008-2009

Multiple names have been used to describe the events that shook the Arab world in 2011: revolution, protest movements, and demonstrations for democracy, to name but a few. For this article, I choose "revolution," simply as it defies the probability of an evolution, indicating that the people of the Arab world required immediate changes to the political and social status of their countries. Each revolution in each country is undoubtedly unique, but the absence of democracy, the lack of fundamental rights and freedoms, poor living conditions, growing corruption, and a lack of social justice can be considered common contributors in giving a revolutionary shape to these movements.

In the Arab world, economic and social development has been neglected for decades, producing a number of negative outcomes, including extreme poverty and a continuing deterioration in the social, economic, cultural, scientific, health and educational realms. Most of the demands of those involved in the revolutions in Egypt, Syria, Yemen, and Tunisia called for an increase in living standards and fundamen-

> "As a citizen of the Middle East, I believe that it is important to focus on the knock-on effects in the wider region"

tal civil rights. For several decades prior to the revolutions, the incremental demands of the populace were intentionally blocked by authoritarian regimes through repressive security procedures designed to intimidate and censor any sign of alternative thinking or fair demands. All of these factors helped form an incubator for revolutionary factions empowered by the easy transfer of information through online social networks. Such networks facilitated the integration of disparate factions into larger groups, and thus formed a clear and inevitable feeling that the time was ripe for a revolution.

The position of major international players, such as the United States and the European Union, seemed to switch between the positive and the negative. A sense of optimism was possible because some saw these movements as the seeds for the spread of democracy in Arab societies, which would improve relations between the Middle East and the West and eradicate extreme political ideologies. On the other hand, pessimistic voices were also heard because there was also the possibility that political forces hostile to democratic governance could also prevail. Undoubtedly, this was a difficult position for many powerful and influential countries in the inter-

> "The association between peace and development led to the sense in some Arab countries that the peace process failed"

national community. They declared their positions, but needed to consider their own foreign policies and reconcile their economic and strategic interests. It was a real challenge for them to broker their geopolitical interests against the ethical and democratic principles that they

advocate. As a citizen of the Middle East, I believe that it is important to focus on the knock-on effects in the wider region.

Unfortunately, prior to the revolutions, peace agreements between Israel and many countries in the Middle East failed to produce enough stability to lead to an increase in development projects to support Arab economies and thus reduce unemployment. This association between peace and development led to the sense in the minds of people in some Arab countries that the peace process failed. Many of the people involved in the Arab Spring are pressing for such peace agreements to be dissolved, as they have witnessed a deterioration, not improvement, in their living conditions. Hence, it would be prudent for the international com-

munity to take steps to help both the Israeli government and the new post-revolution Arab governments to establish major projects aimed at improving the status of Arabs and Israelis alike.

In this respect, policies and requirements of international grants are changing local objectives in Arab countries. The United States, for instance, has been helping Arab countries for decades in funding large-scale projects in water and energy resources and previously introduced major assistance related to national defense and internal security. Despite the importance of these projects and their dependence on funding.

an important issue was shelved: education. Education is still an issue which is further down the agenda, although it is central to rebuilding societies. It could improve the capacity in the Arab world in a way that could allow citizens to actively participate in the country's development and to recognize the social and economic importance of peace.

Education does not have to be improved through government. I believe that it must have a bottom-up approach, starting with the student, then the faculty, and then the institutional level, before the government or ministry of education or its equivalent becomes involved. Activities such as student exchanges, university collaboration in research and teaching, international conferences, and intercultural programs can serve as important bridges between advanced international educational systems and local

"Educational infrastructure exists in most Arab countries, but funding and support is lacking"

educational institutions. It is worth noting that the educational infrastructure exists in most Arab countries, but what is lacking is funding and support. History has shown that education can broaden the horizons of new generations and foster the development of an open-minded generation willing to overcome traditional barriers, extremism, and violence to adopt democracy, equality, and globalization.

While the effects of the Arab Spring continue to exert an influence on many countries, the international community and world powers have a moral responsibility to support the citizens in the region to gain their rights and ensure democracy. It is imperative that the countries that have recently experienced fundamental change are helped in steering away from leadership by extremists. In this way, we can avoid having a bitter winter follow an Arab Spring. ∎

A man rides a camel across the Pyramids plain in Giza, Egypt
photo Joseph GLICKSBERG

The Egyptian Revolution and the Barriers to Democratic Change

Haissam MINKARA, Lebanon
OSI Chevening University of Leeds, 2006-2007

The uprisings in the Arab world—grassroots movements against oppression, corruption, and the unequal distribution of wealth—were meant to address a popular desire to change both the political leadership and the underlying systems. Since Hosni Mubarak was forced to step down as Egypt's president and hand over his political power to the Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF), the Egyptian people do not seem satisfied with the transition and are frustrated by the significant political challenges.

Despite constitutional amendments that established the framework for the interim military rule and the series of elections that took place, attempts to secure a smooth political transition have not proven successful. Continuous riots indicate that the consolidation of democracy has not reached a level of acceptance by all stakeholders or is strong enough to be used as the foundation for an exchange of political opinions.

Against this backdrop, I would argue that the Egyptian people have differing levels of trust in key factors of this political transition. There are diverse perceptions about the interim military rule, the results of the parliamentary and presidential elections, and the drafting of the new constitution. All of these issues can be stumbling blocks to stability and to the establishment of strong democratic institutions.

A Controversial Military Rule

The SCAF faced significant opposition from political groups that regarded the military's interim rule as an illegitimate continuation of the former Mubarak regime. Anti-SCAF movements believed that the country's transition should have been led by civilian leadership. Egyptian public opinion was split regarding the perception of the army mandate, with anti-SCAF movements calling for a civilian government in the interim.

The first civilian president of Egypt, Mohamad Morsi, changed the military leadership by replacing the minister of defense, Hussein Tantawi, after 20 years of service. This step was a radical move toward the end of the military's involvement in political life in Egypt, and it will be interesting to see the level to which the new military leadership will interfere in Egypt's politics.

The Rocky Election Path

The elections of the People's Assembly, the Shura Council, and the president have all been regarded as a formative step toward democracy by the international community. According to various international observer groups such as the Carter Center, the results broadly reflected the will of the electorate.

However, the timing of the elections was subject to debate. Scheduled only eight months after the constitutional referendum,

> "Despite constitutional amendments and a series of elections, attempts to secure a smooth political transition have not proven successful"

this period was regarded as insufficient for emerging parties to organize effectively to achieve a level of visibility or hold independent voter education programs. Furthermore, opponents of the Muslim Brotherhood believed this was meant to advance the Muslim Brotherhood and cement a political deal with the SCAF.

Unsuccessful candidates appealed against the constitutionality of partisan MPs who ran for a third of the seats in the Assembly that are reserved for independent candidates, as they were supported by, in the main, Islamist parties. The Constitutional Court therefore considered that the regulations did not preserve the rights of independent non-partisan candidates and therefore decided to cancel one third of the People's Assembly and consequently suspended its legislative activities, calling for new elections. This step caused a split in public opinion. On one side, supporters of secular parties welcomed this decision, but on the other side, supporters of Islamist parties and their MPs were involved in a long sit-in at the parliament against the decision. They viewed it as revenge by the "old guards" of the regime against the success of Islamist parties in the elections.

Water cannons blast citizens on the streets of Cairo in January 2011

photo Joel CAMPAGNA
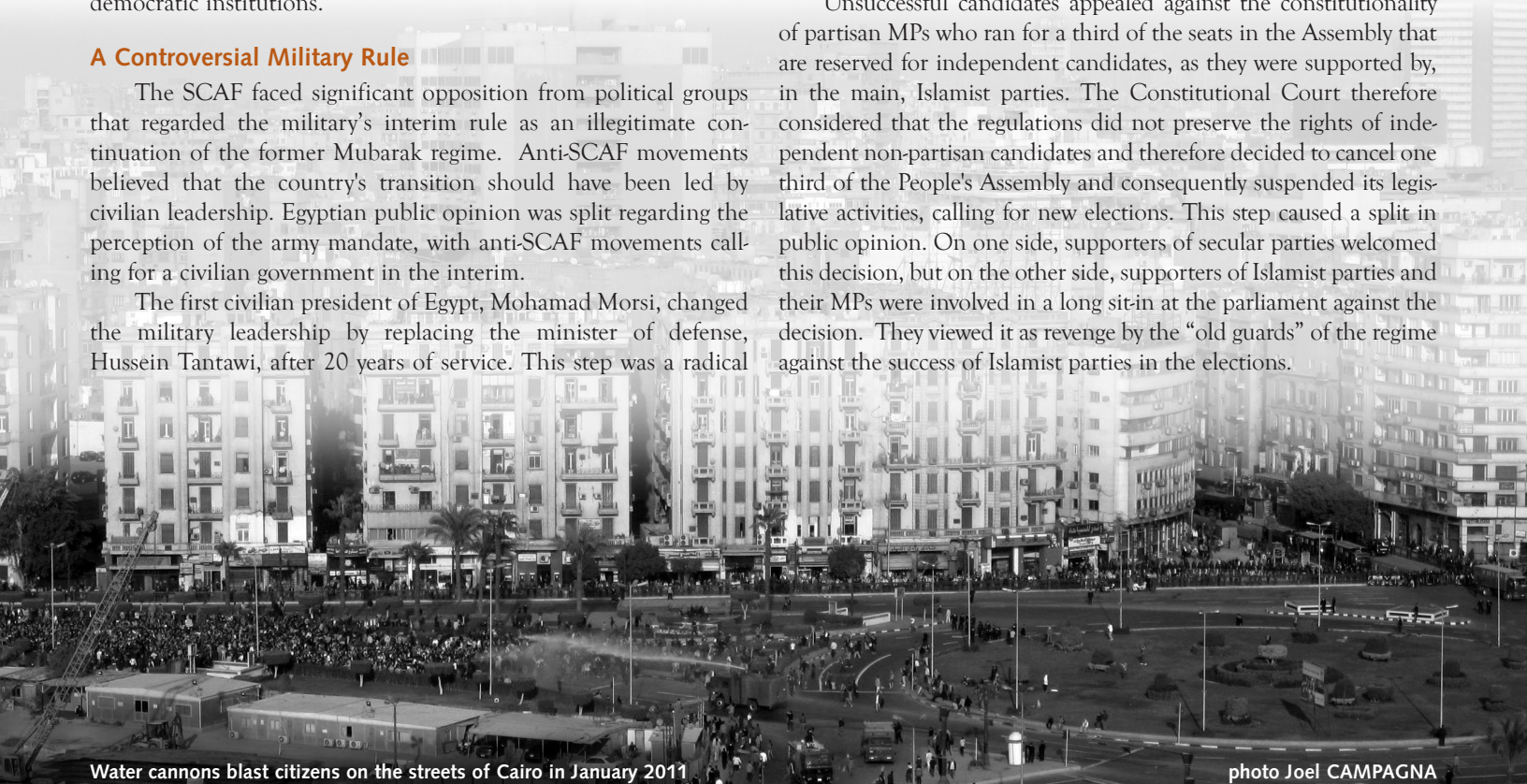
Egyptian troops countermobilize against protesters in Cairo, Egypt in January 2011
photo Joel CAMPAGNA

The New Constitution

As the political advancement and regressions illustrated above suggest, the debate surrounding the postponement of the elections and the adoption of a new constitution was a key theme in the political rhetoric.

According to the Constitutional Declaration, the new parliament is expected to elect a 100-member constitutional drafting committee within six months of convening. Once in place, this committee would be responsible for finalizing a new constitution within six months of its formation. Egyptian citizens would then determine the adoption of the new constitution through a referendum. However, the hegemony of Islamic parties over the drafting committee prevented the committee from ever achieving a political consensus and led to its dissolution.

> "Most interesting is the effect of the election results on a public who appear to have developed a fear of the dominance of Islamic parties"

One week before the presidential elections, SCAF declared that the new drafting committee and various political factions had a deadline of 48 hours to agree on a revised constitution that would set the mandate of the president. The pressure from SCAF failed. Indeed, SCAF followed up a few days before the presidential run-off by taking advantage of the absence of an active legislature and issuing a revised constitutional amendment. This amendment gave SCAF a legislative role and reduced the powers of the president. In a further turn, the newly-elected president, Mohamad Morsi, canceled this decree, outlining new timelines for a draft constitution and referendum. And so the revolution continues.

Most interesting, however, is the effect

of the election results over a public who appear to have developed a fear of the dominance of Islamic parties. Specifically, the absence of an active parliament created difficulties in addressing people's needs and concerns through government. The lack of representative democratic institutions after the suspension of parliamentary activities made demonstrations the only alternative for citizens to push for change.

The fact that Egypt's revolution lacked a structured political leadership creates a challenge for the revolutionary powers to press their political agenda efficiently through organized political parties.

Apart from the change of political leadership, Egypt today stands almost where Mubarak left it. From a technical and administrative perspective, President Mohamad Morsi succeeded in getting a constitution drafted and called for a referendum. However, the new constitution is not seen as consensual. The main Egyptian churches and other political groups resigned from the drafting committee directly before the adoption of the final draft, mainly due to the fact that the new constitution is seen as galvanizing the Islamist parties' control over the state.

Although 64 percent of the voters endorsed the new constitution, the relatively low turnout can be used to undermine the collaborative aspect of the new constitution and sideline the representation of minority populations. Only 32 percent of the total registered voters participated in the referendum, in contrast to the 50 percent of voters who turned out for the presidential and parliamentary elections.

The main challenge for Egypt at this stage is to establish democratic rule and change the perception of the revolution. The new government's challenge is to establish the ground for free and fair elections, which take into account the rights of minorities.

The revolution should not be an end in itself. Instead, Egyptians must build on the free electoral experiences they have been granted over the last year. The revolution needs to be recognized as a historic turning point that leads in a determined fashion to the establishment of democratic institutions that create a forum for open political debate for all Egyptians.■

Haissam MINKARA is an independent electoral analyst.

A woman walks in a street market near Al-Azhar, Cairo, Egypt
photo Joseph GLICKSBERG

Intimate Partner Violence and Empowerment in Jordan

Mashura AKILOVA, Tajikistan
Doctoral Fellows Program, 2009-2013

Intimate partner violence (IPV) is a prevalent and dangerous problem faced by women the world over. IPV is defined as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life" (Clark et al, 2008). Indeed, IPV has been considered the most persistent human rights violation in the world (Heise et al, 2002). The average prevalence of IPV globally is 21 percent, but lifetime IPV prevalence among women in the Middle East has been estimated at 40 percent (Al-nsour et al, 2009). In Jordan, approximately 1 out of every 3 women has experienced IPV during their marriage (Clark et al, 2009)

Some researchers, such as Al-nsour et al (2009), have highlighted that the prevalence of IPV in the Middle East can be influenced by difficulties in trying to leave an abusive relationship and traditional cultural beliefs, gender inequality, and lack of resources. Islam can be a strong determinant of socio-cultural norms, as it not only serves as spiritual guidance, but also as a civil code. For example, it is reported by researchers that within Islamic culture, the primary roles for women are that of a wife and mother (Clark et al, 2009). In many Arab societies, women find it difficult to obtain a divorce which is not seen as compatible with Islam. Indeed, Islamic law does not conceptualize all forms of violence as abuse and there are instances in which violence is culturally viewed as appropriate and legal (Boy and Kulczycki, 2008). Additionally, Muslim women in the Middle East and North Africa who are suffering from IPV have the added concern that they can lose custody of

> "Reasons for justifying abuse include infidelity, disobeying a husband, nagging or insulting a husband, and burning food"

their children, since the law gives custody to fathers of children to age seven. The emotional, physical, financial, and legal challenges and consequences of separation and divorce make it difficult for Jordanian women to feel the power to make the choice to leave an abusive relationship (Boy and Kulczycki, 2008).

A study by Al-nsour et al. (2009) found that in some regions of Jordan a majority of women (87 percent) report being emotionally or physically abused in the past year. Cultural beliefs, patriarchy, and gender inequity have been considered as possible explanations for the tolerance of violence, with reasons for justifying abuse ranging from infidelity, disobeying a husband, nagging or insulting a

husband to burning food. A study by Btoush and Haj-Yahia (2008) of 250 women and men in Jordan found that the ideal method to cope with IPV was for the wife to change her behavior. Again, these results emphasize the idea that IPV is the woman's fault and that she is not a victim of abuse.

Empowerment is commonly seen as means to help people by strengthening them mentally to overcome struggles. However, in some cultures, the empowerment of women can bring more violence or difficulties to a woman's life. This is especially true

> "Skill building can provide opportunities to empower women to create social and environmental change within the parameters established by their culture"

in patriarchal cultures, where women's powerlessness is rooted in cultural norms and gender relations. Women's efforts to empower themselves through education, the workforce or having the freedom to make family planning decisions are regulated by socially and culturally internalized norms that label these efforts as negative and even radical.

Women in Jordan have noted that gaining empowerment through the workforce is still difficult to achieve. Women can acquire a two-year diploma, a bachelor's or higher degree, but still face challenges in finding employment because the jobs available are not for educated women (Miles, 2002). Low quality jobs and a gender disparity are still prevalent in the workforce. In the context of the family, women in Jordan reported that if they have a brother, it would be more difficult for them to find a job. Sons are given more support to enter the job market since they are perceived as being better able to provide financial support to their elders in later life (Miles, 2002). Despite the challenges, education, participation in household decision-making processes, economic freedom, and skill building can still provide opportunities to empower women to create social and environmental change within the parameters established by their culture.

In a joint study undertaken at Columbia University as part of my PhD in Social Work, we used data from the 2007 Jordan Population and Family Health Survey, specifically the Individual Women's Questionnaire, which is representative of the Jordanian female population between the ages of 15 and 49 who have ever been married, balanced across rural and urban areas, to explore how economic empowerment affects IPV in Jordanian families.

Although there are several dimensions to empowerment, including participation in education and in civic engagement, participating in financial decision-making is an important aspect, which for the purpose of this study we call "economic empowerment."

The variable "economic empowerment" was constructed from answers to the question: "Who decides how to spend income earned by the respondent or her partner?" Experience of IPV was reported by women in the questionnaire. The impact of economic empowerment on IPV was analyzed by the use of propensity scores methods.

Our results indicate that in the Jordanian context having economic power, i.e., having a say in financial decision-making, has a positive effect on reducing the incidence of experiencing IPV. While the previous body of literature on the impact of empowerment on IPV is mixed, the results of our study support the research line that has found a negative relationship between empowerment of women and domestic violence. Thus, economic empowerment becomes a mechanism through which women gain control over their lives and their relationship by being able to partake in important decision-making processes regarding their household and family matters. Self-confidence, in turn enables these women to feel that they are on equal grounds with their partners and exert a lower tolerance toward IPV as they develop ability to accept an idea of leaving an abusive relationship. In the context of Jordan, a patriarchal society in which women have confined roles, economic empowerment serves as essential support to reduce IPV.

Based on these results, we conclude that creating policies and programs that promote economic empowerment as an inter-

"Economic empowerment becomes a mechanism through which women gain control over their lives and their relationships"

vention against abuse and violence can be essential. The sample used in this study showed that 29 percent of Jordanian women have experienced some type of IPV and 81 percent justify the violence against them. From this basis, the Jordanian government and non-profit organizations could create more educational programs in which women can learn the positive aspects of empowerment. Additionally, these organizations should promote opportunities for women to experience economic empowerment in the household. One example would be to conduct workshops for women on bank account management. Another avenue could be the media. Within our sample 98 percent of them have regular exposure to media, including television (97 percent), radio (31 percent) and newspapers (35 percent). Thus, media campaigns that promote positive images of women, directly or indirectly, and which show women having a decision-making role in the household, could potentially make empowerment more normative in Jordanian society.■

Mashura AKILOVA is a PhD student in Social Work at Columbia University. The study outlined here was conducted with Yamile Marti, a PhD student at Columbia.

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Academic Showcase

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

Indonesia's Policy Behavior toward Global Maritime Security Cooperation: The Role of Perception

Senia FEBRICA, Indonesia
OSI Chevening University of Glasgow Program, 2007-2008

Introduction

Indonesia has always been important in maritime security because of its geographical position, located between two key shipping routes in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, and between two continents, Asia and Australia. The three major sea lanes of Southeast Asia: the combined Straits of Malacca and Singapore, the Sunda Strait, and the Lombok Strait all overlap with Indonesia's maritime jurisdiction (H.Djalal, 2009, J. Ho, 2007). As a result, sea transportation plays a major role in the economic growth and development of this archipelagic state. Indonesia's waters, however, are not trouble free.

Even though statistics from the International Maritime Bureau (IMB) show a dramatic decrease in the number of incidents in Indonesia's waterways, a sustained spate of piracy continues to take place in its territorial waters. In addition to sea robbery and piracy, Indonesia also faces serious challenges securing its maritime supply chains. As several terrorist attacks have occurred in Indonesia, the international community's main concern has concentrated on countering nuclear proliferation or the planting of weapons of mass destruction by terrorist groups or rogue states onto sea vessels.

This article seeks to explain how Indonesia and the international maritime community view armed robbery at sea and the potential to counter maritime terrorism in a different fashion. The disjuncture between Indonesia and the international community's perception of a threat functions as a springboard for future inquiries that will ask how Indonesia's perception of a "threat" influences its policy response. This article is based on research for the PhD dissertation "Explaining Indonesia's Policy Behavior toward Maritime Terrorism and Armed Robbery against Ships," conducted at the University of Glasgow, United Kingdom.

The research methods used include interviews and intensive data collection, both quantitative and qualitative, on various aspects of sea robbery control and prevention of maritime terrorism. Two sets of field work were conducted in 2010 and 2012. Sixty-one interviews were conducted with officials and staff from ASEAN, the Indonesian, Singaporean, and U.S. governments, maritime experts based in Jakarta and Singapore, representatives of nongovernmental organizations, marine insurance providers, ship-owners associations, and shipping lines. In addition, this article uses documentary sources including government documents, official speeches, newspaper articles, company reports, and research monographs.

Analysis and Discussion

In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, both sea robbery and maritime terrorism have received greater worldwide attention and generated a number of multilateral maritime initiatives. The discrepancy between Indonesia's perception of armed robbery at sea and maritime terrorism and those of other international maritime stakeholders forms the focus of the following discussion.

Armed Robbery against Ships

Incidents of armed robbery against ships in Indonesian waters reached an alarming level between 1996 and 2000. In 1996, the total number of crew members/passengers murdered by sea robbers was 26. The death toll rose to 51 in 1997, and to 78 in 1998 (International Maritime Bureau, 2001) Yet despite this increased level of violence, there were no multilateral initiatives launched to halt sea robbery until 2004 with the Regional Maritime Security Initiative (RMSI), and the Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery (ReCAAP). Maritime security cooperation gained momentum in the aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks, as international concern over the safety and security of Indonesia's maritime domain increased significantly. As the maritime sector re-evaluated its vulnerability against the probability of attacks or other forms of sabotage, the international maritime community began to direct its focus to improving security measures by establishing a number of multilateral initiatives (C.Z. Raymond, 2006).

Since the early 1990s, Indonesia developed national, bilateral, and sub-regional measures to deal with the issue. As part of the response, Indonesia, together with Malaysia and Singapore, launched various maritime security measures, including establishing a national armed robbery monitoring center in Batam, an Indonesian island located near the Straits of Malacca and Singapore, and the Indo-Sin Coordinated Patrol, which coordinates naval patrols in the Straits of Malacca. Multilateral initiatives dealing with sea robbery emerged only after the number of incidents began to decrease. When the initiatives were introduced, the decline in incidents gave Indonesia the perception that it had already begun to reap the benefits from bilateral and trilateral cooperation. As a consequence, although government officials are aware of sea robbery incidents in Indonesian waters, they did not perceive them as a significant threat.

Maritime Terrorism

Although a maritime terrorist attack has never taken place in Indonesian territory, terrorism is not a new security issue (Chalk, 1998). At least 34 bomb attacks occurred in Indonesia since the resignation of President Suharto in May 1998 (Desk Koordinasi Pemberantasan Terorisme, 2008). This includes suicide bomb attacks in Bali in 2002 and 2005, a number of assaults on police in 2010, and a series of bomb attacks in 2011 that targeted a number of public figures in Jakarta (*Jakarta Post*, 2011).

Despite Indonesia's long history of terrorist incidents, only after September 11 did governments around the world begin to highlight the possibility of a terrorist attack in Indonesian waters. The United States promoted a number of maritime initiatives to improve the security of maritime transport, including the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI), the Container Security Initiative (CSI), and the Customs Trade Partnership against Terrorism (C-TPAT).

By the end of 2002, mainly as a response to the Bali bombing, Indonesia already had a number of anti-terrorism measures in place that started to yield positive results. By May 2003, anti-terrorism efforts had resulted in the arrest of 33 members of Jemaah Islamiyah, a terrorist group that operates in Southeast Asia suspected of perpetrating the Bali bombings (National Institute for Defense Studies, 2004). As the level of threat posed by terrorism has fallen, there has been a corresponding fall in how the Indonesian government perceives the benefits of cooperation.

The decline in Indonesia's perceived benefits from global cooperation has been furthered by the government's struggles with other maritime issues, including illegal fishing, illegal immigrants travelling through Indonesian waters, maritime border issues, and smuggling. Among government officials, these four issues have no exact priority ranking.

Conclusion

This research summary argues that understanding Indonesia's perceptions of sea robbery and maritime terrorism is key to understanding the country's policy reactions toward global cooperation. Most global initiatives dealing with sea robbery and maritime terrorism were introduced when Indonesia had already estab-

ABSTRACT

Religion and Gender in the *Alexiad*: The Case of Anna Dalassene

Marin CERCHEZ, Moldova
Doctoral Fellows Program, 2009-2012

The *Alexiad* by Anna Komnene is one of the most significant Byzantine literary creations of the 12th century, as well as a key source of information for 11th and 12th century history. A memorable character in the *Alexiad* is Anna's grandmother, Anna Dalassene, who effectively controls the domestic administration of the empire for the first half of her son Alexios' reign. The colorful description of Anna Dalassene's religiosity in the *Alexiad* has been taken as a faithful reflection of her deep piety.

This study argues that the portrayal of Anna Dalassene as a heavenly-minded and pious nun was conditioned by the need to respond to 12th century ideas of proper notions of gender. Anna Komnene deployed both Christian and classical themes to exonerate her grandmother and father from charges of mishandling of gender roles and inappropriate behavior. Depicting Dalassene as a nun was one part of this strategy.

Anna Dalassene's co-rule with her son for around 20 years challenged two areas of cultural assumption in Byzantium: first, the ideas about women in power, and second, the ideas about motherhood and male adulthood. Women in power, such as Dalassene, were open to criticism for incompetence in administration and the lust for power. Another set of gender-related criticisms relates to Dalassene's unusual extended period of motherly tutelage over Alexios and his resultant immaturity and dependence on his mother. Roman mothers had an important role in the education and formation of their sons. However, the effort of sons to break away from maternal tutelage was considered appropriate. When considered against a background of classical construction of imperial motherhood, the ongoing interference of Alexios's mother in his affairs once he had reached adulthood challenged his adult masculinity.

Komnene, desiring to portray Dalassene and Alexios positively, responded to the lack of correspondence between Dalassene and Alexios and the standard ideals of behavior by constructing a complex narrative deploying classical and Christian ideals. Komnene

lished national mechanisms to deal with the threats, and when Indonesia's national, bilateral, and trilateral efforts had begun to show positive results.

In spite of the increased profile associated with armed robbery at sea and maritime terrorism after 2001, Indonesia did not perceive any benefit from joining global maritime security initiatives such as the CSI and the PSI. This was due to the fact that they were already benefiting from various security efforts and the country was facing a range of other issues in its waterways. The government perceives threats, such as illegal fishing, smuggling, and the movement of illegal immigrants as more pressing than armed robbery at sea or maritime terrorism because they pose direct threats to Indonesia's economy, its territorial integrity, and the livelihood of its fishing communities and industry.

The key findings of this research suggest that in order for the international community to better engage with Indonesia on maritime security, there is a need to understand, and adapt to, the concerns of key domestic actors. In terms of future research, this article views Indonesia in isolation. It would be fruitful to compare and contrast Indonesia with Malaysia and Singapore and how these states perceive maritime terrorism and sea robbery, how they vary in their responses, and what the reasons might be for these differences. ∎

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blends classical and Christian imagery in the Alexiad, making it difficult to clearly divide her models and ideals into distinct religious categories. Komnene compares Dalassene to the Mother of God as another way to justify Dalassene's power and Alexios's dependence on his mother. Moreover, to refute the "lust-for-power" criticisms, Komnene introduces Dalassene's depiction as devout nun and a spiritual counselor to Alexios, and uses Roman and Christian ideas about the mother-son relationship, where the mother takes care of her family and her son is obedient and respectful.

These strategies help Anna Komnene counter criticisms directed against her father and her grandmother and create a positive image of both Dalassene and Alexios. This also means that the intense use of religious images and rhetoric in relation to Anna Dalassene in the Alexiad should not be taken at face value because it is conditioned by the problems connected with gender-related cultural assumptions about women in power, motherhood, and male adulthood. ∎

Marin CERCHEZ is pursuing a PhD in history at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

ABSTRACT

Foreign Participation in the Banking Sector of Transition Countries

Revaz GERADZE, Georgia
DAAD-OSI Program, 2011-2013

In the early 1990s, most transitional countries of the former Soviet Union liberalized licensing policies and started a process of privatizing state-owned banks. This process increased the number of banks, causing sharp growth in credit and an overheating of some transition economies. As a result, the quality of loans worsened, with governments starting "consolidation programs" and raising minimum reserve requirements. The result of these measures created a liquidity problem for banks. Transition countries responded by seeking out foreign investors to acquire liquid assets. Despite the fact that all transition economies experienced at least one banking crisis in their transition periods, the asset share of foreign banks increased in these countries at a fast rate.

The aim of this work is to determine the factors that affected foreign bank participation (FBP) in transition countries.

Specifically, this research will attempt to answer questions relating to the main determinants of FBP in transition countries and the importance of banking crises in determining FBP levels. The paper provides an overview of the tendencies of the foreign banking capital flows in transitional countries and reviews the existing literature regarding causes of foreign bank presence.

The research addresses endogenous crisis variables and computes them against the cash surplus/deficit variable. Instrumental Variable (IV) estimation results show that countries which have experienced banking crises tend to have high FBP, a result that aligns with the hypothesis that transition countries which have had banking crises have promoted foreign capital inflow in the banking sector. Econometric analysis also shows that factors such as regulatory barriers, institutional factors, and different risk factors influence the decision of banks to operate overseas. The result shows that investors in transition countries do pay significant attention to the political stability of the country. ∎

Revaz GERADZE is a pursuing an MSc in International Economics and Finance at Otto-von-Guericke Universität Magdeburg, Germany.

Alumni Updates

It is always impressive to see the array of creative and diverse paths our alumni take after they complete their grants. The brief updates from a number of alumni below provide readers with a snapshot of the research, areas of interest, and professional occupations that Scholarship Programs' recipients are pursuing. As always, we encourage any and all alumni to contribute updates on their research and professional activities and any opportunities for collaboration with others in our community of scholars.

CNOUS–OSI Program

2006-2007

Talgat ABDRAKHMANOV (Kazakhstan) is a lecturer at the University Bordeaux in France and is interested in Arab and Islamic studies. talkavo@yahoo.fr

2007-2008

Zhanna KARIMOVA (Kazakhstan) is a chief analyst at the Information-Analytic Center in Kazakhstan. Her interests are sociology of professions, education, and female mathematicians. zhanna.karimova07@gmail.com

2008-2009

Elvira KHAKIMOVA (Kazakhstan) is a PhD student at IMT Lucca, and a researcher affiliated with the Pedagogic University in Kazakhstan. Elvira is currently researching the public cultural policy of Central Asia. elvira0404@gmail.com

DAAD–OSI Program

2003

Tornike GURULI (Georgia) is a lecturer and PhD student at the Georgian Institute of Public Affairs and head of the Marketing and PR Department at the Wissol Group. Tornike is interested in social media and democratic participation. tornike.guruli@wissol.ge

Akaki IREMADZE (Georgia) is a lawyer and director of a trading company who is interested in constitutional law.

Mariam ORKODASHVILI (Georgia) is a lecturer at Georgian American University. Her interests include linguistic anthropology, language and society, and the study of ethnic and linguistic groups. morkoda@yahoo.com

2004

Artur GATIN (Kazakhstan): currently works in the logistics sector. artwell@mail.ru

Michael BRYNZOV (Kyrgyzstan) is a marketing services manager at The Linde Group. michael457@yandex.ru

Susanna KHACHTRYAN (Armenia) is the AFP-HESP Coordinator. She is interested in higher educational reform and policy.

2005

Shalva BESHIR (Georgia) is a senior associate at State Street Bank, Munich, Germany, and is interested in the financial crisis, markets, and optimal regulation. beshiashalva@yahoo.com

Tamar DAVITAIA (Georgia) is the deputy head of the municipal Internal Audit and Monitoring Department in Tbilisi. tamuvida@yahoo.de

Tamar TSOPURASHVILI (Georgia) is an associate professor at Ilia State University and acting director of the S. Tsereteli Institute for Philosophy. Tamar's interests include medieval studies, philosophy of language, and philosophy of religion. tamar.tsopurashvili@iliauni.edu.ge

OSI European Studies Program

2008

Tamara GAMKRELIDZE (Georgia) is the executive director of Europe Our House, and is interested in identity formation among the Georgian people since the 1990s. tamuna@hotmail.co.uk

Nataliya GLADKOVA (Ukraine) is a PhD candidate at Maastricht University, and is interested in African migration and transnationalism. nataliya@gladkova.kiev.ua

Kateryna RUSKYKH (Ukraine) is a researcher at the think tank, CASE Ukraine. She is interested in economic reform, economic governance, and the financial sector. ruskykh@case-ukraine.kiev.ua

Valeriya SHAMRAY (Ukraine) is working on a research project on EU-Ukraine visa liberalization, and is interested in EU external relations, Eastern European partnerships, and enlargement.

Natalia SHAPOVALOVA (Ukraine) is a PhD student at the University of Warwick, and an associate researcher at FRIDE. She is interested EU foreign policy, interest group politics in the EU, and the Eastern dimension of European neighborhood policy.

Dinu TODERASCU (Moldova) is a program officer at the German Marshall Fund of the United States in Bucharest. dtoderascu@yahoo.com

2009

Nino BOLKVADZE (Georgia) is a senior evaluation and auditing associate at the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, and manages a project aimed at strengthening the Public Defender's Institute in Georgia to protect the rights of ethnic minorities. n.bolkvadze@student.maastrichtuniversity.nl

Ludmila CEBAN (Moldova) works in development consulting for the Swedish Institute for Public Administration, specializing in institutional development in transitional/developing countries. ludmila.ceban@sipu.se

Ion EFROS (Moldova) is a national consultant at the UN Industrial Development Organization in Moldova and the Moldovan Ministry of Environment, and is interested in the environment and sustainable energy. efros.ion@gmail.com

Levan MAKHASHVILI (Georgia) is a visiting lecturer at Tbilisi State University and a senior coordinator at the Witness and Victim Coordinator Service at the Main Prosecutor's Office of Georgia. Levan is interested in European Union governance and conflict resolution. levanmakhashvili@gmail.com

2010

Maryna YAROSHEVYCH is an intern with the European Parliament, and is interested in EU external, institutional, and constitutional affairs. yaroshevych.m@gmail.com

Artem VITKOVSKYI is a product marketing specialist at Samsung Electronics. un@ukr.net

Faculty Development Fellowship Program

2002-2004

Lela SAMNIASHVILI (Georgia) teaches at the American Academy and Tbilisi State University and is interested in comparative literature and higher education policies.

2004-2006

Leila KIKNADZE (Georgia) is currently an associate professor at the University of Georgia, where she teaches epochs and religion as well as societal and political models of the Muslim World. She is interested in Islamic fundamentalism and minority issues in the Middle East. leila_kiknadze@yahoo.com

Saltanat MAMBAIEVA (Kyrgyzstan) is an associate professor at Kyrgyz Turkish Manas University in the Department of Simultaneous Translation, and is interested in the concept of family among Native American and Kyrgyz tribal people. saltanatmambaeva@gmail.com

2005

Tamar DAGARGULIA (Georgia) is executive director of the Zugdidi Community Development Center, and teaches British and American history at Zugdidi Teaching University. Her focus is on gender policy in modern Georgia, as well as youth issues, civil education, and the integration problems faced by internally-displaced peoples. dagargulia@yahoo.com

2005-2007

Joldon KUTMANALIEV (Kyrgyzstan) is in the PhD program at the European University Institute in Florence, and is interested in political violence and ethnic politics. joldon@yandex.ru

2006-2008

Mzia CHIKHRADZE (Georgia) is a senior research fellow at the George Chubinashvili National Research Center for Georgian Art History and Heritage Preservation, studying relationships between Georgian modern art and Western arts. mchikhradze@hotmail.com

2007-2010

Yerzhan Bek ALI (Kazakhstan) is currently an associate professor at the Information Technologies University in Kazakhstan. Yerzhan is interested in regional transformations in Central/South Asia and teaches history, political science, and sociology, and is a research group academic mentor and supervisor.

Samara IULDASHEVA (Kyrgyzstan) works as a community support assistant at the OSCE's Security Initiatives Project, and is interested in security issues in South Kyrgyzstan and religious tolerance. samara1979@gmail.com

2010-2012

Sugarmaa MYAGMARJAV (Mongolia) is a teacher and researcher who is interested in the psychosocial aspects of health and illness. msumaa@yahoo.com

Georgia Scholarship for Educational Professionals

2007-2008

George ZEDGINIDZE is an assistant professor at Ilia State University, and serves as Georgia's deputy minister of Environment Protection.

2008-2009

Tea GERGEDAVA is head of the Department of Foreign Relations at Tbilisi State University, and is interested in higher education reform in transitional countries. Tea_Gergedava@mail.harvard.edu

2009-2011

Irina ABULADZE is the program manager at the International School for Caucasus Studies at Ilia State University in Georgia. Her interests include higher education policy, democratization, and education. abuladze.irina@gmail.com

Global Supplementary Grants Program

2005

Plamen NIKOLOV (Bulgaria) is an economist at the European Commission in Brussels and provides policy advice on economic and monetary union in Europe. Plamen is interested in macroeconomic research.

2006

Alin COMAN (Romania) is an assistant professor of psychology and public policy at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. Alin is interested in the formation of collective memories and beliefs.

Gentiana SADIKAJ (Kosovo—grant years 2007, 2009, 2010) is a graduate student interested in researching personal and situational influences on interpersonal behavior. gsadikaj@gmail.com

2009-2011

Jambul AKKAZIEV (Russia) is a PhD student in history at the University of Wisconsin, and is also an academic writing instructor. Jambul is interested in the history of the Kazakh steppe, the Russian empire and the literature of Central Asia. akkaziev@wisc.edu

Aisalkyn BOTOEVA (Kyrgyzstan) is returning to Kyrgyzstan to conduct research for her doctoral dissertation, focusing on the rise of Islamic financial institutions in post-Soviet Central Asia and their goal of competing in the market while retaining credibility as Islamic banks. aisalkyn.botoeva@gmail.com

Nataliya GAVRILOVA (Russia) is in a PhD program in the Department of Comparative Literature at the CUNY Graduate Center, and teaches literature at Queens College. She is interested in contemporary Anglo-American and Russian literature, poetry, modernism, and translation studies. ngavrilova@gc.cuny.edu

Alla KORZH (Ukraine) is a doctoral candidate and peer advisor at Teachers College, Columbia University, studying international education. Alla's research focuses on the quality of orphanage education in Ukraine. ak2875@tc.columbia.edu

Rena SALAYEVA (Azerbaijan) provides consultancy services to assist organizations conducting research on peace, security, and economic development issues. Rena is interested in researching the central command institutions of the Soviet Union, political demography, and partisan politics. rsalayeva@yahoo.com

Tijana STEVANOVIC (Serbia—grant years 2009, 2011) teaches at Newcastle University and is pursuing PhD research on the conditions of sovereignty and self-management in New Belgrade architecture and urbanism. Tijana is interested in architectural criticism and the social conditions of architectural practice. tijana.stevanovic@gmail.com

Palestinian Rule of Law Program

2004

Hisham ABU NADA is a judge in the Gaza Conciliation Court at the court of first instance. He also works as a law lecturer at the Islamic University of Gaza, and is studying for his PhD at Ankara University.

2005

Mohammad REMAILAH is a legal advisor at the Norwegian Refugee Council in Palestine. mohammad-1n@yahoo.com

2006

Ayman KHALIFA teaches Arabic composition and identity, culture, and the classroom at Al-Quds Bard Honors College, and advises and mentors graduate students. aymankhalifah@gmail.com

Iyad TAYYEM is the president of the Nablus District Court in the West Bank, and is interested in human rights and criminal procedures in Palestine. Itayyem2@yahoo.com

2007

Mohammed ALKHADER works as an academic researcher and lecturer at Birzeit University's Institute of Law, and is also a lawyer specializing in administrative and constitutional law. His research interests include media and the judiciary, religion, and constitutional law. mhd.khader@gmail.com

Mahmoud KITTANA is an associate and legal advisor at ITTQAN Consulting Services in Palestine, and is interested in researching the nature and notions of human dignity. mahmoodmlk@yahoo.com

2007

Said A. ALMADHOUN is a human rights officer at the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in Gaza, as well as a lecturer of law and moot court at the University of Palestine. He is interested in researching environmental law, the miscarriage of justice and violation of due process rights in the Gaza strip, and the institutional and legal framework of the press and media in Gaza. saidalmadhoun@yahoo.com

2009

Motaz AL NAOUQ is a PhD candidate at the University of Zurich pursuing research on human rights, with a special focus on the right to life.

Palestinian Faculty Development Program

2006

Akram M. IJLA is a part-time lecturer at Al Quds Open University and an assistant professor at the University of Palestine in Gaza and is interested in social capital, cultural heritage, and spatial analysis. akramijla@yahoo.co.uk

2006

Ahmad NOUBANI is an assistant professor at Birzeit University, and is interested in landscape and urban ecology, environmental planning, and traditional ecological knowledge. aalnoubani@birzeit.edu

Social Work Fellowship Program

2001

Nazim HABIBOV (Azerbaijan) is an associate professor at the University of Windsor, and is interested in social policy in Central Asia and the Caucasus, particularly poverty, inequality, healthcare, and childcare.

2002

Jildyz URBAEVA (Kyrgyzstan) is a PhD student in social work at Arizona State University, and is interested in HIV and AIDS and social network analysis, with a focus on Central Asia and Russia.

2003

Zulfiya BAKHTIBEKOVA (Tajikistan) is a PhD researcher at the University of Exeter, and is interested in studying the underlying causes of child marriages in Tajikistan. zulfiya_b@yahoo.com

2005

Mashura AKILOVA (Tajikistan) is a DFP fellow at Columbia University, and is interested in researching child labor and poverty. akilova@gmail.com

Kamil ALIYEV (Azerbaijan) works as a program supervisor at Azerbaijan University and is responsible for the BSW, MSW, BBA, MBA and MA programs. kamilaliyev@yahoo.com

Altantsooj BAZARVAANI (Mongolia) is a program manager at a child rights and protection organization. baz.altan@gmail.com

Zurab TATANASHVILI (Georgia) lectures at Tbilisi State University, and is interested in researching TB treatment and psycho-social factors in health care. zurabtat@gmail.com

2006

Feride ABBASOVA (Azerbaijan) works as a supervisor and consultant for mobile teams serving children with disabilities and their families in remote regions of Azerbaijan. Feride is interested in researching the institutionalization, maltreatment, and development of children. frida_afr@yahoo.com

Nana RUKHADZE (Georgia) works as a family support program manager at SOS Children's Villages in Georgia. She has been recently admitted to the PhD program in social work at Tbilisi State University, and is interested in services for socially vulnerable children and their families.

2007

Turana ALIYEVA (Azerbaijan) teaches social work at Baku State University, and has a private practice in family counseling. Turana's interests are in cross-cultural adaptation of assessment tools for children. kebirli_turan@yahoo.co.uk

2008

Darejan DVALISHVILI (Georgia) is a consultant at UNICEF Georgia, and is interested in researching poverty, domestic violence, juvenile justice, and family issues. dvalishvilid@gmail.com

Tamerlan RAJABOV (Azerbaijan) is the planning, monitoring and evaluation officer at UNICEF Azerbaijan, and teaches statistics and research methods at Azerbaijan University. Tamerlan is interested in the welfare, health, and mental health of children. trajabov@wustl.edu

Supplementary Grants Program–Asia

2000-2003, 2004-2006

Lin Lin Aung is a monitoring and evaluation manager at the YouthMap Africa Program and the International Youth Foundation, and also works as an adjunct lecturer at Mary Baldwin College. Lin is interested in youth development in Sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia. llaung@yahoo.com

2004-2007

Phillip Kyaw is conducting research focusing on impact assessments of modern rice varieties in Uganda. pyaephyok@gmail.com

2005-2010

Nan Lung is currently waiting to go back to Burma. lung.nan@gmail.com

2006

Zaw Nay Aung is the founder and director of Burma Independence Advocates, a human rights advocacy group and think tank in London. He recently had a visiting research fellowship at Oxford University.

2009-2010

Htet Nay Lin Oo will start a doctorate in public health in August at the Department of

International Health, and is interested in researching health systems and financing.

Su Mon Cho works with Proximity Designs as a social impact assessment manager, and is interested in the social and economic impact of development and micro-loan programs and cash-for-work infrastructure projects. su.mon.cho@gmail.com

2009-2011

Swe Swe currently works as an ELL academic instructor at Milwaukee Job Corps.

Undergraduate Exchange Program

2006

Uuriituya BATSAIKHAN (Mongolia) is currently a summer research assistant with the Global Economy Program at the Center for International Governance Innovation in Canada, and is interested in the political economy of development and monetary policy. uuree_mf@yahoo.com

Corina MURAFA (Romania) is a public and regulatory affairs expert with OMV Petrom, and a team leader of the Romanian Academic Society. Corina is interested in public service delivery and energy policies. corina.murafa@gmail.com

2007

Simona IFTIMESCU (Romania) is an educational consultant in Romania, and is interested in education. simona.iftimescu@stx.oxon.org

2008

Oyundelger ENKHTUR (Mongolia) is a Fulbright Master's Student at Western Michigan University majoring in counselor education, and is interested in researching the education system in Mongolia. tarva.yonzom@gmail.com

Tijana KAITOVIC (Serbia) is an intern at the UN Secretariat in the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, and is pursuing an MA in sustainability, development, and peace at the UN University in Tokyo. Tijana is interested in researching gender mainstreaming in the UN. tjnktvc@yahoo.com

Doina POSTICA (Moldova) is a legal advisor at the Advocates Law Center in Moldova, and also advises the World Committee of the World Organization of the Scout Movement. Doina is interested in international jurisdictions.

Ena SULC (Croatia) is working on an MA in Jewish civilizations at the Hochschule fur Judische Studien in Germany, and is interested in the prophecy in Maimonides and Spinoza.

Valeriia SHESTAK (Ukraine) is studying for an MA in economic policy in global markets at Central European University in Budapest, and interning at the National Bank of Slovakia's regulation department. Valeriia is interested in macroprudential regulation and economic globalization. valeriia.shestak@gmail.com

Ana SIMON (Moldova) is pursuing an MA at the University of Warwick, and is working on a dissertation titled "The Requisite of an Identity," an investigative study into work identity at Moldovan advertising agencies. ana.simmon@gmail.com

Enkhbilguun UUGANBAYAR (Mongolia) works as an induction and safety trainer at the Oyu Tolgoi copper mine in Mongolia.

2009

Indra BAATARKHUU (Mongolia) works at the Asian Development Bank. indra2008@yahoo.com

Oli HRISTOVA (Macedonia) is currently pursuing an MA in political science at Central European University in Budapest, and is interning at the Balkan Institute for Faith and Culture. Oli is interested in researching institutional design, comparative politics, and political theology.

Sandra KOSTADINOVA (Macedonia) is an associate director of English at Camp Master, and is interested in clinical linguistics, language development, and autism. sandricka_K89@yahoo.com

Milana LAZIC (Serbia) is pursuing an MA in international security at the University of Belgrade, and works at the Social Inclusion and Poverty Reduction Unit. She is interested in researching social exclusion and security, human rights, and globalization. milanalazic@gmail.com

Marija PANTOVIC (Serbia) is a journalist working at Sumadija Press dealing with corruption in local governance. pantovic.marija@yahoo.com

Alexandra SIMOSKA (Macedonia) is an intern at the Youth Entrepreneurship Service Foundation (YES), and an executive board member at Youth Can in Macedonia. She is interested in gender studies and human rights. a.simoska@yahoo.fr

Maryna SUINA (Ukraine) is working as a recruiter for Vitaver & Associates. marishka.90@live.co.uk

Angela VELKOVA (Macedonia) teaches English and business at Fifth Private High School in Macedonia, and is the co-founder and executive director of the Preparing Global Leaders Institute. She also volunteers for the Mladiinfo Grant Center, and is interested in development studies.

2010

Bujar ARUQAJ (Kosovo) is an investigative journalist at the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network, and an MA student in international development at the University of Denver. Bujar is interested unsustainable and human development. aruqaj.bujar@gmail.com

Alla CHERNENKO (Ukraine) will begin her MA in sociology at Middle Tennessee State University, and is interested in feminist and queer theory, as well as social inequalities. alla.chernenko9@gmail.com

Byambasuren CHULUUNBAT (Mongolia) is working in the mining sector, and is interested in researching mining and natural resource law. byambasuren@mongoliaminerals.com

Margarita GORLO (Ukraine) is a senior student of international relations at Odessa National Mechnikov University, and is interested in researching anticorruption efforts and the Islamic dimensions of international terrorism. margarita.gorlo@gmail.com

Snezana MALIC (Serbia) is a security studies student at the University of Belgrade , and an intern at the Belgrade Center for Security Policy. Snezana is interested in researching homeland and international security. Snezana_malic@yahoo.com

Maksim MARCHEVICI (Ukraine) works at the Eastern-Ukrainian Democracy Development Foundation. mmarchevici@gmail.com

UK Programs

2002

Alexander SHARF (Belarus) is a senior project manager at the Centre for European Projects in Poland. alshme@yahoo.com

Meriem GREY (Kyrgyzstan) works on communications and external affairs at the World Bank Group, specifically for East Asia and the Pacific.

2003

Gazmend AHMETI (Kosovo) is a senior coordinator and public/private partnerships advisor at the Ministry of Finance in Kosovo, with a specific interest in privatization. gazmeti@gmail.com

Sonja KITANOVSKA (Macedonia) is a PhD candidate in translation studies at St. Cyril and Methodius University, and teaches courses in business writing, presentations, and skills, , as well as academic writing and English. Sonja is interested in styles of translation, academic writing, and ESL. sonjakitanovska@yahoo.com

Raluca PARASCHIV (Romania) is a lecturer in arts management at the Bucharest National University of the Arts, and is interested in researching public spaces and contemporary and urban art.

Aynur YUSIFOVA (Azerbaijan) is a project management specialist at the Democracy and Governance Office of the USAID Mission in Azerbaijan. Aynur is interested in the case law of the European Court of Human Rights and its impact on domestic legal systems.

Irina VELICU (Romania) is a lecturer in international relations and globalization at the Spiru Haret University in Bucharest, and is interested in social movements and the politics of aesthetics and post-communism. irina@hawaii.edu

2004

Shakeel Ahmed IMTIAZ (Pakistan) works as an advisor at the GIZ Governance Program in Pakistan focusing on local civil service and training, and is interested in political Islam and security in Central Asia.

Elona DHEMBO (Albania) is a lecturer at the University of Tirana, and is interested in social research methods, social policy, and gender issues. edhembo@yahoo.co.uk

Milena PANAYOTOVA (Bulgaria) is a health promotion expert at the Youth Department of the Bulgarian Red Cross. mgpanayotova@gmail.com

Darko PAVLOVSKI (Macedonia) is a case processing lawyer at the European Court of Human Rights in France, and is interested in human rights and international law.

Veljko VORKAPIC (Croatia) works at the Joint Research Centre's Institute for Energy and Transport and is interested in biomass sustainability. veljko.vorkapic@jrc.ec.europa.eu

2005

Boyka DOCHEVA (Bulgaria) is an HR partner at the IBM Global Delivery Centre in Bulgaria, and is interested in management and development of leadership and talent. boykad@abv.bg

Kanstantsin DZEHTSIARON (Belarus) is a lecturer in the law of the European Convention on Human Rights at the University of Surrey. k.dzehtsiarou@gmail.com

Branimir JOVANOVIC (Macedonia) is an economic analyst at the National Bank of the Republic of Macedonia, and is working on a PhD at Tor Vergata University in Italy. Branamir is interested in recoveries after economic crises and monetary policy models. branimir.jovanovic@uniroma2.it

Monika FARAH (Indonesia) is the officer for security cooperation at ASEAN and works on cooperation activities in transnational crime with ASEAN member states and dialogue partners. farah.monika@asean.org

Ilija PENUSLISKI (Macedonia) is an attorney specializing in international dispute settlement and arbitration. ipenusliski@yahoo.com

Natasha TRAJKOVA (Macedonia) is a lecturer at the University St. Clement of Ohrid in Macedonia and is interested in transitional economics. n.trajkova@staffs.ac.uk

Aziza UMAROVA (Uzbekistan) is on the head of governance team with the UNDP in Uzbekistan, and is interested in governance, public administration reform, and knowledge management and innovation in development work. azizabonu@yahoo.com

Ozlem YAZLIK (Turkey) is a PhD candidate at the University of Edinburgh, and will explore women's identity and adult literacy in Turkey. ozlemyazlik@gmail.com

2006

Akmal ABDULLAYEV (Uzbekistan) is a consultant-assistant at the UNDP in Uzbekistan, and teaches a course on international security studies at the University of World Economy and Diplomacy. Akmal is interested in Central Asia, Islam, and theories of security studies.

Jane BOGOEV (Macedonia) is an analyst at the National Bank of the Republic of Macedonia, and is interested in monetary transaction mechanisms, central bank independence, and monetary and fiscal policy interactions. janebogoev@yahoo.com

Adnan EFENDIC (Bosnia & Herzegovina) is an assistant professor and deputy head at the School of Economics and Business in Sarajevo, and is interested in institutions and economic performance. A.Efendic@staffs.ac.uk

Zara MAHMUDOVA (Tajikistan) works at the UN OHCHR in Tajikistan as a national program officer, and is interested in engaging civil society in monitoring aid effectiveness and human rights compliance. Zara.mahmudova@gmail.com

Satya Budi UTAMA (Indonesia) works at the International Organization for Migration as the project coordinator for the Emergency Operation Center in Indonesia, and is interested in business and human rights. bungtommo@gmail.com

Merita ZULFIU (Macedonia) is an assistant lecturer at South East European University, and is interested in foreign ownership and labor market inequality in transition economies. m.zulfiu@seeu.edu.mk

2007

Sukaina BHOJANI (Pakistan) trains teachers in the rural Sindh province and works as a psychotherapist at a private rehabilitation center in Pakistan, dealing with clients managing drug addiction. sukainabhojani@hotmail.com

Miroslav DOSEN (Serbia) is an expert coordinator of the Contracts Department at the Naftna Industrija Srbije. miroslavnb@hotmail.com

Evgeniya IVANOVA (Belarus) is a PhD student interested in studying citizenship, gender, disaster studies, and post-Chernobyl politics.

Victoria KUMALA (Indonesia) is a PhD candidate in anthropology and a lecturer at the Freie Universität in Berlin, as well as the co-founder and director of Mauerpark Institut e.V. in Berlin. Victoria is interested in Southeast Asia, violence/subjectivity, and the ways communities rebuild their lives after conflict.

Teodor MOGA (Romania) is studying at the postdoctoral program at the Romanian Academy and is an associate lecturer at the Alexandru Ioan Curza University of Iasi. Teodor is interested in EU Foreign Affairs, EU-NATO relations, and the European Neighborhood Policy. teomoga@yahoo.com

Osman RRACI (Kosovo) works for the Enterprise Growth Program in Kosovo and has recently become a certified management consultant. Osman won the Olda Radzyner Award 2011 for young economists from the National Bank of Austria. mrraci@hotmail.com

Kielbek TEMISHEV (Kyrgyzstan—grant years 2007–2008) is working at the UN Agency for Refugees in Kyrgyzstan, and is interested in joint and individual public administration and policy studies research. kialtem@mail.ru

2008

Bosko STANKOVSKI (Macedonia) is a PhD candidate at the University of Cambridge, working on a thesis about international law. He is interested in issues of self-determination, secession, and peace agreements. boskostankovski@yahoo.com.

Masqud ARIPOV (Tajikistan) is an area manager at the UNDP in Tajikistan, and is interested in private public partnership models, local economic development initiatives, demography, and migration. maqsud_aripov@yahoo.com

Ketrina CABIRI (Albania) is a project manager and lecturer on theories of democracy, and is interested in institutional reforms, constitutionalism, and the political culture of leadership. ketrina9@yahoo.com

Albulenë JAHJA (Kosovo) is a lecturer interested in economics. albjahja@hotmail.com

Ermal LUBISHTANI (Kosovo) is currently a lecturer, and is interested in industrial economics, innovation, and entrepreneurship. elubishtani@gmail.com

Aya MARAQA (Jordan) is a grants officer at the Foundation for the Future, and is interested in researching Jerusalem studies. ayamaraqa@hotmail.com

Mazhar SIRAJ (Pakistan) works as a social development advisor at the UK Department for International Development in Pakistan, and is interested in interdisciplinary social research, education finance, development economics, and human rights and sociology. m-siraj@dfid.gov.uk

Irena SPASENOSKA (Macedonia) is an economic and legal advisor at a law firm, and is interested in researching foreign direct investment in Macedonia.

Betty YOLANDA (Indonesia) is a program manager at the American Bar Association's Rule of Law Initiative in Indonesia, and is interested in human rights in Southeast Asia, torture, armed conflict, and refugee law. byolanda.roli@gmail.com

2009

Awaliyah ANWARI (Indonesia) is a desk officer at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia.

Gantunngalag ALTANSUKH (Mongolia) is a PhD candidate at the University of Manchester, and is interested in econometric techniques relating to time series analysis. gantungalaga@gmail.com

Marija KRSTIC (Serbia) is a research assistant and a PhD student at the University of Belgrade in philosophy and ethnology and anthropology. Marija is interested in the Europeanization of Serbia and the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage.

Denis KOVALENKO (Kyrgyzstan) works as a monitoring and evaluation officer at Breast Cancer Care in London, and was previously a program development officer at the USAID Office of Transition Initiatives. denis_kyr@yahoo.com

Rola MIQDADI (Jordan) is a projects officer at Mizan Law in Jordan, and is interested in individualism, sustainability, corruption of humanitarian entities, and gender equity. ofmyown@hotmail.com

Ajmal POYA (Afghanistan) joined the Afghan government's Ministry of Finance as a senior aid effectiveness and policy specialist, and is interested in public policy analysis, policy implementation in democratic systems, and capacity building in post-conflict contexts. ajmalpoya@gmail.com

Yauheni PREIHERMAN (Belarus) is a policy director at the Analytical Society Liberal Club in Belarus, and is interested in socio-economic and political transformations and Eurasian, Eastern European, and Belarusian geopolitics. yauheni.belarus@gmail.com

Maja SAVEVSKA (Macedonia) is a PhD candidate at the University of Warwick and Universite Libre de Bruxelles, and is interested in the socio-economic restructuring of the EU. M.Savevska@warwick.ac.uk

Franky SILALAHI (Indonesia) is a diplomat posted in Port Moresby, and is interested in international law, foreign policy, and international security. frank766hi@yahoo.com

Dzhakhongir SHAMSIEV (Tajikistan) works at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. shamsied@ebrd.com

Suhrob SHOEV (Tajikistan) grant years: 2009-2010 is a human dimension assistant at the OSCE Office in Tajikistan. suhrob_sh@yahoo.com

Unurbayar SODNOMDORJ (Mongolia) is a project officer and translator at the Urban Development Sector Project, funded by the Asian Development Bank, and is interested in economic security issues in Mongolia. sodnom_onor@yahoo.com

Katarina SZIMBEG (Croatia) is an associate at the law firm, Zuric I Partneri. katarina.dzimbeg@gmail.com

Gezim VISOKA (Kosovo) is working on a PhD in politics and international relations at Dublin City University, examining the unintended consequences of international governance in Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and East Timor. Gezim is interested in peace and conflict studies, sovereignty, and social justice.

Dijana VUJOVIC (Montenegro) is a senior auditor at Deloitte in Montenegro. dijana.vujovic@yahoo.com ■

Contribute to the next Scholar Forum

Health and Rights

Southeast Asia

The 16th Edition of *ScholarForum*, to be produced in late 2013, calls on Scholarship Programs' grantees and alumni to submit articles, opinion pieces, and short essays on the issue of health and rights. The 16th edition will also focus separately on Southeast Asia, and writings about any topics related to this region are welcome as well.

COVER TOPIC: Health and Rights

Good physical, sexual, and mental health for individuals and communities is a fundamental condition for a well-functioning society. Unfortunately, almost all countries, regardless of whether they are rich or poor, suffer from a degree of health inequality. A particularly common and important issue in many countries is a lack of access to health care resources for certain groups in society. In many cases, a combination of poor public knowledge and education, gatekeepers at various levels, and a lack of funding and research can make health care a constant worry for many individuals and communities. The fact that some populations suffer blatant discrimination in accessing health care, are denied advice and care for sexual or mental health issues or receive little to no aid for disabilities, is a clear denial of their human rights. We invite our grantees and alumni to illuminate any facets of this issue through their research, experience, expertise, and opinions. Essays and pictures are welcome.

Length: 750–1000 Words

REGIONAL FOCUS: Southeast Asia

Recent months have seen the beginnings of an unparalleled opening for a country that has spent decades under a military stranglehold: Burma. As former political opponents in Burma start a new dialogue about the country's future, we look to our grantees to continue expressing their thoughts on Burma and the surrounding region. We invite your opinions, essays and research pieces on social, political, environmental, and educational issues facing Burma or any of its neighbors such as Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, and Indonesia.

Length: 750–1000 Words

Personal Essays and Fictional Pieces

We welcome any thoughts you have on your experiences during your scholarship: your reflections, opinions, and photographs are welcome. Works of original fiction that can be serialized can also be submitted for editorial consideration.

Length: 300–750 Words

Alumni

Updates from Scholarship Programs' alumni are key to evaluating our work and provide inspiring material for future leaders in your countries and beyond. Please feel free to send us a brief note on your current professional activities, research interests, or any calls for collaboration at an upcoming event or conference.

Academic Showcase

To build on the wealth of knowledge and critical inquiry Open Society Scholarship Programs' grantees create during their scholarship and beyond, we invite all scholars to submit summaries or abstracts of their research to be published in the *ScholarForum*'s Academic Showcase section.

Submissions should be short and relate to an area of research undertaken as part of an MA or PhD degree, or to independent research conducted in the field. Due to space constraints, Scholarship Programs will only print a selected number of pieces, but will try to send comments from the editorial board to each author.

We would like to offer the following guidelines for Academic Showcase article submissions:

Abstracts: Required format

Abstracts are a concise text encapsulating the whole body of research to be addressed in a longer paper or presentation to follow. Outline the topic of research, the main objective of the research or the research problem, the methodology employed, the main findings, and your conclusions.

Maximum length: 350 words

Research in Progress Essays: Required format

Authors need to be cognizant of the educated but general nature of ScholarForum's audience; therefore specialized terms and concepts should be concisely explained in simple language. Articles should include footnotes and references, and any ideas expressed by other authors should be referred to in Harvard Style citations within text.

Introduction: Include a brief statement on the thesis/rationale to be developed in the article, as well as a short summary of the findings and recommendations. Outline what the work is part of (i.e., PhD, MA, independent research).

Analysis and Discussion: Clearly and concisely explain any of the theories, concepts, and terminology, citing concrete examples. Keep in mind that the audience will be outside of your discipline.

Recommendations (may be included in previous section). Outline your recommendations or aspects for further study or research.

Conclusion: Concisely summarize the content of the work above.

Maximum length: 1500 words

Letters to the Editor

Letters to the Editor regarding the content of *ScholarForum* are welcome and will be printed at the editor's discretion.

Maximum length: 300 words

Submit work to scholarforum@opensocietyfoundations.org. Please feel free to enquire with the editors if you have any questions or feedback.

Deadline for all Submissions: May 15, 2013

HESP
International Higher Education Support Program

The International Higher Education Support Program (HESP) promotes the advancement of higher education within the humanities and social sciences, with a focus on the regions of Central, Eastern and Southeast Europe, Russia, the states of the former Soviet Union, and Mongolia. The program develops academics' intellectual, research, and teaching capacities, supports and develops institutions that function reflexively in line with the values of open societies and that provide spaces where the freedom to think, speak, and inquire critically are respected and encouraged.

More information on HESP Programs can be found at:

www.opensocietyfoundations.org/about/programs/international-higher-education-support-program

Southeast European Student Initiatives

The Student Initiatives helps students formulate and pursue individual and collective commitments to progressive change in higher education and build open and inclusive networks of students and scholars to promote informed opinion and action across borders. The program supports student groups committed to building awareness and strengthening advocacy on the issues immediately relevant to their educational experience and aims to promote a sense of responsibility among students to their academic and local communities. For more details and a list of existing student networks, please see:

www.opensocietyfoundations.org/grants/student-initiatives

HESP Mobility Program

The Mobility Program supports visits to and from a HESP network institution by students enrolled at universities and colleges in Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union and Mongolia. This program has an ongoing deadline, with more information available at:

www.opensocietyfoundations.org/grants/hesp-mobility-program

ALUMNI GRANT PROGRAM

The Open Society Foundations Scholarship Programs is pleased to offer the Alumni Grant Program. This program offers grants to Scholarship Programs alumni to further expand the knowledge gained during their scholarship and to make a positive contribution in their home country. All grant proposals must be related to the Open Society Foundations mission of supporting programs in the areas of educational, social, and legal reform, and of encouraging alternative approaches to complex and often controversial issues.

Research-based awards are also encouraged from qualified alumni who are currently engaged in developing evidence-based approaches to current and upcoming policy issues and who are fully or partly affiliated with a policy institute or higher education institution. Research-based candidates are eligible to apply for a grant to publish in recognized local media or international peer-reviewed journals.

In all cases, preference will be given to collaborative projects between alumni, across countries and with host universities, and to projects that promote the development of a specific discipline in the region.

Detailed information, including eligibility, deadlines and application requirements are available on the Open Society Foundations website: http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/grants/alumni-grant-program, or by sending enquiries to Zarina USMANOVA, Program Manager: zarina.usmanova@opensocietyfoundations.org

The competition for this grant is offered once a year, beginning in January of each year. The application is made available in April of the preceding year, with applications due in May.

OPEN SOCIETY FELLOWSHIP

The Open Society Fellowship supports individuals seeking innovative and unconventional approaches to fundamental open society challenges. The fellowship funds work that will enrich public understanding of those challenges and stimulate far-reaching and probing conversations within the Open Society Foundations and in the world. For detailed information on the Open Society Fellowship and for grantee profiles, please visit: www.opensocietyfoundations.org/about/programs/open-society-fellowship

OPEN SOCIETY SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMS

The Scholarship Programs currently offers awards under the following programs. Programs are country-specific: please check the eligibility requirements carefully. For guidelines and application information, please visit **www.opensocietyfoundations.org/grants**

Alumni Grant Program

The Alumni Grant Program offers grants to Scholarship Programs alumni to further expand the knowledge gained during their fellowship and make a positive contribution to their home country.

Civil Service Awards

The Civil Service Awards offer fellowships for master's degree study, providing professional training and development to public-sector employees engaged in policy analysis and implementation in Georgia and Moldova.

DAAD-OSI Program

The German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and Open Society Scholarship Programs cosponsor a scholarship program for graduate students in the Balkans and graduate students and junior faculty in the Transcaucasian and Central Asian countries of the former Soviet Union.

Disability Rights Scholarship Program

The Disability Rights Scholarship Program provides LLM study grants for Nepal and select countries in Africa and Latin America. The program supports disability rights advocates and lawyers to develop new legislation, jurisprudence, impact litigation and scholarship.

EARTH University Scholarships

The Open Society Foundations provide undergraduate scholarships for students from Haiti to study at EARTH University in Costa Rica.

Global Faculty Grants Program

The Global Faculty Grants Program offers grants for mid-career and senior level faculty from the following countries and regions: Afghanistan, Burma, Nepal, the Middle East and North Africa, and the former Soviet Union.

Global Supplementary Grants Program

The Global Supplementary Grants Program offers supplementary grants to doctoral students from the following regions and countries: the Middle East and North Africa, Mongolia, Southeastern Europe, South Asia, and the former Soviet Union.

Middle East Rule of Law Masters Scholarship Program

The Middle East Rule of Law Masters Scholarship Program offers scholars from Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, and Tunisia the opportunity for scholarships in the fields of public policy and public administration, social work, media and communications studies, LLM, and gender studies at universities within the United States and at Central European University and select universities in the Middle East and North Africa.

Open Society Foundations Scholarships in European Studies

The Open Society Foundations Scholarships in European Studies offer European Studies scholarships at Maastricht and Aarhus universities to scholars from Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, and the Ukraine.

Open Society Foundations/French Government Scholarship Program for Central Asian Students

The Open Society Foundations/French Government Scholarship Program provides funding to individuals from Central Asia to pursue Master 2 degree programs in the social sciences and humanities at universities in France.

South Asia Scholarship Program

The South Asia Scholarship Program provides full fellowships to qualified citizens of Afghanistan, Bhutan and Nepal to complete graduate degrees in sustainable development, counseling, and law.

Supplementary Grant Program—Asia

The Supplementary Grant Program-Asia funds students enrolled in academic programs primarily in Asia and who are likely to return to Burma to work toward its democratic and economic transition.

UK Programs

The Open Society Foundations support scholarships, generally in the social sciences and humanities, for students and scholars from the following regions and countries: Eastern Europe, Mongolia, Southeast Asia, and the former Soviet Union to study at graduate institutions in the UK.

Scholar Rescue Fund

The Scholar Rescue Fund supports scholars who are at risk in their home country by providing them with fellowships at "safe" universities and colleges through¬out the world. Scholars from any country may qualify. For more information, please visit: www.iie.org/srf

Scholar**Forum**

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