CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY CHINA -2024 ANNUAL REPORT



DUKE KUNSHAN
Center for the Study of
Contemporary China



THE CHINA CENTIER
within China

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We extend our heartfelt gratitude to DKU students Nika Kiladze and Lan Wei for their exceptional photographic contributions, which have been featured on the cover and back of this CSCC 2024 Annual Report.

CO-DIRECTOR'S MESSAGE

As new CSCC co-director, I am humbled by all accomplishments of the centre in 2024. Faculty and students published impactful and award winning research, received prestigious research grants, organised numerous meaningful events, and contributed to dozens of international conferences.

While the center's success relies heavily on collaborative efforts of students, faculty, and our program coordinator, the wisdom and leadership of my predecessor co-director Professor Baozhen Luo-Hermanson has been instrumental in guiding these efforts.

The center's strong organisational foundation provides an excellent position to continue building bridges between cultures and countries.

In a world that is increasingly divided, it is my hope that we can (re)connect through our shared interest in contemporary China. By engaging in research, teaching, and events on China, we build community and gain a deeper understanding of pertinent issues while making a strong societal impact and training the next generation of China scholars.

I look forward to building bridges and strengthening our global community of China scholars at DKU, Duke University, and beyond! Thank you for joining me on this exciting journey.

Annemieke van den Dool CSCC Co-Director

About the CSCC

MISSION STATEMENT

The chief mission of the center is to advance world-class research on society, politics, and the economy of contemporary China at Duke Kunshan University—and, in so doing, to contribute to the international reputation of a unique global liberal arts university. To this end and mindful of synergies, the center:

Supports excellence in research on contemporary China

Enriches the undergraduate learning experience by connecting research with social science training

Brings together leading scholars from China and elsewhere around the world

- Five types of annual grants for research and creative projects
- Annual awards to recognize scholarly excellence
- Dissemination of research and creative products through monthly newsletter and social media
- Two types of annual grants to encourage research initiatives by undergraduate students
- Financial and logistical support for student-initiated events
- Hands-on training through paid student positions
- Financial and logistical support for guest lectures, seminars, film screenings, and workshops
- Collaborations with institutions in China and abroad
- Annual community
 service grants to support
 local service-learning

CSCC ADVISORY BOARD



Megan Rogers
Assistant Professor of
Sociology



Fangsheng ZhuAssistant Professor
of Sociology



Fan Liang
Assistant Professor
of Media



Mengqi Wang Assistant Professor of Anthropology



Kaley Clements
Assistant Professor
of Media and Arts



David LandryProfessor of Political
Economy

CSCC LEADERSHIP TEAM

The CSCC is led by two co-directors—one from Duke University and one from Duke Kunshan University. This shared leadership reflects our ambition to build bridges between institutions, countries, and cultures. Advised by the editorial board, the leadership team develops strategy, identifies research focus areas, and ensures alignment with the academic goals of both universities. The co-directors are supported by the Center's senior coordinator, who is responsible for grant management, event organization, administrative and operational support as well as coordination with other university partners.



Melanie Manion

Co-Director, Center for the Study of Contemporary China Vor Broker Family Distinguished Professor of Political Science, Duke University



Baozhen M. Luo-Hermanson

Co-Director (2022-2024), Center for the Study of Contemporary China Professor of Global Health, Duke Kunshan University



Annemieke van den Dool

Associate Co-Director (2024), Center for the Study of Contemporary China Co-Director (from 2025), Center for the Study of Contemporary China Assistant Professor of Environmental Policy, Duke Kunshan University



Chi Zhang

Senior Program Coordinator, Center for the Study of Contemporary China

Impact in Numbers

External funding: \$188,073

In 2024, affiliates of the Center received approximately \$188k in external funding, based on available statistics.

The funding mainly comes from organizations such as the Carnegie Corporation of New York, Harvard-Yenching Institute, Henry Luce Foundation and Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Duke University, and Suzhou and Kunshan Municipal Governments.

Publications: 46

In 2024, CSCC affiliates have contributed to 46 publications, including chapters, books, and journal articles, and have presented at approximately 28 conferences, based on available statistics.

On average, each research cluster published **3-5** research papers, including in Comparative Political Studies, Review of Policy Research, Chinese Education & Society, Journal of Marriage and Family, The Journal of Chinese Philosophy, Advances in Economics Education and more....

Internal grants to DKU faculty and students: \$51,535

The Center funded 22 projects:

- 8 Faculty-Student Collaborative Projects
- 7 Faculty Research & Creative Activity projects
- 4 Community Service Projects
- 3 Student Initiated Research or Creative Projects

Conference presentations: 28

In 2024, CSCC affiliates have presented at more than 28 international conferences, including at the International Conference on China Policy Studies, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, European Association of Social Anthropologists Conference, Annual Meeting of the East Asian Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, 2024 American Psychology Association Conference and more...

Events: 70

In 2024, the Center (co-)hosted 70 events, including lectures, seminars, screenings, exhibitions, and conferences, with **145** speakers participating. These activities were attended by over **2300** online and offline participants.

CSCC Key Areas of Expertise

The CSCC comprises six research clusters building upon our current research strengths. These clusters are:

- China and the Global South
- China Images and Stories
- Meanings, Identities and Communities
- Governing China
- Digital Technology and Society
- Care and Gender

Each cluster is led by one to three faculty members who, guided by the center, formulate strategic plans and objectives. Cluster members are assisted by one or more students in project coordination.



China and the Global South Cluster

The China and Global South Cluster (CGSC) aims to bridge scholars, policy and business practitioners from China, the West and the Global South to enhance production of cutting edge research across a wide range of topics, including but not limited to China's economic and political engagement in Africa; Chinese foreign aid and investment; and China's role in sustainability, security, and governance in the Global South.

Cluster Co-Leads

- Yuan Wang, Assistant Professor of International Relations
- Pippa Morgan, Assistant Professor of Political Science
- David Landry, Assistant Professor of Political Economy

Student Coordinator

Chen(Irene) Xu, Class of 2027



CHINA STORIES & IMAGES CLUSTER



The China Stories & Images Cluster aims to tell, create, publish, and promote different forms of aural and visual storytelling that originate and connect one or more of the following themes: cultural transition, loss of biodiversity, memory, history, identity, and climate change.

Cluster Co-Leads

- Kaley Clements, Assistant Professor of Documentary Arts
- Benjamin Leland Bacon, Associate Professor of Media and Art
- Nathan Hauthaler, Assistant Professor of Philosophy

Student Coordinator

Mai Lam, Class of 2025

Meanings, Identities, and Communities Cluster

The Meanings, Identities, and Communities Cluster seeks to provide affiliated faculty with a supportive space for integrated and interdisciplinary research on China while at the same time building links with the broader community and serving as a bridge between humanities and interpretive social science scholars based in mainland China and the rest of the world. Key themes include but are not limited to religion, social inequality, gender, urbanization, ethnicity, music, urban development, archeology, kunqu opera, literature, feminism, and local impacts of globalization.

Cluster Leads

- Megan Rogers, Assistant Professor of Sociology
- Ben Van Overmeire, Assistant Professor of Religious Studies
- Keping Wu, Associate Professor of Anthropology

Student Coordinator

Zu (Zuo Rui) Gan, Class of 2025

Cluster Faculty Members

- Andrew Field, Associate Professor of Chinese History
- Andrew Wortham, Visiting Assistant Professor of Anthropology
- Kim Hunter Gordon, Assistant Professor of Chinese and Performance Studies
- Wenting Ji, Assistant professor of Chinese language

- Sajida Tuxun, Lecturer of Cultural Anthropology
- Qian Zhu, Assistant Professor of History
- Nellie Chu, Assistant Professor of Anthropology
- Mengqi Wang, Assistant Professor of Anthropology
- Kent Cao, Assistant professor of Art and Archaeology



GOVERNING CHINA CLUSTER

The Governing China Cluster is interdisciplinary and focuses on the study of China's government, executive politics, public policy, law, public administration, and the organization of the state, including its embedded relationships with the ruling Communist Party. It is also interested more broadly in China's decision-making and policy implementation processes across various policy fields, (e.g. environment, social welfare issues, digital governance, health, economy, security, and justice), as well as the multiple actors and stakeholders they involve on various scales, and the formal and informal structures and institutions that underpin them. The cluster aims to bring together DKU faculty members, students and research staff from a range of social science disciplines and also to develop stronger ties both with China scholars in other countries and with the Chinese academic community in China.



Cluster Lead: Fangsheng Zhu, Assistant Professor of Sociology	Cluster Co-Lead: Coraline Goron, Assistant Professor of Environmental Policy
Cluster Faculty Members: Annemieke Van Den Dool, Assistant Professor of Environmental Policy; Jiahua Yue, Assistant Professor of Political Science	Student Coordinator: Haoran Zhang, Class of 2027

Digital Technology & Society Cluster



Cluster Lead:

Fan Liang, Assistant Professor of Media



Cluster Co-Leads:

Charles Chang, Assistant Professor of Environment and Urban Studies; Luyao Zhang, Assistant Professor of Economics

Cluster Faculty Member:

Chen Zhang, Assistant Professor of Urban Planning and Public Policy

Student Coordinator

Chengxi Yin, Class of 2025

Digital Technology and Society Cluster aims to examine the interaction between emerging technologies and Chinese society. As the modes of power have shifted in the era of algorithms, big data, and social media, it is important to understand the role of these new technologies in Chinese society. The cluster investigates technology both in terms of methodology and subject matter for interdisciplinary research that asks how technological shifts shape Chinese society, and vice versa. The mission of the cluster is to promote a deeper understanding of technology and society through research, teaching, and public events within DKU and beyond. The cluster aims to bring together faculty, students, and policymakers to engage in research, research seminars, speaker series, and other activities.

CARE & GENDER CLUSTER

This cluster seeks to bring scholars from various disciplines to discuss gender and care from empirical and analytical points of view. In recent years, interdisciplinary scholars have addressed discourses and acts of care on the topics of gender and housework, childcare and fertility, generation and aging, public health (including mental health), as well as affect and subjectivity. These contributions on care – as practices of labor, gifting, exchange, love, governance, self-management, and personhood – highlight the necessity of attending to the potentialities and possibilities of gender and care as analytical frameworks that may help us to re-imagine our relationships with nature and non-human kin; to redefine our meanings of family, labor, gender, identity, family relations, and community; and to redraw the boundaries that confine us to our disciplinary, national, and gendered forms of inclusion and belonging. Our mission is to provide a platform of scholarly exchange to collaboratively brainstorm novel and intersectional perspectives on care and gender. By privileging gender and care as the focus of our conversations, we hope to encourage and inspire new questions and formulations that will address the problems of climate change, public health, social justice, governance, urban and economic development.

Cluster Leads

- Nellie Chu, Assistant Professor of Anthropology
- Mengqi Wang, Assistant Professor of Anthropology
- Yu Wang, Assistant Professor of Sociology

Student Coordinator

Yixin Gu, Class of 2027

Cluster Faculty Members

- Andrew Wortham, Visiting Assistant Professor of Anthropology
- Baozhen M. Luo-Hermanson, Professor of Global Health

- Binbin Li, Assistant Professor of Environmental Sciences
- Keping Wu, Associate Professor of Anthropology
- Robin Rodd, Associate Professor of Anthropology
- Hyun Jeong Ha, Assistant Professor of Sociology
- Megan Rogers, Assistant Professor of Sociology





CSCC HIGHLIGHTS

Disrepair and Repair: Politics of Care and Gender in Contemporary China

Organized by the Care & Gender Cluster, the seminar titled "Disrepair and Repair: Politics of Care and Gender in Contemporary China" took place May 10-11, 2024. The event gathered a total of 12 interdisciplinary scholars from both domestic and international institutions. The conference delved into the significance and potential of care within the context of gender, housekeeping, aging, public health (including mental health), affect, and subjectivity in Chinese society.

The discussions were structured into three panels. The first panel, guided by Dr. Yu Wang, centered on the family as the nucleus of analysis and discussed how gender, domestic dynamics, migratory patterns, and well-being are interwoven and shaped by caregiving practice. The second panel, led by Dr. Nellie Chu, investigated the often-unacknowledged acts of care encapsulated in the production, consumption, and distribution of textiles, underlining their gendered nature. Dr. Mengqi Wang chaired the third panel which focused on the notions of care during times of infrastructure breakdown and repair, particularly in situations of disasters and crises.

The seminar concluded with a book talk by Dr. Casey James Miller regarding his recently published work, "Inside the Circle: Queer Culture and Activism in Northwest China," where he shared insights drawn from over a decade of ethnographic research within queer activist communities in Xi'an, China.

Throughout the event, the participants not only had the opportunity to exchange scholarly ideas but were also encouraged to rethink the underlying structures of social existence that extend beyond conventional frameworks, emphasizing care as a pervasive element of human life. The seminar urged a reimagination of our connective fabric with society and the environment and advocated for transcending the confines of disciplinary, national, and gender boundaries towards a more inclusive future.



CSCC HIGHLIGHTS



The Center for the Study of Contemporary China successfully held an Open House event on October 10, in the Center's recently revamped community space. The event featured insightful presentations from the center's six research clusters, an engaging discussion on the theme "The Art of Doing China Research," and valuable networking opportunities for China-focused faculty and students at DKU.

During "The Art of Doing China Research in China" discussion, participants delved into the evolving landscape of China studies, addressing unique perspectives and challenges scholars in this field face, such as cultural misunderstandings, the role of comparative studies, and personal connections to China. The session also considered the impact of the Western gaze on China studies, highlighting the need for more nuanced and diverse representations of China in academic and public discourse.

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Having the opportunity to freely exchange ideas with faculty during the lunch panel and discussions was beyond invigorating. Being part of such informed and enlightening conversations wasn't just educational—it was electrifying. The event has truly broadened my academic perspective and shown me the power of collaborative thought. 99 --Class of 2025 Student



CSCC HIGHLIGHTS

The vibrant exchange of ideas during the CSCC Open House produced actionable suggestions to elevate the center's profile, such as increasing visibility through collaborative projects, strengthening ties with local community as well as Chinese universities, and expanding physical spaces dedicated to China studies and the center.

The Open House drew to a close with a heartfelt networking gathering and a ceremony that included the leadership transition. The community bade a fond farewell to co-director Dr. Baozhen Luo-Hermanson and extended a warm welcome to new co-director Dr. Annemieke van den Dool. Students and faculty alike expressed great enthusiasm for the day's proceedings, highlighting the profound community and academic engagement fostered by the CSCC—characteristics that are essential for cultivating forward-looking and impactful research on China's multifaceted societal landscape.





Gift to the CSCC

Dr. Baozhen Maggie Luo-Hermanson 罗宝珍has gifted the artwork *Mountains beyond Mountains* 山外有山 by Chinese Zen Ink and Wash Artist Moxuanzi 墨轩子(本名严家祥)to the Center for the Study of Contemporary China (CSCC) as she concludes her codirectorship between May 2022 and December 2024. Dr. Luo-Hermanson's key contributions include articulating the "China Center Within China" identity, establishing the research clusters, developing crucial policy infrastructure, and fostering a culture of care and belonging.

About the Artist: Moxuanzi, of the Tujia ethnic group, was born in Jiangkou, Guizhou, at the foot of Fanjing Mountain 梵净山. A contemporary artist, he masterfully blends traditional Chinese painting with Zen Buddhist influences. Moxuanzi is the dean of the Qingquan Zen Art Academy and a contracted artist with China Central Television's Ink and Wash Painting Academy. His work has been featured in prominent art magazines both nationally and internationally. Moxuanzi has hosted seven solo exhibitions and participated in 14 major exhibits in China and across East Asia.

The art piece is on display at the CSCC Community Space.

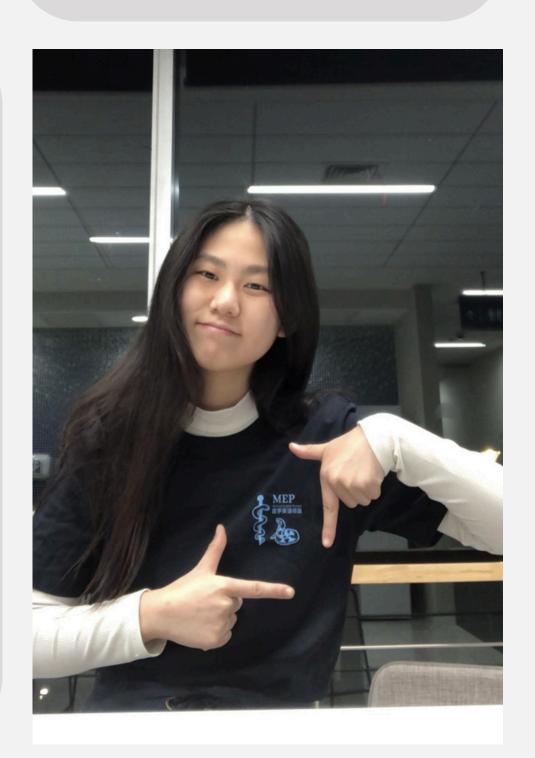


Launched by DKU students in 2019, the Medical English Project (MEP) strives to elevate healthcare communication in Kunshan by equipping local doctors with medical English skills. Under the ambitious leadership of co-directors Ricardo Vargas, Nathaniel Woo, Rosie Jin, and Helene Gu, the project recently garnered the CSCC Community Service Grant in 2023, reflecting the team's tireless efforts and visionary approach.

CSCC HIGHLIGHTS

The program, offering a specialized curriculum, builds medical vocabulary and patient interaction skills, fostering cross-cultural insights. It benefits DKU students by providing teaching, leadership, and community service opportunities, thereby integrating local health institutions into the global scene and encouraging inclusivity. MEP serves as a prime example of effective university-community partnership.

Under leadership like Helene Gu's, the MEP developed a sustainable model for community engagement, setting a standard for successful collaboration. The project, stands as a powerful example of how community service initiatives can drive significant, positive changes, providing both medical professionals and students with invaluable experiences that transcend their immediate educational and professional journeys.



CSCC HIGHLIGHTS

EMPOWERING GLOBAL DIALOGUE: CSCC'S SUPPORT IN FOSTERING YOUNG VOICES AT THE US-CHINA FORUM





Nicolás Velasco Pérez, a Political Economy student at Duke Kunshan University, represented DKU and his native Colombia at the US-China Hong Kong Forum in November 2024, hosted by the China-United States Exchange Foundation in partnership with the China Center for International Economic Exchanges. With the backing of the CSCC, Nico brought a fresh and youthful outlook to the pivotal conversations on US-China relations at the event.

During the forum, Nico delivered insights into the interplay of commerce, technology, and diplomacy in US-China relations, emphasizing the importance of people-to-people connections. Inspired by leaders like former Serbian President Boris Tadic, Nico aspires to apply the principles of diplomacy to enhance Colombia's constructive engagement with global superpowers.

Nico absorbed the ethos of 'realistic optimism' at the forum, a framework steering the narrative of US-China relations towards recognizing the undercurrents of geopolitical tension while eagerly pursuing avenues for synergistic cultural and athletic partnerships. He champions young leaders who pioneer original concepts to thoughtfully evolve existing frameworks.

Nico's active participation at the forum and subsequent advocacy for inclusive global diplomacy serve as a testament to the CSCC's core mission. By integrating a rigorous, systematic, empirical research process with an in-depth understanding of social science, the CSCC endeavors to enhance the undergraduate learning experience significantly. This integration underscores the vital role Nico and other young scholars play in bringing fresh perspectives to important global dialogues. In doing so, the CSCC not only reaffirms its dedication to academic rigor but also solidifies its commitment to nurturing the next generation of leaders poised to make impactful contributions in the field of international relations.



THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF RITUALS

On April 22nd, 2024, the CSCC Meanings, Identities and Communities Cluster, in collaboration with the Division of Social Science, Anthropology@DKU, and the Humanities Research Center, were privileged to host renowned scholar in anthropology and religion. Dr. van der Veer, Director Emeritus of the Max Planck Society and Professor Emeritus at Utrecht University. The event featured two segments - a personal discussion with Dr. van der Veer and his lecture - attended by over 80 participants. During the discussion, Dr. van der Veer shared his academic journey, influenced by extensive travel and linguistic study in India, Iran, and Afghanistan. His anecdotal account spanned his unexpected focus on Indian nationalism to broader advice for students considering careers in anthropology and the social sciences.

In Dr. van der Veer's lecture titled "Ritual, Anti-Ritual, and the Efficacy of Reform," he addressed two prevalent misconceptions in anthropology. Firstly, he contended the overemphasis on action over meaning in the study of rituals, using the example of Brahminical and ascetical traditions in India to illustrate the complex nature of ritual behaviors beyond mere actions. He further challenged the binary of sincerity versus ritual, tracing its genesis to anti-Catholic sentiment and Protestant reforms, and its persisting influence on the interpretation of Chinese religion. Delving into modern religious tourism in China, Dr. van der Veer called for a comprehensive examination of the phenomenon, questioning the sincerity of tourists in state-sponsored temple visits. His engaging questions and insightful discussions invigorated the audience, leaving them with much to ponder regarding the role and understanding of rituals in social and cultural contexts.



FEATURED FACULTY: DAVID LANDRY

Professor David Landry is an established scholar in the field of Political Economy, focusing on the determinants and impacts of Chinese economic engagement abroad. He co-leads the China and the Global South Cluster, and is the principal investigator for the CSCC Faculty Research and Creative Activity project "Mapping Chinese Mines around the World." Prof. Landry is at the forefront of analyzing the involvement of Chinese mining companies on a global scale. His research gathers extensive data on these companies' operations, including their locations, operational timelines, and the nature of their social and environmental responsibilities. This project represents a critical effort to systematize disparate data into a comprehensive, accessible resource.



With a robust focus on data quality, the project addresses and corrects the inconsistencies found in pre-existing databases. A significant aspect of the work has been the thorough verification of data, involving checking the accuracy of thousands of entries—a testament to the project's rigorous scholarly standards.

Looking into the future, Professor Landry's research points to an evolving landscape of investment in mining, with a likely decrease in certain traditional sectors and a projected rise in minerals associated with renewable technologies. The research assistants play a crucial role in this endeavor, contributing to the literature review, industry analysis, and data verification processes that form the project's foundation. This diligent effort provides a basis for further academic exploration, including developing a book and several journal articles intended to deepen understanding of Chinese mining investments and their worldwide socio-economic and environmental impacts.

FEATURED STUDENT: JIALIN (CAMMIE) LI

The CSCC takes immense pride in highlighting Jialin (Cammie) Li, a member of the Class of 2024 and current PhD student at the University of Arizona, as an exemplary figure of academic dedication and research prowess. Supported by the center, Jialin's sharp analysis on the intricacies of policymaking in China, underscores the center's commitment to fostering intellectual growth and research excellence.



Since 2021, her collaborative efforts with Prof. Annemieke Van Den Dool have led to significant scholarly outcomes, including the co-authored book chapter "Applying the Multiple Streams Framework to Lawmaking in China: The 2004 Amendment of the Infectious Diseases Law," published in the volume "China's Evolving Policy Processes under Comparative Lenses." This chapter investigates

the advancements of the Infectious Diseases Law in China, placing their research at the forefront of contemporary policy discourse. Furthermore, Jialin's work has been showcased on prestigious international platforms, as she has presented her findings with a compelling narrative at conferences in Los Angeles, Beijing, and Syracuse.

In partnership with Annemieke Van Den Dool, Jialin has contributed to the *Policy Studies Journal* through an insightful article, delving into the so-called punctuated equilibrium theory to decode policy dynamics within the Chinese state. These contributions highlight the center's role in producing policy-relevant research that resonates on a global scale.

Jialin's journey from a novice to a senior researcher is a testament to CSCC's nurturing environment for budding intellectuals. Her successful admission to the University of Arizona with full scholarship funding attests to her research capabilities and CSCC's caliber in developing future thought leaders. As we observe the impressive development of Jialin's academic career, the CSCC remains steadfast in its commitment to nurturing the pursuits of our scholars who are dedicated to advancing a deeper understanding of China's distinctive political fabric.

FEATURED FACULTY: BEN VAN OVERMEIRE

Dr. Ben Van Overmeire, an Assistant Professor of Religious Studies at DKU, is an active contributor to the CSCC, where he leads the Meanings, Identities, and Communities Cluster. His research, earning the 2022 CSCC Faculty Pilot Research Grant, focuses on "Astroreligion," a study of how space travel is intertwined with religious narratives.

In the field of literary studies, Professor Van Overmeire directed the "Zen and the Art of Detection", a CSCC student research project that examines the intersection of Zen Buddhism and detective fiction. This collaborative effort with two students from the Class of 2023 led to a publication in the Japan Studies Review. His initiatives demonstrate CSCC's commitment to collaborative research and its integration with educational programs.

Dr. Van Overmeire's book, "American Koan: Imagining Zen and Self in Autobiographical Literature," which was published in October 2024, explores how American Zen practitioners navigate the concept of self in their autobiographies. It offers insights into how Zen Buddhism, which originates in China, adapts to and resonates within a Western context through an analysis of koans—paradoxical anecdotes or riddles used in Zen practice.

The CSCC is proud to highlight Dr. Van Overmeire's work as he examines the cultural implications of space exploration on religious thought. His projects underscore the center's dedication to fostering research that bridges disciplines and contributes to our understanding of global cultural dynamics. Keep an eye out for his future scholarly contributions, which will continue to shape the discourse on religion and its contemporary manifestations.







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Guy, Kolleen, and Jay Winter, editors. *Statelessness after Arendt: European Refugees in China and the Pacific during the Second World War*. Manchester University Press, forthcoming May 2025.

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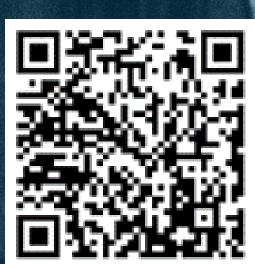
The CSCC welcomes researchers and students at DKU and beyond with an interest in contemporary China. To stay up to date on our events, scan the QR code below to follow us on WeChat.

We welcome scholars and practitioners who would like to give a talk or otherwise share their work on contemporary China with our community. For speaking or collaboration inquiries, please contact us at dku-cscc@dukekunshan.edu.cn.

CSCC WECHAT



CSCC WEBSITE



CSCC NEWSLETTER





