



# CENTERPIECE

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From left to right—Bunroku Yoshino of Japan, Counselor for General Affairs in the Economic Affairs Bureau of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Soemarman of Indonesia, Secretary General of the Ministry of Home Affairs; Il-Kwon Chung of the Republic of Korea, Ambassador to the United States, General in the Korean Army, and former Chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; and A.D. Pandit of India, Joint Secretary in the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply in the Government of India—were Fellows of the Center in 1960–1961.

*Photo credit: Harvard University Archives, Call # UAV 605Box 97 Frame #25 GP 78*

## Message from the Executive Director

From its earliest days, the Center for International Affairs (CFIA) included Fellows, practitioners of international affairs, near the core of its community. Harvard Faculty of Arts and Sciences Dean McGeorge Bundy stated in a 1962 report on the Center that founding Director Robert Bowie "began this program in the strong conviction that the study of great issues of international affairs requires thoughtful exchange between the academy and the marketplace." While "the marketplace" may be a curious name for what we might just as well call, "Fellows," or "the world," the point was well understood. As Bowie, himself, said in endorsing the presence of Fellows, "Much of the significant data is not accessible to research by conventional means. [Such information] resides largely in the minds of those who have been responsible for administering programs while technical and social revolutions were daily changing the presuppositions." Founding CFIA Associate Director Henry Kissinger offered his own somewhat cautious view to Bowie in an early internal memorandum: "The civil servants can give perspective to the others. They are not likely to do creative work themselves, although they would profit from the training."

In any case, for whichever the reasons, "mature public servants of scholarly proclivities"—the wording, now more felicitous, from Bundy—have been part of this community for fifty-six years.

But much has changed. The Vietnam War damaged the reputations of many academics who served as policy advisers, and so their enthusiasm for involvement in the practical decision making that emanates from world capitals diminished. At Harvard, the establishment of the John F. Kennedy School of Government in 1966 and its transfer to its current home in 1978 initiated the draining of some of the more public-policy-minded faculty who worked

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around Cambridge Street to nearer the Charles River. Finally, over the past few decades the very nature of social science research has become less directly designed to address immediate policy problems, as it is aimed, more, to grapple with analytical issues that may not be directly relevant to policy.

In this atmosphere of affection, yet caution and divergence, what is a Fellow to do—and how can the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs respect the voice of practitioners in the best possible ways?

A few years ago, a faculty task force led by current Acting Center Director Jeff Frieden, saw it this way, *inter alia*:

- Involve Center Faculty Associates much more directly in the recruitment and selection of Fellows;
- Ensure (thereby) each Fellow's ability to pursue independent scholarly inquiry; and
- Allow Fellows flexible terms of appointment of weeks or months or of one term, in addition to traditional academic-year appointments.

Subsequently, the number of Fellows in our midst has decreased, purposely, and Center faculty and staff have emphasized ever more strongly the independent work of each Fellow, putting less emphasis on the Fellows *Program*, *per se*. The Fellows' time is spent more directly in scholarly endeavors and somewhat less so in off-campus study tours and comparing "tales from the field."

A great contribution long offered by Fellows to the community—and now reinvigorated—is the mentoring of undergraduates. A majority of the students of Harvard College are, after all, not destined to academic careers, and the Fellows' experiences and career trajectories genuinely fascinate some. Structurally, then, a robust program of research assistance, undergraduate to Fellow, is thriving, to great mutual benefit. Some of these relationships last for a fruitful year. Others carry on for many years beyond the Harvard residence of both.

Fellows also commonly offer not-for-credit workshops to undergraduates on issues of contemporary importance to international relations. To bridge the often significant misapprehensions between young civilians and military officers, Fellows from the US military services annually provide a series of insightful introductions to military doctrine and professional norms. Other workshops in recent memory have covered responses to humanitarian crises, Turkey's relationship with the EU, the synergies between faith and politics, and the international dimensions of civil wars.

And what of Fellows' research? One must admit that Henry Kissinger's "They are not likely to do creative work themselves" resonates long after its initial contention. Of course, creative work has been produced. For many years we have trumpeted Crispin Tickell's prescient *Climate Change and World Affairs* (1977) as a groundbreaking contribution of a Fellow to international scholarship and Diego Hidalgo's *The Future of Spain* (1996), which set standards for Spanish debate about its future that are still salient today. And, needless to say, Fellows have written dozens of influential policy papers while here—and policy papers, once they have departed, that have been deeply informed by their learning in the academy.

But is that research? Does the work of Fellows commonly take a social science question, then utilize rigorous social science methodology, and marshal data toward a conclusion that moves the frontiers of scholarly knowledge? Well, no, but perhaps that is what makes scholars *scholars* and Fellows... "the world."

Ring in my ears, still, are the words that Robert Bowie uttered at a Fellows' conference and reunion in November 1995. He said, simply, that his design in assembling the Fellows from all over the world at Harvard was "to encourage empathy." (I admit that there are those who said that was not at all the voice of the crusty, challenging Bob Bowie, Center Director, but rather that of Bob Bowie, wise man in retrospect.) He was insistent about this, however, on more than that one occasion, stating that if the convening power of Harvard University *could* "encourage empathy," the Center, simply, should. Learning? Yes. Mentoring? Why not? Moving the frontiers of knowledge? When possible. But to build bridges between scholars and practitioners, between students and international affairs specialists, and from Fellow to Fellow so that they

might meet in an official place someday and practice empathy? It would seem a valuable endeavor to be achieved by an elite university worthy of its status.

And so the structure remains, bearing the weight of an occasional stress test and the worry of periodic deep probes, reacting creatively to questions regarding the place of practitioners in a locus of basic research. To the Center, the Fellows are a perhaps necessary provocation to be relevant to real-world problems and decision making. To the Fellows, the Center is an exhortation to be thoughtful and studious. I believe that this University—not to mention "the world"—is so much the better for the struggle.

Steven B. Bloomfield  
Executive Director



2014–2015 Fellows.

Photo credit: Martha Stewart

## WWW

Learn more about the Fellows Program by visiting: [programs.wcfia.harvard.edu/fellows](http://programs.wcfia.harvard.edu/fellows)

### Weatherhead Center Faculty Associates Honored with Imperial Decoration by the Japanese Government

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associates and Program on U.S.-Japan Relations Faculty Advisory Committee Members **Andrew Gordon** and **Joseph Nye** were honored with Imperial Decoration by the Japanese government for their contributions to Japanese studies and promotion of mutual understanding between Japan and the United States. Professor Gordon received the Order of the Rising Sun, Gold Rays with Neck Ribbon, and Professor Nye received the Order of the Rising Sun, Gold and Silver Star.

### Weatherhead Center Faculty Associates Make IMF List of Twenty-five Brightest Young Economists

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has named twenty-five young economists considered to be leaders who will shape future thinking about the global economy. Making the list are the following three Faculty Associates:

**Melissa Dell**, assistant professor of economics, examines poverty and insecurity through the relationship between state and non-state actors and economic development and studies how reforms, such as government crackdowns on drug violence, can influence economic outcomes.

**Gita Gopinath**, professor of economics, studies international macroeconomics and trade with a focus on sovereign debt, the response of international prices to exchange rate movements, and the rapid shifts in relative value among world currencies.

**Nathan Nunn**, professor of economics, focuses his research on economic history, economic development, political economy, and international trade, particularly, the long-term impact of historic events such as the slave trade and colonial rule on economic development.

### Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Receives 2015 ISA Distinguished Senior Scholar Award

**Stephen M. Walt**, Robert and Renee Belfer Professor of International Affairs, is the recipient of the International Studies Association's (ISA) 2015 Distinguished Senior Scholar Award.

The award is given to honor life achievement in international security studies. According to the ISA, nominees typically have made major contributions to scholarship in the field both through their own research and writing and in mentoring others.

### Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Receives APSA Heinz Eulau Award

**Dara Kay Cohen**, assistant professor of public policy at Harvard Kennedy School, is a co-recipient of the American Political Science Association's (APSA) 2014 Heinz I. Eulau Award for her article in the *American Political Science Review*, "Explaining Rape during Civil War: Cross National Evidence (1980–2009)." The Heinz Eulau prize is awarded annually for the best article published in the *American Political Science Review* and for the best article published in *Perspectives on Politics* in the calendar year. Cohen's research and teaching interests span the field of international relations, including international security, civil war and the dynamics of violence during conflict, and gender and international relations.

### Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Named Managing Editor

**Gita Gopinath**, professor of economics, has been named managing editor of the academic journal, *Review of Economic Studies*, beginning August 1, 2014. The journal was established in 1933 by a group of young British and American economists and publishes research in theoretical and applied economics mainly by young economists. The *Review* ranks among the top five economics journals.

### Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Receives WFLS Harry LeRoy Jones Award

**John G. Ruggie**, Berthold Beitz Professor in Human Rights and International Affairs, was presented with the prestigious Washington Foreign Law Society (WFLS) Harry LeRoy Jones Award in June 2014.

Each year the Harry LeRoy Jones award is bestowed on an individual who promotes the rule of international law and has a profound and lasting impact on institutions dedicated to justice, international law, or scholarship.

The WFLS recognized Ruggie for his significant contribution to the study of international relations, focusing on the impact of economic and other forms of globalization on global rule-making and the emergence of new rule makers.

### Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Receives 2014 Gutenberg Research Award

The Gutenberg Research College (GRC) of Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz (JGU) awarded this year's Gutenberg Research Award to Weatherhead Center Director-Designate **Michèle Lamont**, the Robert I. Goldman Professor of European Studies and professor of sociology. Michèle Lamont's work crosses the standard disciplinary boundaries and has produced trailblazing scholarship which is now being used to shape a new approach to cultural sociology.

### Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Receives ASA Awards

**Jocelyn Viterna**, associate professor of sociology, received three awards for her book *Women in War: The Micro-Processes of Mobilization in El Salvador* (Oxford University Press, 2013) at the American Sociological Association (ASA) annual meeting. The book was recognized with the Distinguished Book Award from the Sex and Gender Section of the American Sociological Association, the Political Sociology Book Award, and an honorable mention for the Distinguished Book Award for the section on the Sociology of Development.



### Africa's Development in Historical Perspective

Edited by Robert H. Bates, Nathan Nunn, James A. Robinson, and Emmanuel Akyeampong



This edited volume addresses the root causes of Africa's persistent poverty through an investigation of its *longue durée* history. It interrogates the African past through disease and demography, institutions and governance, African economies and the impact of the export slave trade, colonialism, Africa in the world economy, and culture's influence on accumulation and investment. Several of the chapters take a comparative perspective, placing Africa's developments aside other global patterns. The readership for this book spans from the informed lay reader with an interest in Africa, academics and undergraduate and graduate students, policy makers, and those in the development world.

(Cambridge University Press, 2014)

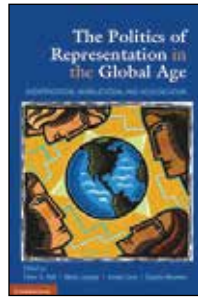
Weatherhead Faculty Associate and Harvard Academy Senior Scholar Robert H. Bates is the Eaton Professor of the Science of Government and professor of African and African American studies. Weatherhead Faculty Associate Nathan Nunn is a professor of economics. Weatherhead Faculty Associate and Harvard Academy Senior Scholar James A. Robinson is the David Florence Professor of Government. Weatherhead Faculty Associate Emmanuel K. Akyeampong is a professor of history and a professor of African and African American studies.

### WWW

Read the latest research by faculty and other affiliates of the Center by visiting: [wcfia.harvard.edu/publications](http://wcfia.harvard.edu/publications)

### The Politics of Representation in the Global Age: Identification, Mobilization, and Adjudication

Edited by Peter A. Hall, Wade Jacoby, Jonah Levy, and Sophie Meunier



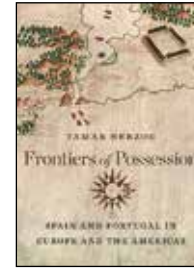
How has the process of political representation changed in the era of globalization? The representation of interests is at the heart of democracy, but how is it that some interests secure a strong voice, while others do not? While each person has multiple interests linked to different dimensions of his or her identity, much of the existing academic literature assumes that interests are given prior to politics by a person's socioeconomic, institutional, or cultural situation. This book mounts a radical challenge to this view, arguing that interests are actively forged through processes of politics. The book develops an analytic framework for understanding how representation takes place—based on processes of identification, mobilization, and adjudication—and explores how these processes have evolved over time. Through a wide variety of case studies, the chapters explore how actors identify their interests, mobilize them into action, and resolve conflicts among them.

(Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Peter A. Hall is the Krupp Foundation Professor of European Studies in the Department of Government. Wade Jacoby is the Mary Lou Fulton Professor of Political Science and director of the Center for the Study of Europe at Brigham Young University. Jonah Levy is an associate professor of political science at the University of California, Berkeley. Sophie Meunier is a research scholar in the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs and co-director of the European Union Program at Princeton University.

### Frontiers of Possession: Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas

By Tamar Herzog



*Frontiers of Possession* asks how territorial borders were established in Europe and the Americas during the early modern period and challenges the standard view that national boundaries are largely determined by military conflicts and treaties. Focusing on Spanish and Portuguese claims in the New and Old Worlds, Tamar Herzog reconstructs the different ways land rights were negotiated and enforced, sometimes violently, among people who remembered old possessions or envisioned new ones: farmers and nobles, clergymen and missionaries, settlers and indigenous peoples.

Questioning the habitual narrative that sees the Americas as a logical extension of the Old World, Herzog portrays Spain and Portugal on both sides of the Atlantic as one unified imperial space. She begins in the Americas, where Iberian conquerors had to decide who could settle the land, who could harvest fruit and cut timber, and who had river rights for travel and trade. The presence of indigenous peoples as enemies to vanquish or allies to befriend, along with the vastness of the land, complicated the picture, as did the promise of unlimited wealth. In Europe, meanwhile, the formation and re-formation of boundaries could last centuries, as ancient entitlements clashed with evolving economic conditions and changing political views and juridical doctrines regarding how land could be acquired and maintained.

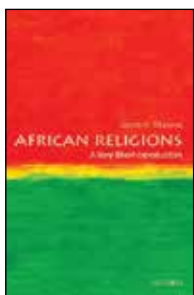
Herzog demonstrates that the same fundamental questions had to be addressed in Europe and in the Americas. Territorial control was always subject to negotiation, as neighbors and outsiders, in their quotidian interactions, carved out and defended new frontiers of possession.

(Harvard University Press, 2014)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Tamar Herzog is the Monroe Gutman Professor of Latin American Affairs and professor of Spanish and Portuguese history in the Department of History.

## African Religions: A Very Short Introduction

By Jacob K. Olupona



What are African religions? *African Religions: A Very Short Introduction* answers this question by examining primarily indigenous religious traditions on the African continent, as well as exploring Christianity and Islam. It focuses on the diversity

of ethnic groups, languages, cultures, and worldviews, emphasizing the continent's regional diversity. Olupona examines a wide range of African religious traditions on their own terms and in their social, cultural, and political contexts.

Olupona examines the myths and sacred stories about the origins of the universe that define ethnic groups and national identities throughout Africa. He also discusses spiritual agents in the African cosmos such as God, spirits, and ancestors. In addition to myths and deities, Olupona focuses on the people central to African religions, including medicine men and women, rainmakers, witches, magicians, and divine kings, and how they serve as authority figures and intermediaries between the social world and the cosmic realm.

*African Religions: A Very Short Introduction* discusses a wide variety of religious practices, including music and dance, calendrical rituals and festivals, celebrations for the gods' birthdays, and rituals accompanying stages of life such as birth, puberty, marriage, elderhood, and death. In addition to exploring indigenous religions, Olupona examines the ways Islam and Christianity as outside traditions encountered indigenous African religion.

Olupona draws on archaeological and historical sources, as well as ethnographic materials based on fieldwork. He shows that African religions are not static traditions, but have responded to changes within their local communities and to fluxes caused by outside influences, and spread with diaspora and migration.

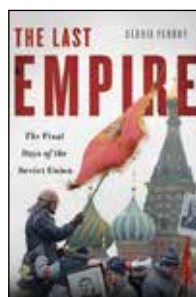
(Oxford University Press, 2014)

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Weatherhead Faculty Associate Jacob K. Olupona is a professor of African religious traditions and a professor of African and African American studies.

## The Last Empire: The Final Days of the Soviet Union

By Serhii Plokhy



On Christmas Day, 1991, President George H. W. Bush addressed the nation to declare an American victory in the Cold War: earlier that day Mikhail Gorbachev had resigned as the first and last Soviet president. The enshrining of that narrative,

one in which the end of the Cold War was linked to the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the triumph of democratic values over communism, has persisted for decades—with disastrous consequences for American standing in the world.

As prize-winning historian Serhii Plokhy reveals in *The Last Empire*, the collapse of the Soviet Union was anything but the handiwork of the United States. On the contrary, American leaders dreaded the possibility that the Soviet Union—weakened by infighting and economic turmoil—might suddenly crumble, throwing all of Eurasia into chaos. Bush was firmly committed to supporting his ally and personal friend Gorbachev, and remained wary of nationalist or radical leaders such as recently elected Russian President Boris Yeltsin. Fearing what might happen to the large Soviet nuclear arsenal in the event of the union's collapse, Bush stood by Gorbachev as he resisted the growing independence movements in Ukraine, Moldova, and the Caucasus. Plokhy's detailed, authoritative account shows that it was only after the movement for independence of the republics had gained undeniable momentum on the eve of the Ukrainian vote for independence that fall that Bush finally abandoned Gorbachev to his fate.

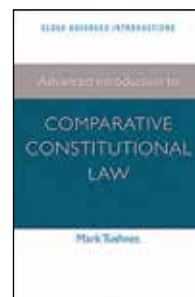
(Basic Books, 2014)

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Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Serhii Plokhy is the Mykhailo Hrushevsky Professor of Ukrainian History and the director of the Ukrainian Research Institute.

## Advanced Introduction to Comparative Constitutional Law

By Mark Tushnet



Elgar Advanced Introductions are stimulating and thoughtful introductions to major fields in the social sciences and law, expertly written by the world's leading scholars. Designed to be accessible yet rigorous, they offer concise and

lucid surveys of the substantive and policy issues associated with discrete subject areas.

Mark Tushnet, a world-renowned scholar of constitutional law, presents an introduction to comparative constitutional law through an analysis of topics at the cutting-edge of contemporary scholarship. His authoritative study investigates constitution making, including the problem of unconstitutional constitutional amendments; recent developments in forms of constitutional review, including “the battle of the courts”; proportionality analysis and its alternatives; and the emergence of a new “transparency” branch in constitutions around the world. Throughout, the book draws upon examples from a wide range of nations, demonstrating that the field of comparative constitutional law now truly encompasses the world.

(Edward Elgar Publishing, 2014)

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Weatherhead Faculty Associate Mark Tushnet is the William Nelson Cromwell Professor of Law at Harvard Law School.

# The 2014 Tunisian Election: More than a Secular-Islamist Divide

By Ashley Anderson



Ashley Anderson is a Graduate Student Associate of the Center and a PhD candidate in the Department of Government. Her research examines political economy and labor protest in the Middle East and North Africa.

The completion of Tunisia's second democratic election on October 26, 2014, marked a watershed moment in the history of Middle Eastern politics. Amidst a litany of Arab Spring "failures"—resulting in state collapse in Libya, civil war in Syria, renewed military rule in Egypt, and autocratic persistence in countries from Bahrain to Morocco—the execution of free and fair elections, and particularly the victory of the secular left over Islamist incumbents has led many to laud Tunisia's progress in consolidating the region's first true democracy. Yet despite scholarly praise, I caution the wave of enthusiasm engendered by Tunisia's recent electoral results. In particular, I argue that the binary depiction of the election as a triumph of secularism over political Islam is inaccurate and provides a false picture of voter preferences in post-authoritarian elections. More than ideology, I argue that what matters most to voters in democratic elections is the ability of the newly elected government to accomplish concrete policy goals such as economic growth, reduction of inequality, and social development (i.e. to establish performance legitimacy)—a feature to which neither secular Nidaa Tounes or Islamist Ennahda can currently lay claim. This article, then, tempers scholarly enthusiasm over Tunisia's democratic prospects, instead advocating for a more nuanced understanding of party politics and voter concerns as necessary to understand the nascent regime's chances for long-term success.

## More than a Secular-Islamist Divide: Ideology and Governance in the Modern Middle East

Much has been made of the role of ideology in the literature on Middle Eastern politics. Indeed, in most of the scholarship on parties in the Middle East, the salience of party ideology—and particularly the divide between Islamist and secularist parties—has been central to explanations of political preferences and voting patterns in the region. On the one hand, early scholarship highlights the benefits of secularism for parties wishing to contest elections in democratic contexts.<sup>1</sup> According to this logic, because intransigence of Islamists' ideological platforms, as well as their association with illiberal values, is seen as inimical to democratic governance, secular parties should be better placed to appeal to the median voter's preference for liberal democracy, thus making it more likely for such parties to win elections in post-authoritarian contexts. On the other hand, recent waves of scholarship suggest that Islamist parties may have the ideological upper hand in democratic contests. In this view, because of their religious grounding,

Islamists possess defining characteristics—reputations of moral purity, ideological hegemony, and claims to religious legitimacy—that distinguish them from their secular counterparts and comprise a distinct "Islamic political advantage."<sup>2</sup> As a result, Islamist parties are seen to be less prone to the corrupt and unjust practices that defined the former regime, making them more likely to succeed in democratic politics.<sup>3</sup>

Yet, despite the prevalence of ideological explanations of voter preferences, evidence of an Islamist-secularist divide with respect to electoral outcomes is unsubstantiated, both in the broader Middle East and Tunisia specifically. To begin, survey data suggests that ideological cleavages may be much less salient in determining voter preferences than current theories presume. Among citizens surveyed in the 2011 and 2013 Arab Barometer, only 32.1% claimed that a politician's "piety" was an important concern in selecting leadership, while only 17.5%<sup>4</sup> ranked piety as a candidate's most important qualification for political leadership. Additionally, empirical evidence suggests there is little difference between secularist and Islamist governments with respect to their propensity for democratic governance. Early studies by Mark Tessler demonstrate a lack of correlation between personal religiosity and preference for democracy in Algeria, Egypt, Palestine, and Morocco, while more recent studies show that Muslim populations continue to display a strong preference for democracy even when conditioning on preference for shar'ia law.<sup>5</sup> Finally, voter assessment of Islamist parties provides little support of an "Islamist political advantage." In Tunisia in particular, voters report low levels of confidence in both Islamist and secular parties and are equally as likely to evaluate Islamist parties as corrupt even when conditioning on personal piety of the respondent<sup>6</sup> (see Fig 1).

## "It's the Economy, Stupid!": Performance Legitimacy and Democratic Success

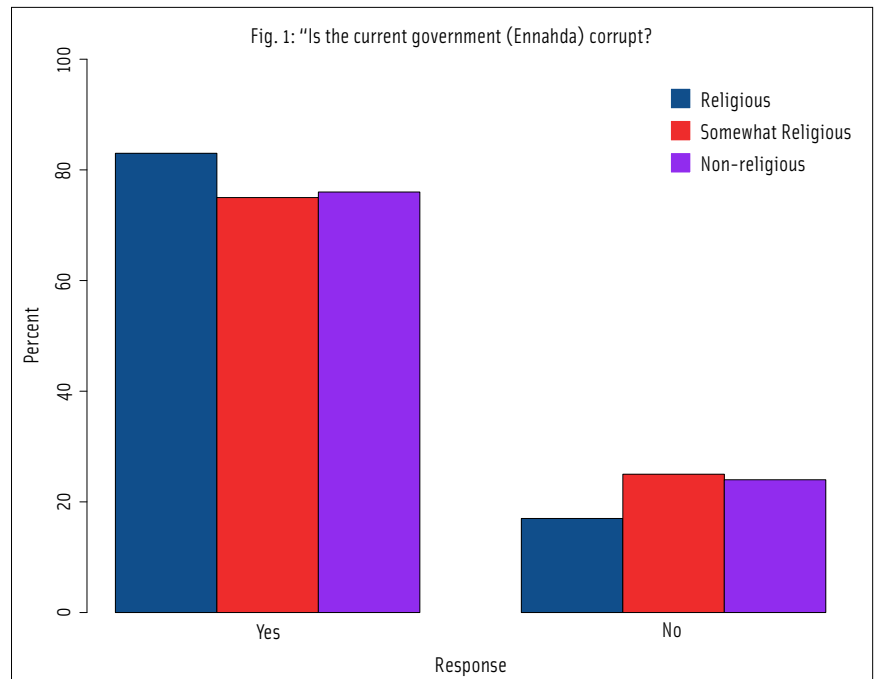
If the salience of ideological cleavages between secularists and Islamists is overstated, what can explain electoral outcomes in the modern Middle East? In what follows, I argue that performance legitimacy—or the ability of governments to achieve concrete policy goals such as economic development and reduction of social inequality—matters much more for the electoral success of new governments than party ideology. Using data from the 2011 and 2013 Arab Barometer survey, I find that voter assessments of parties, both during and after electoral contests, are highly sensitive to issues of economic and

social performance, making citizens more likely to be disaffected with new parties and democratic governance when performance goals are unmet.

Indeed, in Tunisia, the vast majority of citizens in both the 2011 and 2013 waves of the Arab Barometer claimed that the “most important challenges facing the country” were economic—with unemployment and corruption ranking highest among citizen concerns. In addition, Pew Research democratic governance is also highly linked to economic and social outcomes, with over 40% of survey respondents claiming that the most important feature of a democracy was either (a) narrowing the gap between rich and poor or (b) providing a decent standard of living for Tunisian citizens. Finally, citizen evaluations of political candidates appear highly contingent upon economic and social concerns. In 2011, over 50% of respondents claimed that the most important concern when selecting candidates was the extent to which the candidates’ platform addressed the “issues that are important to you,” a factor that outweighed both candidate education, religiosity, and participation in the 2011 Arab Spring protests. Clearly then, the ability of candidates to enact vast social and economic reforms weighs heavily on the mind of Tunisian voters, and is expected to significantly affect their candidate selection as well as their evaluation of government effectiveness following democratic elections.

Unfortunately, a close examination of Tunisian parties reveals that neither secular nor Islamist parties can lay claim to performance legitimacy in terms of economic or social development. Already, Tunisia’s main Islamist party has proven itself incapable of adequately addressing the economic and social concerns of citizens—according to World Bank indicators, over the two years of Ennahda rule GDP growth increased by a mere .5%, while national unemployment remained steady at nearly 13%.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, government efforts at addressing regional inequality also proved disappointing. Although reduction of regional disparity remained at the forefront of Ennahda’s political platform, by the end of the party’s rule in 2014, regional unemployment in the nation’s southern interior governorates was still double the rate of unemployment in the capital on average.<sup>8</sup>

Additionally, despite popular enthusiasm, it is unlikely that secular Nidaa Tounes possesses the organizational capacity or ideological coherence to successfully tackle Tunisia’s vast economic and social problems. To begin, as a new party, Nidaa Tounes is organizationally weak and lacks the leadership structures and grassroots support necessary to implement significant policy reform. Indeed, party leadership is concentrated almost wholly in the figure of the party chairman—Beji Caïd Essebsi—leaving important policy decision in the hands of one individual.<sup>9</sup> While such centralization may entail the streamlining of policy formation, ultimately, the lack of democratic decision making may also serve to marginalize concerns of populations unrepresented in party lead-



ership, thus alienating crucial sectors of the population in reform efforts. Furthermore, Essebsi’s advanced age suggests that the party will soon face a succession crisis which, given its lack of clear leadership, may distract the party from focusing its attention on achieving economic and social goals.

Beyond organizational deficiencies, Nidaa Tounes also suffers from ideological incoherence, which may weaken its ability to develop a concrete strategy to address the economic and social ills facing Tunisia’s nascent democracy. As an amalgamation of diverse ideological tendencies, Nidaa Tounes lacks a clear platform and has yet to develop a coherent plan for reforming the economy, a task that may prove difficult given its divergent constituencies. In particular, the clash between its purported pro-business orientation and pro-labor membership base makes it unlikely that the party will be able to devise a policy that can satisfy both constituencies simultaneously, leaving it vulnerable to significant opposition from either the working class or employers. In other scholarship, I emphasize the importance of labor support for parties in new democracies—particularly in post-authoritarian contexts, coalitions with labor can serve to legitimize new regimes by providing parties with significant bases of electoral support and ensuring worker quiescence during periods of economic transition.<sup>10</sup> Thus, to the extent that Nidaa’s proposed policies serve to alienate this crucial constituency, we should expect it to result in significant decreases in performance for the party, a threat that is especially credible given the strength of Tunisia’s union movement and the role of labor protest in disrupting policy making under the Ennahda regime.

*Continued on page 16*



# Profile: Shreyas Navare, WCFA Fellow

## BEHIND THE CARTOONIST'S DRAWING BOARD



Weatherhead Center Fellow Shreyas Navare is a freelance editorial cartoonist with the *Hindustan Times*. He holds an MBA from the Indian Institute of Technology Bombay and a bachelor's degree in engineering (information technology) from Veermata Jijabai Technological Institute, Mumbai University. Previously, he worked at a private bank for five years in marketing and technology. On behalf of the *Hindustan Times*, Shreyas has covered elections in six Indian states as well as the presidential elections in the United States. His works have been exhibited in India and abroad. HarperCollins has published two books of his cartoons: *The Politickle Pickle* and *The Politickle Pickle Vol. 2: Battle of the Ballot*.



Courtesy: *Hindustan Times*

The cartoonist's daily hunt for an idea is not unlike a cat and mouse game. It boasts of the same elements—nervous excitement, sharp focus, loads of patience, ridiculous scramble, and maddening chases (often fruitless) before the final jump for the kill.

For both the cat and the cartoonist, the first stage involves scanning and studying their respective environments. For a cartoonist, the "environment" literally involves everything under the sun—news, blogs, opinions, TV debates, tweets, Facebook posts, etc. In terms of duration, scanning is usually the longest part of the process and the longer it takes, the higher the build up of nervous excitement.

The scanning stage is followed by the detection stage. A cat smells a mouse. A cartoonist gets a whiff of an idea somewhere in the stack of those endless tweets, news feeds, or television interviews. Stealthily, a cat moves forward with laser sharp focus. So does a cartoonist. If it's a hoax call, the cat looks elsewhere until it is sure that it has zoomed on its would-be prize. Cartoonists toy with different scenarios until they are fully sure that they have stumbled upon the right seed of an idea for that particular day. By now, the hunger pangs have started, driving both the cat and the cartoonist crazy.

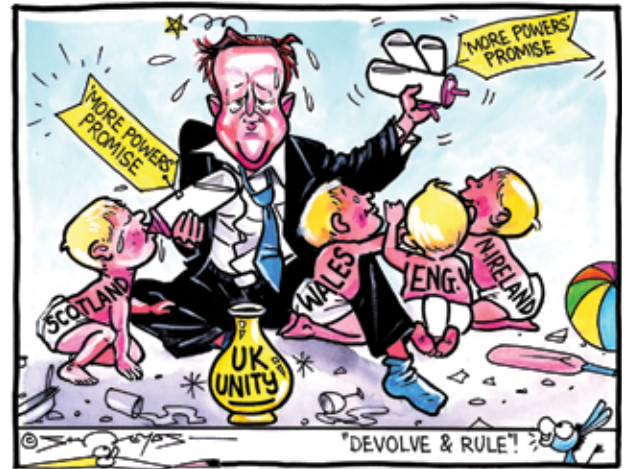
Once the cat is sure about the whereabouts of the mouse, it strategizes and moves swiftly for the kill. Once the basic idea germinates in the cartoonist's head, they begin picturing the entire cartoon in their head—usually making heads of government pose as per their whims, mouthing ridiculous statements with grand ignorance, and conjuring up visual metaphors that can explain the situation with satire and simplicity.

The cat's final jump for the kill needs to be deft and precise. There is no scope for ambiguity or confusion. The implementation of the cartoonist's idea onto the paper can afford to be no different. Any goof up at this stage and a brilliant idea may end up being lost in poor execution. Once the pencilling work is done, then the inks and colors follow (either using traditional tools or graphic tablets or both).

A successful hunt has the cat and the cartoonist awash with relief for the entire day only to start feeling the hunger pangs all over again the next morning.

— Shreyas Navare





WWW

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## Dispatches Undergraduate Researchers in the Field

Sixteen Harvard College students received summer 2014 travel grants from the Weatherhead Center to support their thesis research on topics related to international affairs. Since their return in August, the Weatherhead Center has encouraged these Undergraduate Associates to take advantage of the Center's research environment. Early in the 2015 spring semester, February 5–7, 2015, the students will present their research in a conference that is open to the Harvard community. Four Undergraduate Associates write of their experiences in the field:



### Mayumi Cornejo

Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Research Fellow. Department of Government, Harvard College. *The development of civil society in Latin America, focusing on peasant movements.*

This past summer I was in Peru conducting field research for my thesis about rural community organizations. My research focused on the three most prominent and widespread rural community organizations: peasant patrols, auto defense committees, and neighborhood associations. Through interviews I documented each organization's interactions with the state and development over time in order to explain their successes and failures in terms of their power and effectiveness. These organizations had been created to provide security to their communities as a result of a low or nonexistent state presence in rural areas of Peru. The members of the organizations called *ronderos* worked to carry out patrols where small groups of men took shifts throughout the night to watch over the village and report any suspicious activity.

My field research involved traveling to rural communities in Ayacucho and Junin in central Peru, and Cajamarca in northern Peru. I visited a total of six communities and interviewed their leaders, members of the community organizations, as well as other residents. In some places it was easier to contact people for interviews, while in others people were distrustful of strangers and making connections was much more challenging. The travel experience itself was phenomenal but also difficult logistically. Transportation to many of these communities is limited and accommodations were hard to ar-

range. Many times I depended on the kindness and help of strangers to find my way. As a Peruvian, having familiarity with the country and being fluent in Spanish certainly helped, but there were times when people spoke Quechua, the native language, and Spanish became almost useless. It was extremely rewarding going to places that most people never get to visit and observing the stark differences between rural and urban Peru in terms of lifestyle, community life, and community dynamics.

Peasant patrols are the oldest of the three types of community organizations. Residents who were tired of being victims to cattle rustlers and other criminals formed peasant patrols in the 1970s. In the village of Chetilla in Cajamarca, located two and a half to three hours away from the city, the peasant patrol was extremely well organized, engaged in all community affairs, and very successful in eliminating criminal activity altogether. This wasn't surprising, as peasant patrols mainly found in northern and southern Peru have grown, gained strength, and become deeply influential in their communities, local politics, and even regional politics. In fact, peasant patrols have been so successful that in Cajamarca they are leading an anti-mining movement with a leftist political agenda against transnational corporations encroaching on their lands and natural resources.

The auto defense committees were formed in the mid-1980s with encouragement from the gov-

ernment and structural support from the military for counterinsurgency efforts in rural areas to fight the terrorist group Shining Path. In Chaquicocha, Junin, the auto defense committee was still active, but in contrast to the peasant patrol in Cajamarca, it was unconsolidated and weak—a shadow of what it had been during the Shining Path years.

Similarly, the neighborhood associations I found in Junin were not influential in their communities and therefore struggled to organize and accomplish their goals. These associations had formed in the late-1990s and early-2000s with support from police stations in places where auto defense committees had disappeared or in places that had never had a community organization.

With the information I gathered and experiences I had throughout the summer, I'm now even more enthusiastic about my thesis topic. I hope my findings will contribute to the existing academic work on state-society relations and community organization dynamics in rural Peru. Every community I visited and every person I encountered throughout my travels was extremely significant in shaping my research experience. I am most thankful for those individuals who agreed to be interviewed and told me more than I ever hoped to find out, for the people who warmly welcomed me into their homes and allowed me to participate in their everyday lives, and for those who shared a part of their life and community with me through their stories, insightful conversations, experiences, and wisdom.





**Diego Huerta**

*Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Research Fellow. Department of Anthropology, Harvard College. Issues of migration, citizenship, and health inequalities among Latino populations.*

The Rio Grande Valley (RGV) in Texas serves as an initial, and for some Latin American migrants, final, “landing site” owing to its proximity to the border. The RGV shares approximately 150 miles of border with Mexico. This region is primarily composed of rural towns interspersed between large agricultural plots and obtains most of its economic viability from trade with Mexico and tourism. The area, however, has a surprisingly high number of HIV/AIDS clinics. The Valley AIDS Council (VAC) provides HIV/AIDS services through three clinics along this border area, two of which are the main focus of my research project. I decided to balance my time between the clinic in Brownsville, Texas, located on the southernmost tip of Texas and the clinic in McAllen, located about sixty minutes northwest.

Through my research, I aim to analyze how the local HIV/AIDS clinics interact with their communities, the social stigma associated with the disease, and the nuances of a life-long disease amongst a migratory population. Additionally, I hope to understand how HIV/AIDS is an infectious disease that not only affects the Latino population, but also socially and culturally constructs the LGBTQ Latino community. I hope that my project will contribute to the scholarly understanding of the health of immigrant queer communities in the United States and address the lacunae of scholarship on these LGBTQ communities in rural areas, formed across nation-state borders.

When I arrived, I became involved with the clinic a week earlier than I had expected because the Valley AIDS Council was hosting a Queer Prom through the South Texas Equality Project (STEP). This is one of their newest initiatives meant to mobilize the community around issues of AIDS stigma and homophobia through advocacy and by increasing the visibility of the LGBT community. The following week, the clinic hosted a Commu-

nity Mobilization Conference for other HIV/AIDS clinics in the southern and southwestern region of Texas. In that meeting I met members from the Texas Department of State Health Services and I was able to learn about the efforts of other regional HIV/AIDS clinics and the various challenges that were unique to their communities. I quickly adapted to the rapid pace of the clinic.

Throughout the summer the Central American child refugee crisis became national news and dominated the local media. I became involved with local organizations that provided resources and services to the refugees from Central America and I became very interested in the HIV/AIDS youth experience. The staff emphasized that the most impacted demographic in the area were young men who have sex with men (MSM). I decided to follow up on this thread of the project and to further explore it during the summer. Apart from the clinic staff, I interviewed seventeen MSM youth (ages 18–24) who lived throughout South Texas and four additional participants who were older than twenty-four.

Before returning to Harvard I was able to accompany the staff from all of the Valley AIDS Council clinics to the 2014 Texas HIV-STD Conference in Austin, Texas. During this conference, I participated in workshops presented by various researchers and staff members from clinics throughout the state. During my final day at the clinic I gave the staff a brief overview of my project and interview findings.

One of the most interesting findings was how unaware the majority of youth were of HIV/AIDS. They all feared the disease, but few knew how it was contracted, how it could be treated, or about the existence of local resources. Apart from being an interviewer, I unintentionally became an advocate for the clinic and answered any questions that participants had about HIV/AIDS. Two participants mentioned that they would get tested and talk to their friends about the resources I mentioned.

Nationally, and within the organizations I worked, there have been changes to HIV prevention campaigns. First, the Center for Disease Control (CDC) has launched two new campaigns aimed toward Latinos that focus on raising awareness of and testing for HIV/AIDS. There’s also been a shift towards treating HIV through the use of Pre-exposure Prophylaxis (PrEP) medication to prevent the spread of the disease—instead of solely focusing on safer-sex messages. Second, the clinic I worked with is producing three different billboard campaigns aimed at getting the community tested and STEP is preparing to host a Valley-wide “Pride” event in November. All in all, this was a very intense summer and because of developments like these and the recent shifts in US immigration policy, my research continues.







**Ralph “Tre” Hunt III**

Rogers Family Research Fellow. Department of African and African American Studies and East Asian Studies, Harvard College. *The strategic role of Chinese Confucius institutes in sub-Saharan Africa.*



This past summer I conducted thesis research in Beijing and Cape Town on the impact of Chinese cultural centers (known as Confucius Institutes) in sub-Saharan Africa. I had spent the spring semester studying abroad in Taiwan, and while I had been able to make some progress on the island with regard to my thesis, I knew that I would have to go to Beijing in order to get the answers that I really needed.

Prior to arriving in Beijing, my biggest concern was that my Mandarin would not be adequate to conduct professional interviews with academics and experts. Although I had just spent a semester in Taiwan and had no significant language-related difficulties, I spent the majority of my time using Mandarin to communicate about more casual topics such as East-West cultural differences, Japanese anime, food, movies, and Taiwanese TV shows. Beijing would be my first experience conducting formal interviews in a formal setting on a very specific topic. I knew this would be the biggest challenge of the summer—putting all of the Mandarin that I had learned over the past twenty months to the test.

My first interviewee was a Sino-international relations professor at Qinghua Daxue—commonly accepted as China’s second best university. During the interview I let my nerves get the better of me: my tones were more off than usual, my grammar was a bit twisted, I forgot some key vocabulary, and ran into a few other linguistic challenges over the course of the hour. As I left Dr. Chen’s office, I became a bit pessimistic toward the prospect of how the rest of my interviews would turn out, given that I had dozens more people to interview. Despite my sub-par language skills, I had still managed to get the answers to all of the questions that I wanted to ask. The professor even gave me a copy of a former student’s thesis about Confucius Institutes

in order to further assist me with my research.

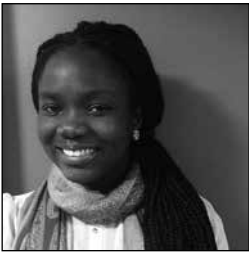
The second interview was excellent. My Mandarin was on point, and the interview quickly turned into a more casual conversation beyond topics of the China-Africa relationship. I went on to interview approximately twenty experts in Beijing.

During one of these interviews I realized that I would have to alter my thesis topic in the fall. This is because one of the main goals of my investigation was to figure out how China chooses where to place Confucius Institutes but was told that the host country actually approaches China! Nevertheless, I gathered a great deal of information regarding the China-Africa relationship, and heard several standpoints that I had never come across before, such as: Confucius Institutes are China’s modern version of 1970s Kung-Fu movies; Westerners look at Confucius Institutes as ways of brainwashing foreign cultures despite China never having this type of history (going to other countries to spread ideas is a Western tradition); and there is a vast range in opinion on how well African students can integrate into local Chinese university culture. I was ready to head to Cape Town in order to get the “African” side of the story.

I will never forget the way Table Mountain looked the first time I saw it on the drive from the airport. It was a cloudless day with a sapphire blue sky that reflected perfectly on the Atlantic Ocean. Upon seeing that mountain it suddenly hit me that I was no longer in the familiar country of China, but rather a complete terra incognita known as South Africa. Though I was familiar with South African history and aware that this was the “new” South Africa, I was still curious to see how my being a black American would play into the next six weeks, given that a mere twenty-five years ago the country was still under the Apartheid system.

I soon came to realize that I would have to alter my research plan somewhat. The University of Stellenbosch had a Center for Chinese Studies, which is regarded by many as being the top China-Africa relations research institute on the planet. However, once I arrived in Cape Town, I was quickly informed that there was no public transport to Stellenbosch. There was only the train, which notoriously runs off-schedule and is a two-hour commute each way. Because of logistical issues such as these, I found myself changing accommodations between Cape Town and Stellenbosch frequently, blocking together interviews at each location.

Things were not as smooth in South Africa as they had been in China. People were not as quick to respond to messages or return calls, which sometimes made getting in touch with them very challenging. Nevertheless, I still interviewed plenty of people and was surprised to find that many of their opinions did not differ too greatly from those of the Chinese that I had interviewed in Beijing. In both sectors experts generally agreed that Confucius Institutes are benign institutions that are truly dedicated to the teaching of Chinese language and culture, nothing else. While this was an important discovery to my research, it meant that I would have to adjust my thesis and include the question: Why did Zimbabwe implement a “Look East” policy shift in 2003 and not any other year? Despite the last-minute change, this was definitely the most exciting, memorable, and impactful summer that I have ever had.



**Debbie N. Onuoha**

Rogers Family Research Fellow. Committee on Degrees in History and Literature; Department of Anthropology, Harvard College. *Slum communities; ecological and urban policy in Accra, Ghana; people as pollution; and waterways.*

This summer, I spent three months conducting research in Accra, Ghana, for my senior thesis. Initially, my interest centered on recent “decongestion” exercises undertaken by the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) along the Korle Lagoon—the city’s largest waterway. As part of efforts to clean up the polluted lagoon and modernize the city, the AMA repeatedly tried to displace the communities along its banks, including the slum community of Old Fadama (popularly called Sodom and Gomorrah).

However, when my research uncovered a string of similar large-scale projects along the lagoon dating back as far as the 1870s, I shifted my focus to examine this long engagement between Accra and the Korle. Why have city resi-

dents and authorities been so fascinated with decongestion and the Korle Lagoon? How has this engagement with the lagoon evolved over time? In what ways has the relationship between the lagoon and the city impacted not only the Korle, but also Accra itself?

As a joint-concentrator in history and literature and anthropology, my methods of inquiry borrowed from both fields. I spent one month conducting archival research at the Ghana National Public Records and Archives Administration Department (PRAAD), Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC), and Graphic News Archives. I then spent another month conducting interviews with members of the AMA, Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), and Ga traditional leaders in Accra. Most memorable was the Korle Wolomo—the chief priest of Naa Korle (the eponymous deity of the lagoon). His retelling of how some of the Ga people first settled along the Accra Plains centuries earlier cast the lagoon as a key site in the establishment of Accra. Lastly, I spent another month along the Korle speaking with residents about their daily interactions with the lagoon and observing workers at the nearby e-waste dump. I also often wandered around Accra asking residents in different parts of the city what they had heard of and thought about the lagoon.

A major challenge that I faced in my research process was time. Things often took much longer than I anticipated: I could be at the archives

for an entire day and only have one relevant document to show for it, or an interviewee might show up three hours later than agreed upon, or sometimes not at all. Moreover, a few external factors affected the progression of my work. Mid-July, local fuel prices rose by 40 percent and within days the cost of transportation and many other goods skyrocketed. Additionally, Accra witnessed its worst cholera outbreak in thirty years, coupled with intense anxiety about the possible spread of the Ebola virus from nearby West African nations. This threat of disease greatly influenced my interactions with other people. Shaking hands—a gesture automatically performed upon meeting someone new (and often taken for granted)—was suddenly taboo. With the absence of physical contact, it was a great challenge to find other ways of connecting with new acquaintances in order to make them comfortable enough to share their thoughts and opinions with me.

Overall, the opportunity to continue my research in Ghana gave me access to a wealth of information on my topic. Because of the material that I collected—documents copied from the archives, recorded interviews, notes taken from conversations with city residents, videos I recorded of workers along the lagoon, and more—I can now in earnest work to bring my experiences and research together into a cohesive thesis that blends aspects of my two disciplines.



Mayumi Comejo (page 10):  
Ydelso Hernandez (pictured center), president of the National Federation of Peasant patrols. Image Source: [http://www.rpp.com.pe/2013-09-02-cajamarca-detienen-a-rondero-por-realizar-disparos-en-plaza-de-armas-noticia\\_627435.html](http://www.rpp.com.pe/2013-09-02-cajamarca-detienen-a-rondero-por-realizar-disparos-en-plaza-de-armas-noticia_627435.html)

Diego Huerta (page 11):  
Valley AIDS Council (VAC) staff members and I pose for the Greater than AIDS Campaign in Austin, Texas.

Ralph “Tre” Hunt III (page 12):  
University of Cape Town.

Debbie N. Onuoha (page 13):  
Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) cleaning along the Korle Lagoon—the city’s largest waterway.



61 Kirkland Street, home to the Fellows Program.

Photo credit: Megan County

The Weatherhead Center community and Fellows Program mourn the recent loss of three former Fellows:

**Paul Stewart Dingle** passed away on June 12, 2014, at his home in Ottawa. A Fellow at the Center for International Affairs in 1993–1994, Paul came to Cambridge directly from Tehran, where he had served as Canadian ambassador, the first posted to Iran since the American hostage crisis that ended in 1980.

Paul earned a bachelor's degree in economics (1967) and a master's in business administration (1969) from McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario. Before entering the Canadian Foreign Service in 1970, he had served in England as an industrial relations officer. Early in his foreign-service career he was a trade commissioner in Trinidad, then in Israel and India. In 1979, Paul was appointed deputy director

of operations and subsequently policy advisor on international trade for the Canadian Trade Commissioner Service. He became a consul in the Canadian Consulate in Hamburg, Germany, in 1981. He then served in Ottawa as senior assistant to three consecutive ministers of international trade. Part of the Gulf Task Force formed during the Gulf Crisis of 1990, Paul was then appointed as the Canadian ambassador to Tehran.

As a Fellow, Paul was intellectually engaged and politically astute, sharp witted yet unfailingly congenial. His reflections on his service in Iran fueled many a lively Fellows' session, both on campus and off. He wrote a monograph called *Western Policy Options toward Iran: To Coax, Coerce, or Contain*, growing out of his year's research. After leaving Cambridge, he returned to Ottawa where he resided for many years, still in the Foreign Service and then post-retirement.

Throughout those years, Paul reveled in the days he spent in his lakeside cottage near Kazabazua, Quebec, where he surely enjoyed his solitude but equally his opportunities to entertain family and friends, including the dozens of Center Fellows who traveled annually to Canada under the sponsorship of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. Even now it is so easy to remember the great pleasure of his company and the genuineness of his hospitality, which shone as brightly as the flashlights he provided down his wooded path while those who treasured those annual late-afternoon-into-late-evening gatherings had to, inevitably, disperse.

The 2010–2011 Fellows were deeply saddened to learn of the death of **Jörgen Holmquist**, at the age of 66, on March 18, 2014. Recalling his many contributions, classmate Walter Stechel noted recently that Jörgen's voice was "...among the strongest in the class of 2011. Its strength and confidence reflected a lifetime's insights and experience, a strong personality's independent thinking, all mellowed by a wonderful sense of humor." Jörgen did, indeed, stand out in a class of outstanding practitioners. He joined the Fellows Program in 2010 having served the preceding three years as director general, DG Internal Market and Services, European Commission. A Swede by birth, Jörgen began his long and distinguished career with the Swedish government, serving in the Ministry of Commerce and then with the Ministry of Finance. From 1987 to 1993, he was counsellor for financial affairs at the Swedish Embassy in Washington, DC. His move to the European Commission in 1997 led to positions in DG Agriculture, DG Budget, DG Fisheries and Maritime Affairs, and finally, to DG Internal Market and Services. He remained extremely active following his year as a Fellow. At the time of his death, he was also serving as chair of the International Ethics Standards Board for Accountants (IESBA). Jörgen Holmquist is survived by his wife Gail Rubenstein and their two children.

**Arthur Mudge**, who continued to interact with the Weatherhead Center, and with the Fellows Program in particular, long after his time as a Fellow (1979–1980), died on May 23, 2014, in Hanover, New Hampshire. He is survived by MaryAnn Caldwell, his wife of fifty-one years, their four daughters, and their five grandchildren. Born in Andover, Massachusetts, Arthur went on to earn a bachelor's degree in geological engineering from Princeton University and a law degree from Harvard University. He also saw combat as a US Army officer in Korea. In 1966, he joined the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) where assignments took him to Panama, Peru, Bolivia, Guyana, Nicaragua, and Sudan. He resumed practicing law in New Hampshire following his retirement from USAID, focusing on legal services to nongovernmental organizations in general, and environmental and educational institutions in particular. An avid mountain climber and dedicated bird watcher, Arthur maintained his strong interest in international affairs, serving a number of years as president of the World Affairs Council of New Hampshire. As a proud alumnus of the Fellows Program, he hosted a number of Fellows over the years at speaking events in New Hampshire.



## STUDENT PROGRAMS

### 2014–2015 Kenneth I. Juster Fellows

The Weatherhead Center is pleased to announce its 2014-2015 class of Juster Fellows. Now in its fourth year, this grant initiative is made possible by the generosity of the Center's Advisory Committee Chair, the Honorable Kenneth I. Juster, who has devoted much of his education, professional activities, and nonprofit endeavors to international affairs and is deeply engaged in promoting international understanding and advancing international relations. The Center's Juster grants support undergraduates whose projects may be related to thesis research but may have broader experiential components as well. The newly named Juster Fellows, all of whom will be undertaking their international experiences this January, and their projects are:

**Colette Bishogo**, a junior African and African American Studies concentrator, will travel to Rwanda to investigate how Rwanda's government managed to sustain a rapidly growing economy while maintaining political stability.

**Hilary Higgins**, a senior Government concentrator, will travel to Colombia to complete field research for her thesis entitled, "Counter Narcotics to Counterinsurgency: Assessing the Transformation of US Intervention in Colombia."

**Shatha Hussein**, a senior Government concentrator, will travel to the West Bank, Ramallah, and Jerusalem to finish her thesis field research on the evolution of the Israeli settlement policy from 1967 to 2010.

**Rahim Mawji**, a senior African and African American Studies concentrator, will travel to South Africa and Tanzania to complete field research for his social engagement thesis that will examine and implement a leadership development program in Africa in order to test whether educational interventions focused on leadership development make a positive impact on their participants.

**Priyanka Menon**, a junior Mathematics concentrator, will be traveling to New Delhi, India, to begin a project in which she will analyze the intellectual histories of violence and human rights during the Indian Independence Movement from 1900 to 1947.

**Nirosha Perera**, a junior concentrating in History and Science, will travel to Sri Lanka along with several other students from Harvard and Pennsylvania State University to observe and work with the Ministry of Health's medical relief program to learn about health-care delivery and disease prevention.

**Shawheen Rezaei**, a sophomore Economics concentrator, will travel to Dhaka, Bangladesh, for an internship at the Grameen Bank, where he plans to learn about development banking's ability to alleviate extreme poverty.



Center Advisory Committee  
Chair Kenneth I. Juster.

### Graduate Student Associate Awarded Fulbright Grant

**Jessica Tollette**, PhD candidate in sociology, was awarded a Fulbright U.S. Student Program grant to Spain in sociology. Tollette is one of over 1,800 US citizens traveling abroad for the 2014–2015 academic year through the Fulbright U.S. Student Program. Recipients of Fulbright grants are selected on the basis of academic and professional achievement, as well as demonstrated leadership potential.

### Weatherhead Graduate Student Associate Receives ASA Award

**Asad L. Asad**, PhD candidate in the Department of Sociology, received the Marvin E. Olsen Student Paper Award from the Section on Environment and Technology of the American Sociological Association (ASA) for his paper, "Contexts of Reception, Post-Disaster Migration, and Socioeconomic Mobility."

### Weatherhead Center Advisory Committee Member Funds Harvard Kennedy School Fellowship

The Pierre Keller Dual Degree Graduate Fellowship Fund was recently created at the Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) for students admitted to both the Graduate Institute in Geneva and Harvard Kennedy School. The fund is underwritten by a \$700,000 gift from **Pierre Keller**, a member of the Weatherhead Center Advisory Committee and a veteran of the finance industry and proponent of international education.

The fellowship will support qualified applicants who enroll in the Mid-Career Master in Public Administration Program (MC/MPA) at HKS after completing one year in pursuit of either the Master in International Affairs or the Master in Development Studies at the Graduate Institute.



Jeffrey A. Frieden is Acting Center Director (2014–2015) and Stanfield Professor of International Peace in the Department of Government.

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## Conclusion

The previous discussion suggests a need for contemporary scholars of Middle Eastern politics to re-evaluate the contours of electoral politics and governance in the region. While much has been made of the ideological cleavage between secularist and Islamists, determinants of voter preferences seem to transcend such simple binaries. Rather than being driven solely by ideological concerns, it appears that voters are much more concerned with policy outcomes and the ability of new governments to produce concrete economic and social changes. Given the importance of performance legitimacy to voter behavior, I argue that we can no longer assume that Islamists or secularists will have an inherent advantage in successfully performing in democratic elections. Instead, to evaluate electoral performance, scholars must go beyond ideology to discover what organizational and structural features of parties make them more or less likely to enact and successfully execute social and economic reforms. Thus, the results of recent Tunisian election should not be hailed as an inevitable success for the country's nascent democracy, but rather should be considered a crucial testing ground for secular parties, which, at the current moment have quite a lot to prove.

## Notes

1. Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), Elie Kedourie, *Democracy and Arab Culture* (Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1992).
2. Melani Cammett, "Is There an Islamist Political Advantage?" *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17 (2014): 187–206.
3. Ibid.
4. In 2013, this figure increased slightly to 17.9%.
5. Mark Tessler, "Islam and democracy in the Middle East: The impact of religious orientations on attitudes toward democracy in four Arab countries," *Comparative Politics* 34.3 (2002): 337–354; Pew Research Center, "Most Muslims Want Democracy, Personal Freedoms, and Islam in Political Life," *Pew Report* (2012).
6. In accordance with Jamal and Tessler (2008), I measure piety as the extent to which a survey respondent reports that he/she "listen[s] to or read[s] the Quran/Bible."
7. World Bank, "World Development Indicators."
8. Institut Nationale des Statistiques de la Tunisie, "Tableau 11: Taux de chômage par gouvernorat, 200–2013."
9. Anne Wolf, "Can Secular Parties Lead the New Tunisia?" (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace 2014).
10. Ashley Anderson, "Going Political: Labor and Regime Transition in the Modern Middle East," Working Paper.



*Epicenter* is the Weatherhead Center's topical e-newsletter that provides examples of its latest research. Published three times a year, *Epicenter* highlights a single research project and the related work of one or more Weatherhead Center Faculty Associates and other affiliates. It also includes links to other publications and the profiles of individuals whose work is closely related to the selected topic. Sign up to get *Epicenter* by e-mail and read previous issues: [wcfia.harvard.edu/publications/epicenter](http://wcfia.harvard.edu/publications/epicenter)

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