se models of economic prosperity, I identify empirical thresholds of dependence and evaluate trends and transitions in socioeconomic well-being for extractive and non-extractive natural resource dependent counties from 1970-2017.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD
Driving Toward Development: A Short Note from Hyderabad, India

My dissertation tentatively titled *"Moving Targets: traffic rules, police authority, and road safety in Hyderabad, India"* is a multi-sited ethnography of stakeholders in the transport system in the southern city of Hyderabad in India. I explore how road safety is emerging as a site of intense contestation and conversation about the emergence of Indian cities as 'world class' in their appeal. In my fieldwork, I interviewed and observed traffic police, drivers of various social groups, urban planners, and a couple of local NGOs involved in the project of road safety in the city. My identity as a "localite" (local person) who is now in the United States to do a PhD often put me in a strategic position: on the one hand, they were able to joke about the "problems" of the country knowing fully well that I was not an outsider that they had to impress; and on the other hand, that I was here as an outsider meant that they could open up and be honest with me in a way that they could not with, say, a journalist. Further, my status as a young woman often opened me up to being viewed as benign and harmless along with a lot of paternalistic concern by senior police officers that I leveraged to my advantage.

When I started doing fieldwork on how "bad driving" is being made into a social problem, little did I anticipate to keep running into incensed discussions of the meaning of 'development'. However, even a cursory glance through my field notes collected over 2017 and 2018, reveals how often "development talk" was the scaffolding of every interaction I had with anyone remotely inclined to having an opinion about driving. On the one hand, the label of "development" appeared within reach – a process that would *automatically* make people follow traffic rules – but was external to the country and was taking time to arrive; on the other hand, development seemed like a problem of 'mentality' – drivers would have to make an effort to change their behaviors – and can only emerge from a concerted effort by everyone, internally.

"Will Development Fall from the Sky?"
On a hot afternoon in May 2018, I found myself having lunch with five traffic police constables after having spent the morning watching them do their routine police work of apprehending rule-breakers on the road.

One of them made a stray comment about how his own son refuses to wear a helmet while driving. The others make fun of him and pull his leg. "If you cannot even enforce helmet rule at home, how will you enforce outside?", they joke. For the rest of lunch, they complain about their jobs – about the heat, the dust, the bossy superiors, but mostly about "undisciplined drivers" who "don't care about traffic rules and regulations". As has become the norm during my interactions in the field, they asked me – "America PhD Madam", as they often called me – if I had solutions for them. How do we get drivers to value safety? How do we get these "unruly" drivers to obey traffic rules?

Amidst this discussion which began to feel more like an organic focus group, I see Constable Naresh smiling to himself. He declares that everyone needs to be patient and understand that India is a developing country which means that everything here – from traffic to politics – is always bit of a "hodge-podge". It's just going to be like that till we become a developed country. But with development, he assures me and the others, everything will become okay: traffic rules will become normal, people will be less disobedient, and there will be fewer accidents. He concludes with, "before America became developed, it was also like this only – I am sure – but with development, it has become world leader". Before I can ask him what he means by development, Constable Sreenu, who shares the same organizational position as Constable Naresh but is older in terms of his service history, snaps back at Naresh with a, "oh please – we have been told this same old story that India will become developed country since I was in school – some thirty years ago" He goes on to mimic his schoolteacher, "India is a developing country. With industrialization, it will become developed country…blah blah blah…What utter nonsense! With industrialization, India has become the land of all problems and no development. India will always be developing only, we will all be driving like this only. Will development fall from the sky?"

"Development is about having a civic mentality"
I first met Hari Venkat, the founder of a local NGO that works towards road safety in the city, in September 2018. Hari, who has been working on road safety

awareness programs in the city since 2002, was very quick to point out how India is emerging as a super-power in terms of its infrastructural capacities – especially in terms of building expressways and road networks in the country – but that the ill-effects of that "greed for speed" is that the number of accident fatalities are also going up. Strongly of the opinion that development was more than just economic progress, Hari often talked about having a "developed mentality" as the only solution to bringing order to the streets. Pointing to the fact that close to two hundred thousand people (200,000) had died due to road accidents in 2017, he nodded his head sadly, sighed and explained:

> People do whatever they want to on the roads. Nobody even behaves like there *are* any traffic rules. Truth be told, India wants to become a world leader and build global cities and all that… but the fact is that road accidents are only increasing and not decreasing with development. Why? Because we are unable to solve *one* simple problem of getting people to follow traffic rules and follow basic common road sense! The police themselves don't know basics of how to do traffic management right. We have all these big IT companies setting up, we are launching missiles into space, we have big consumer brands everywhere…but ultimately, the mark of a developed country is orderly traffic.

It's that simple. Until we have that, we cannot call ourselves developed. Development is more than just economic progress."

What Hari was articulating was a commonly circulating suspicion amongst the educated middle-classes in Hyderabad towards "development without discipline". What, I was often asked, was the point of development if it did not reflect in something as every day and mundane as driving behavior? Almost as if the "chaotic roads" serve as reminders of a project of unfinished modernization. Development, it was ultimately surmised, has *something* to do with mentalities. But my informants pondered over the myriad possibilities: do "developed" mentalities make possible development? Or does development bring about "developed" mentalities? Should the police do everything possible to bring about order on the roads? Or, should people cooperate with the police to make their own roads safer? Who can ensure development, and how? And, really, will it fall from the sky, or will it grow from the ground?

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Working with *Wasta*:
Negotiating Participant Access when "Doing Sociology Up" in the UAE and Russia

How does a researcher gain entrée and access to participants when doing sociology up? My dissertation investigates how national diversification policies interpreted by higher education institutions (HEIs) shape incoming international student mobility to emerging, non-traditional destination countries. During my fieldwork in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Russia, by negotiating *wasta* I interviewed university administrators and public officials, two populations that are usually closed to outsiders.

Two techniques we employ to access closed populations are drawing on gatekeepers and snowball sampling (personal referrals to other group members). A gatekeeper has the same social status as others in the group—a horizontal relationship, or an important role in the group—

a higher vertical status. Likewise, we, as someone who has a PhD or is a doctoral candidate, also have a higher vertical status than the research population. Participants have a lower vertical social status in the research relationship, even if we come from that community. This is "doing sociology down." In contrast, when "doing sociology up," our research population has a higher vertical status than us, but gatekeeping and snowball sampling are horizontal referrals among that group.

It is not common to "do Sociology up"—to study privileged populations, such as government officials, public administrators, lawyers, and others who occupy social spaces closed to outsiders. The people and the spaces they occupy are not *hard to reach* in an anthropological sense of accessing populations in locations that are diffi-