



Weatherhead Center
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

CENTERPIECE

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HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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Message from the Director



At the time of this writing, the world remains transfixed by the result of the American presidential election. Colleagues and friends beyond our borders who followed a particularly mercurial presidential campaign now speculate on what the future will bring. The global repercussions of what transpired on November 8 remain quite ill-defined and many colleagues fear the worst.

Although we are physically rooted here in Cambridge, our work has a decidedly global impact. Many of our 230 Faculty Associates are deeply engaged in conversation with their peers in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America—with the very colleagues whose work we read, to whom we send our graduate students, whom we meet at conferences, and whose books and papers we discuss. These scholars form an international community made of virtual networks whose members count on us to help them understand what is happening right now. And these individuals in turn help interpret the world for their own students and colleagues in their own national context. This is part of the Weatherhead Center's core mission: making sense of reality for experts, the educated public, and policy makers in times of need.

In the fall and the spring—as was the case last year—we will provide over \$900,000 to support the work of graduate and undergraduate

students and over \$1 million to support the research of faculty. This is possible because our core Faculty Associates serve on numerous peer review committees. And this is only one of the channels through which we feed the network of knowledge that is essential to understanding the ongoing global changes. We are thankful to them and to the WCFIA staff who make the organization work.

What else is new at the Center this fall? In late September, the WCFIA underwent a review by a team of distinguished colleagues from peer institutions. To quote from their report, "The Weatherhead Center carries with it enormous symbolic weight at Harvard, across the United States, and beyond...its leadership, its buy-in from faculty, and the enthusiasm and commitment of its increasingly diverse stakeholders are great strengths."

While such praise is comforting, the Executive Committee recently convened to consider the various recommendations from the committee. They approved in principle a new Weatherhead Scholars Program and a new Weatherhead Research Clusters pilot project. Details will be forthcoming soon. Pushing the reset button periodically is necessary if the WCFIA, founded at the height of the Cold War, is to continue to best perform at its mission of addressing important research questions ahead of the curve. This "reset" is essential given that knowledge production and distribution networks have diversified considerably since the creation of the Center. The world is changing, and the Weatherhead Center must change with it.

At the same time, we do not jettison the past but embrace it. On December 12, we celebrated the scholarly contribution of Joe Nye, former WCFIA director, to the field of international relations. A special Manshel Lecture and panel discussion in his honor acknowledged Joe's groundbreaking research and the subsequent contributions of his many students.

We are proud to stand at the nexus between commemorating the past and forging an innovative future. There is room for both at the Weatherhead Center, and this inclusion makes us stronger.

Michèle Lamont

Weatherhead Center Director

Robert I. Goldman Professor of European Studies

Professor of Sociology and African and African American Studies

Cover: A young climate activist sets off in a traditional canoe during a Break Free from Fossil Fuels event in South Tarawa, Kiribati.
Photo credit: Mattea Mrkusic

Above: Weatherhead Center Director Michèle Lamont.
Photo credit: Martha Stewart

Michael Reich Receives Lifetime Service Award for Research

Faculty Associate **Michael Reich**, Taro Takemi Professor of International Health Policy at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, has received a Lifetime Service award. Reich was given the award for his work—spanning more than four decades—in the field of health policy and systems research. The award is given by the Alliance for Health Policy and Systems Research (AHPSE) and Health Systems Global (HSG).

Calestous Juma Receives 2017 Breakthrough Paradigm Award

Faculty Associate **Calestous Juma**, Professor of the Practice of International Development at Harvard Kennedy School, was recently named a recipient of the 2017 Breakthrough Paradigm Award. The award, given by the Breakthrough Institute, “recognizes accomplishment and leadership in the effort to make the future secure, free, prosperous, and fulfilling for all the world’s inhabitants on an ecologically vibrant planet.” Juma’s groundbreaking research in biotechnology and innovation solidifies his position as a thought leader in the fields of science and technology.

Tamar Herzog Awarded James A. Rawley Prize

Faculty Associate **Tamar Herzog**, Monroe Gutman Professor of Latin American Affairs and Radcliffe Alumnae Professor, was awarded the 2016 James A. Rawley Prize for her book, *Frontiers of Possession: Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas* (Harvard University Press, 2015). The award, given by the American Historical Association, goes to the best book that explores the integration of Atlantic worlds before the twentieth century.

Susan J. Pharr Wins Japan Foundation Award

Faculty Associate and Director of the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations **Susan J. Pharr**, also the Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics at Harvard University, was awarded a 2016 Japan Foundation Award for her lifetime of work in promoting international mutual understanding, especially between Japan and the United States.

Pharr is a widely recognized leader in her field, and holds deep insight into Japanese politics through a comparative politics lens.

Mary C. Waters Receives Distinguished Career Award from ASA

Faculty Associates **Mary C. Waters**, M.E. Zukerman Professor of Sociology, is the recipient of the 2016 Distinguished Career Award from the American Sociological Association’s Section on International Migration. The award recognizes exceptional achievement and a lifetime of scholarly contribution to the field of the sociology of international migration.

Nancy Khalil Receives Student Spark Grant Award

Graduate Student Associate **Nancy Khalil** was awarded a Spark Grant from the Harvard Initiative for Learning and Teaching. The grant, aimed toward full-time Harvard degree program students, offers six-month awards up to \$10,000. Khalil will offer a year-long Writing Oasis program, based on a successful pilot offering, to provide dedicated time and collaboration for graduate students in their dissertation writing.

Aisha Beliso-De Jesús Wins Journal of Africana Religions Book Prize

Faculty Associate **Aisha Beliso-De Jesús**, associate professor of African American religions at the Harvard Divinity School, won the 2016 Albert J. Raboteau Book Prize for the Best Book in Africana Religions for *Electric Santería: Racial and Sexual Assemblages of Transnational Religion* (Columbia University Press, 2015). This award is given each year to an academic book that exemplifies the ethos and mission of the *Journal of Africana Religions*, an interdisciplinary journal that publishes scholarship on African and African diasporic religious traditions.

Kenneth Rogoff Makes List for 2016 Business Book of Year Award

Faculty Associate **Kenneth Rogoff**, the Thomas D. Cabot Professor of Public Policy, made the long list for the Business Book of the Year Award by *Financial Times*. Rogoff’s book, *The Curse of Cash*, makes the controversial case that paper

money makes the world poorer and less safe. The winner of the £30,000 prize will go to the book that is judged to have provided the most compelling and enjoyable insight into modern business issues, with £10,000 awarded to each runner-up.

Alexia Yates Awarded the 2016 Wallace K. Ferguson Prize

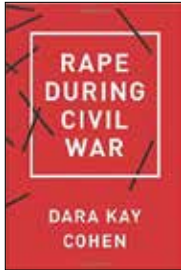
Alexia Yates, Affiliate in the Center for History and Economics Program and Assistant Professor of History at York University, won the Wallace K. Ferguson Prize for her book *Selling Paris: Property and Commercial Culture in the Fin-de-siècle Capital* (Harvard University Press, 2015). Every year the Canadian Historical Association recognizes an outstanding scholarly book in a field of history, other than Canadian history, for the award.

Perna Singh Wins Two Book Prizes

Former Faculty Associate and Academy Scholar **Perna Singh**, the Mahatma Gandhi Assistant Professor of Political Science and International and Public Affairs at Brown University, won two recent awards for her book *How Solidarity Works for Welfare: Subnationalism and Social Development in India* (Cambridge University Press, 2016). She won the 2016 Woodrow Wilson Award, given annually by Princeton University for the best book on government, politics, or international affairs. She also won the 2016 Barrington Moore Book Award, given every year by the Comparative and Historical Sociology section of the American Sociological Association to the best book in the areas of comparative and historical sociology.

Karl Kaiser Receives Dr. Jean Mayer Award

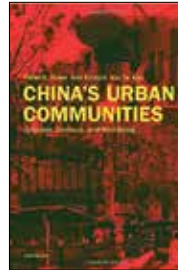
Karl Kaiser, Senior Associate of the Weatherhead Center’s Program on Transatlantic Relations and adjunct professor of public policy at the Harvard Kennedy School, was awarded the Dr. Jean Mayer Global Citizenship Award. Recipients of this award, given by the Institute for Global Leadership (IGL) at Tufts University, typically give a lecture and work with the IGL to create meaningful learning opportunities for its students at their organization or home country.



Rape during Civil War By Dara Kay Cohen

(Cornell University Press, 2016)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Dara Kay Cohen is an assistant professor of public policy, Harvard Kennedy School.



China's Urban Communities: Concepts, Context, and Well-Being By Ann Forsyth, Peter Rowe, and Har Ye Kan

(De Gruyter, 2016)

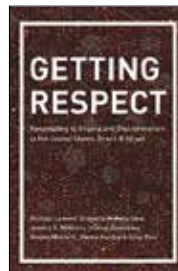
Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Ann Forsyth is a professor of urban planning, Harvard Graduate School of Design.



The Ethics of Invention: Technology and the Human Future By Sheila Jasanoff

(W.W. Norton & Company, 2016)

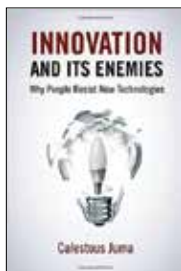
Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Sheila Jasanoff is the Pforzheimer Professor of Science and Technology Studies, Harvard Kennedy School.



Getting Respect: Responding to Stigma and Discrimination in the United States, Brazil, and Israel By Michèle Lamont, Graziella Moraes Silva, Jessica S. Welburn, Joshua Guetzkow, Nissim Mizrahi, Hanna Herzog, and Elisa Reis

(Princeton University Press, 2016)

Weatherhead Center Director and Faculty Associate Michèle Lamont is the Robert I. Goldman Professor of European Studies and professor of sociology and of African and African American studies, Harvard University.



Innovation and Its Enemies: Why People Resist New Technologies By Calestous Juma

(Oxford University Press, 2016)

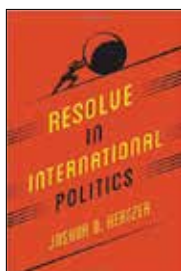
Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Calestous Juma is the Professor of the Practice of International Development, Harvard Kennedy School.



Checkbook Elections? By Pippa Norris

(Oxford Academic Press, 2016)

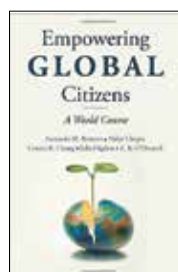
Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Pippa Norris is the Paul F. McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics, Harvard Kennedy School and the Laureate Research Fellow and professor of government and international relations, University of Sydney.



Resolve in International Politics By Joshua D. Kertzer

(Princeton University Press, 2016)

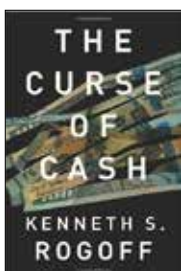
Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Joshua Kertzer is an assistant professor of government, Harvard University.



Empowering Global Citizens: A World Course By Fernando Reimers, Vidur Chopra, Connie K. Chung, Julia Higdon, and Eleanor B. O'Donnell

(CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2016)

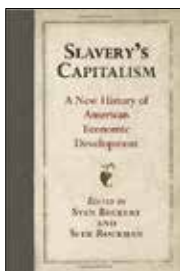
Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Fernando Reimers is the Ford Foundation Professor of International Education, Harvard Graduate School of Education.



The Curse of Cash By Kenneth S. Rogoff

(Princeton University Press, 2016)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Kenneth S. Rogoff is the Thomas D. Cabot Professor of Public Policy, Harvard University.



Slavery's Capitalism
 Edited by Sven Beckert and Seth Rockman

(University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Sven Beckert is the Laird Bell Professor of History, Harvard University.

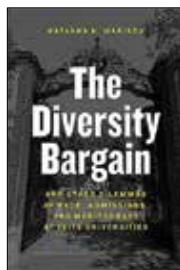


Challenges of Party-Building in Latin America

Edited by Steven Levitsky, James Loxtton, Brandon Van Dyck, and Jorge I. Domínguez

(Cambridge University Press, 2016)

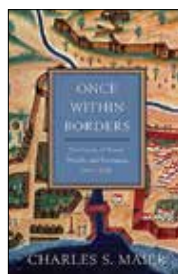
Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Steven Levitsky is a professor of government, Harvard University. Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Jorge Domínguez is the Antonio Madero Professor for the Study of Mexico, Harvard University.



The Diversity Bargain
 By Natasha K. Warikoo

(The University of Chicago Press, 2016)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Natasha K. Warikoo is an associate professor of education, Harvard Graduate School of Education.

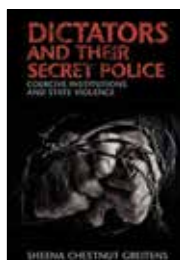


Once Within Borders: Territories of Power, Wealth, and Belonging since 1500

By Charles S. Maier

(Harvard University Press, 2016)

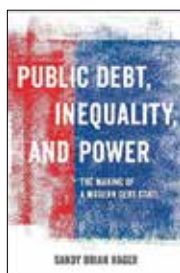
Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Charles S. Maier is the Leverett Saltonstall Professor of History, Harvard University.



Dictators and Their Secret Police: Coercive Institutions and State Violence
 By Sheena Greitens

(Cambridge University Press, 2016)

Weatherhead Center alum Sheena Greitens was an Academy Scholar in 2013–2014. She is currently a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution.



Public Debt, Inequality, and Power: The Making of a Modern Debt State
 By Sandy Brian Hager

(University of California Press, 2016)

Weatherhead Center Postdoctoral Fellow Sandy Brian Hager is a fellow in international political economy, London School of Economics and Political Science.



Philosophies of Multiculturalism
 By Paul May

(Sciences Po Press, 2016)

Weatherhead Center William Lyon Mackenzie King Postdoctoral Fellow Paul May recently completed his PhD in political science from Écoles des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris.



Read the latest research by faculty and other affiliates of the Center by visiting: wcfia.harvard.edu/publications

2016–2017 KENNETH I. JUSTER FELLOWS



The Weatherhead Center is pleased to announce its 2016–2017 class of Juster Fellows. Now in its sixth 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 December or January, and their projects are:

David Coletti, a senior history and literature concentrator, will return to Brazil in January to finish his thesis field research on the influence of international tourism and capitalism on the LGBT community in São Paulo.

Caroline Kimetto, a junior economics concentrator, will explore the effects of good agricultural seasons on the rate of eighth-graders progressing to high school in the rural town of Kericho, Kenya.

Raya Koreh, a junior history concentrator, will travel to Israel this winter to begin her thesis research on American Jewish advocacy for Soviet Jewish emigration and its impact on Cold War foreign policy.

Angela Leocata, a junior social anthropology concentrator, will travel to India to begin her thesis research on the impact of caregiving on community health workers in Goa, India.

Vincent Lin, an anthropology and molecular and cellular biology concentrator with a secondary concentration in global health and health policy, will travel to Sierra Leone to research the challenges, reflections, and opportunities for those who survive the Ebola virus.

Hanaa Masalmeh, a junior social anthropology concentrator, will research the intersection of local German governments and Syrian refugees in southern Germany.

JUSTER FELLOW RESEARCH UPDATE

By **Mattea Mrkusic**, a 2015–2016 Kenneth I. Juster Fellow, who traveled to Kiribati last year to study climate change-induced migration

“Last year, at nighttime, a mini-tsunami hit. Our house fell down, our toilet flooded, and everything was swept away—our dishes, our pots. The next day, we slept on our *kiakia* [a traditional, open-air raised hut] because the water was flowing underneath us,” said Ruita Kauongo.

Gazing out to the Pacific Ocean and beyond, Ruita Kauongo has good reason to fear a future affected by climate change. Kauongo, a forty-six-year-old grandmother, lives on an isolated outer island in the central Pacific island nation of Kiribati (pronounced Kee-ree-bas). Her beachfront home is meters away from the ocean, on an island that is—at its very highest point—just three meters above sea level.

For now, Kauongo told me, her family has fashioned a makeshift seawall made of stones, coconut husks, and sun-faded rubbish. Walking around her property, it feels deeply unsettling to see imported trash protecting them from the force of the waves—an all-too fitting imprint of Western transnational pollution.

This past spring, I decided to swap my textbooks for a camera, a microphone, and a plane ticket to Kiribati. On paper, I was undertaking

senior thesis research on how I-Kiribati citizens conceptualize climate change-induced migration—the idea that climate change impacts might act as a migration incentive in coming decades. Inside, however, I had another motive. I wanted to explore the transnational injustice of climate change, and how we can better amplify geographically remote voices that will be disproportionately affected by climate change.

During my time in Kiribati, I interviewed around fifty individuals. I spoke to local climate activists, fighting for climate mitigation through grass roots organizing. Under a grove of breadfruit trees, I listened to a village scribe recount his decision to relocate his home along with four other extended families. I was fortunate to interview the former president of Kiribati, His Excellency Aote Tong, about the nation’s ‘Migration with Dignity’ policy, which aims to prepare I-Kiribati youth for migration to New Zealand and Australia through educational initiatives.

In the eyes of most I-Kiribati, moving is a policy of last resort. For Petero Tabuariki, a pastor based in South Tarawa, relocating from the home and community he loves feels deeply unjust: “Why do

we have to leave our home island, because of the consequences of what people are doing? The bible says you must reap your own consequences...but other people are reaping it for us.”

I came back to Harvard with a series of video interviews, dozens of portraits, and a growing realization: I couldn’t publish my findings in a purely academic realm. It became clear that I needed to connect frontline stories with the high carbon-emitting audiences. I decided a creative thesis was the best way to amplify and elevate the voices of climate migration frontline community members. Over the last few months, I’ve been working on a multimedia storytelling website featuring a podcast, a series of photographs, and a collection of written stories about climate justice in Kiribati.

I would like to express my thanks for the Kenneth I. Juster Fellowship and the Weatherhead Center for their contribution to this research, and encourage all readers to attend my senior thesis photo exhibit in the spring, entitled “Collapse the Distance.” Further details will be announced.

Above: Center Advisory Committee Chair Kenneth I. Juster.

Photos by *Mattea Mrkusic* >

CANADA PROGRAM

The WCFIA Canada Program is home to eleven affiliates in 2016–2017, including three visiting scholars and eight student Canada Research Fellows. The three visiting scholars are:

Professor **Krishna Pendakur**, professor of economics at Simon Fraser University, joins us as the 2016–2017 William Lyon Mackenzie King Visiting Professor of Canadian Studies. Professor Pendakur taught Consumer Demand Econometrics (fall 2016) through the Department of Economics.

Paul May, a postdoctoral researcher at Queen's University, joins us as a 2016–2017 William Lyon Mackenzie King Postdoctoral Fellow. He recently published *Philosophies du multiculturalisme* with Presses de Sciences Po, coll Fait Politique, Paris, 2016 (English translation forthcoming). Dr. May will teach Multiculturalism and Integration in Europe and Beyond, in spring 2017, through the Department of Sociology. And in fall 2017, he will organize a conference called "The Canadian Model of Diversity: Contemporary Challenges and Opportunities."

Tom Özden-Schilling, a recent graduate of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, joins us also as a 2016–2017 William Lyon Mackenzie King Postdoctoral Fellow. Professor Özden-Schilling will be teaching Technology and Politics in Native North America (spring 2017) through the Department of Anthropology. In spring 2017, he will organize a conference called "Critical Indigenous STS: Technoscience and Transition in Native North America."

The Program's Canada Research Fellows—eight Harvard graduate and undergraduate students who receive dissertation and thesis research funding for their work which includes a Canadian studies component—represent the Graduate School of Design, the T. H. Chan School of Public Health, the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, and the College. Research interests include the effect of national-level anti-Muslim political rhetoric on Syrian refugees in the United States and Canada; the impact of politics on infrastructure; Canada and the Ismaili Imamate: The relationship between His Highness the Aga Khan IV and the Canadian federal government; and US and Canadian legal history.

In the news: Dr. **Alison Mountz**, the Canada Program's 2015–2016 William Lyon Mackenzie King Visiting Professor of Canadian Studies, was recently named by the Royal Society of Canada to the prestigious College of New Scholars, Artists and Scientists. Dr. Mountz, a professor in the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies and Canada Research Chair in Global Migration at Wilfrid Laurier University, was inducted during a ceremony in Kingston, Ontario, on November 18. She is affiliated with Laurier's International Migration Center. As a political geographer, she researches the decisions, displacements, and desires that drive human migration and the policies and practices designed to manage migration. Key areas of her work are human migration and displacement, border crossings, border enforcement, political asylum, detention, detention on islands, and US war-resisters in Canada.



Clockwise from top left: A child plays on a rare stretch of formal sea walls at low tide. Most homes in Kiribati do not have sea walls to protect them from high tides or storm surges.

A view of Marakei, Kiribati from the air. Most of Kiribati is situated less than three meters above sea level.

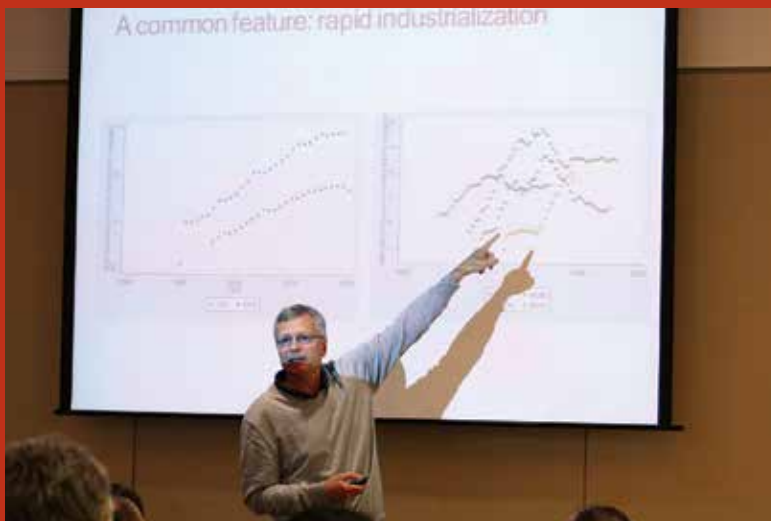
Two children watch a mangrove planting organized by the Kiribati Climate Action Network. Mangroves are known to protect the low-lying Kiribati from storm surges.
Photo credits: Mattea Mrkusic



Photos: Fall 2016 Events

DIRECTOR'S LUNCH SEMINAR

In 2016–2017 the Center began the Director's Lunch Seminar as a way to provide an opportunity for various affiliates of the Weatherhead Center, such as the graduate student affiliates, members of The Harvard Academy, Fellows, members of the Executive Committee, and others to learn about and discuss emerging academic research from our community. The aim of this new series is to strengthen and broaden our intellectual community and facilitate exchange across disciplinary and other boundaries. Speakers this year include: Faculty Associate **Dani Rodrik**, Ford Foundation Professor of International Political Economy at the Harvard Kennedy School; **Anton Strezhnev**, Graduate Student Associate in the Department of Government; **Yael Berda**, Academy Scholar and assistant professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Hebrew University; **Alicia G. Harley**, Graduate Student Associate in public policy at the Harvard Kennedy School; Faculty Associate **Sunil Amrith**, Mehra Family Professor of South Asian Studies and Professor of History; **Tom Özden-Schilling**, William Lyon Mackenzie King Postdoctoral Fellow in the Canada Program and PhD from the Program in History, Anthropology, and Science, Technology, and Society at MIT; Faculty Associate **Alejandro de la Fuente**, Robert Woods Bliss Professor of Latin-American History and Economics, professor of African and African American studies, director of the Afro-Latin American Research Institute, and principal investigator of the Weatherhead Initiative on Afro-Latin American Studies; and **Perna Singh**, former Faculty Associate and Academy Scholar and Mahatma Gandhi Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Studies at Brown University.



BOOK LAUNCH AND AUTHOR'S TALK FOR GETTING RESPECT

Getting Respect: Responding to Stigma and Discrimination in the United States, Brazil, and Israel by WCFA Director **Michèle Lamont**, Graziella Moraes Silva (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro), Jessica S. Welburn (University of Iowa), Joshua Guetzkow (Hebrew University of Jerusalem), Nissim Mizrahi (Tel Aviv University), Hanna Herzog (Tel Aviv University), and Elisa Reis (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro) was published in September 2016. The WCFA held a book launch on September 15 and panel discussion by the book's co-authors on October 21.



Above: The authors host a book talk for their recently released *Getting Respect: Responding to Stigma and Discrimination in the United States, Brazil, and Israel*.

Left top: Dani Rodrik, Ford Foundation Professor of International Political Economy, Harvard Kennedy School, gives the inaugural Director's Lunch Seminar on "The End of Economic Growth Miracles."

Left bottom: Joseph S. Nye, Jr., Harvard University Distinguished Service Professor, Harvard Kennedy School, asks a question to Dani Rodrik in the first Director's Lunch Seminar.

Photo credits: Kristin Caulfield



FELLOWS PROGRAM REUNION

Well over one hundred current and former Fellows, affiliates of the Center, and other friends of the Fellows Program attended the reunion held on February 3–5. The reunion is typically held every three years, and this year’s theme was “Confronting New Realities in an Uncertain World.” The multiday conference consisted of over a dozen panels and discussions based around the theme, and included a reception and dinner on the evening of February 3 featuring a keynote address by Joseph S. Nye, Jr.

Counterclockwise: Kathy Molony, director of the Fellows Program, and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., Harvard University Distinguished Service Professor, Harvard Kennedy School, are all smiles at the Fellows Program Reunion dinner.

Fellows Program Director Kathy Molony addresses Fellows Program colleagues, alumni, and friends at the Harvard Faculty Club.



Justin Chinyanta, 2008–2009 Fellow, poses with his wife Helen Chinyanta and 2011–2012 Fellow Nelson Olivero. Photo credits: Kristin Caulfield

LEADING IN THE MUSLIM WORLD: WHAT WOULD BENAZIR DO TODAY?

The daylong assembly was sponsored by ClassACT '73 and held on December 5. The goal was to develop a plan to support Muslim students at Harvard through fellowships, co-curricular activities drawing on Benazir's HR '73 classmates, and public education to a wider audience.



CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL INCLUSION & POVERTY ERADICATION

This conference was held on November 17–18 and explored the ways in which social exclusion contributes to poverty, and how social inclusion in various spheres may reduce it.



Left top: The HR '73 ClassACT board members and assembly panelists pose together at the end of a successful event.

Left bottom: Pakistan's Minister for Social Welfare and Women's Development Farzana Yaqoob speaks at the morning panel while Council on Foreign Relations Fellow and NPR Correspondent Leila Fadel listens. Photo credits: Lauren McLaughlin

Right top: Rohini Pande, Mohammed Kamal Professor of Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School, was the discussant for the second session.

Right bottom: Nonna Mayer, sociologist and political scientist from Sciences Po, France, discusses her paper in the third session. Photo credits: Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies

How Do Rebels Rule When They Win?

by Kai M. Thaler



Kai Thaler is a Graduate Student Associate of the Weatherhead Center. He is a PhD candidate in the Department of Government and a Democracy Doctoral Fellow at the Ash Center at Harvard Kennedy School. His research examines civil wars, state building, regime change, and political violence, mainly in Africa and Latin America.

It is rare in recent years when a civil war has not grabbed global headlines—be it the ongoing civil wars and international interventions in Syria and Yemen, the fragile peace process to end Colombia's half-century-long war, or the secession and collapse into violence of South Sudan, to name a few. This increase in media coverage reflects a growing number of civil wars around the world: since World War II, civil wars have surpassed interstate wars as the most prominent form of large-scale violent conflict.

Most civil wars end in a government victory or negotiated settlement, but between one-fifth and one-third—depending on the definitions used—end in rebel victory with the capture of the central state or secession.¹ Significant scholarly attention has focused on when, why, or how a rebel group takes power; we have little comparative evidence about the downstream effects of rebel victory. What state structures do victorious rebels abolish, modify, or create? How do they decide on policy priorities? What explains variation in the strength and scope of the states they build?

These are important questions to investigate, not only to explain historical variation but to understand the implications for contemporary policy decisions. Global norms of sovereignty privilege sitting governments, but individual states and international organizations or alliances frequently bolster rebel groups or intervene on their behalf. Understanding how a rebel group might act in power is key to evaluating whether they warrant support, or require action to seek their defeat or force ne-

gotiations. In the postwar period, knowing the types of state institutions former rebel regimes are likely to construct can help donors protect aid from abuse and ensure that populations are receiving social services and political and economic opportunities. In contemporary Syria, for instance, Western actors would prefer the removal of Bashar al-Assad and his government from power, but also do not want the so-called Islamic State to take over. Out of many rebel groups in the conflict, how would we distinguish which would be most likely to build a strong, stable state that delivers public goods and social services to the population?

We can and should distinguish between rebel organizations on the basis of their leaders' goals and political programs; these can be determined during the period of fighting as rebels, rather than only revealed once rebels are victorious and take power. Within the development of any rebel organization, there are multiple potential leaders or leadership groups who may have differing visions for what they want the group to achieve. Regardless of the process, the resulting leader or leaders who win out have the opportunity to orient the organization toward their preferred goals. Focusing on these goals, I distinguish between two types of rebel groups: programmatic and opportunistic.

Programmatic organizations aim to achieve long-term goals beyond taking power to include transforming socioeconomic and political relations. Programmatic groups aim to provide public goods and services to the majority of the population, rather than seeking only private goods for group members or limited constituencies, as opportunistic groups do. Conversely, opportunistic organizations are characterized by individualism and motivated by short-term private gains of power and material benefits. These groups view the state as a prize to win—a source of group wealth patronage for favored associates, rather than an entity for the benefit of the broader population.

One of the major questions outlining my research is: What kinds of states will these different types of organizations build?

I hypothesize that programmatic groups will focus on establishing state influence over social and economic issues and politicizing society, building mechanisms for political education and institutions to geographically extend state influence and enact their leaders' ideological visions, as well as incorporating more citizens into the security apparatus. A more programmatic organization should expand the spatial footprint of the state through the increased presence of government functionaries and security forces across the territory, placing state per-



sonnel and delivering public goods in areas where they were previously lacking, attempting to connect the core and the periphery of the territory. To incorporate more of the population politically and to be able implement its ideological vision across society, the organization will increase the scope of activities the state undertakes, seeking to affect a wide array of political, social, and economic activities. Economic resources should be channeled to the delivery of public goods and services, rather than into the pockets of leaders, military officers, and bureaucrats.

Opportunistic groups, on the other hand, are expected to engage in minimal state building, and will largely maintain or ignore preexisting state structures, devoting resources primarily to two sectors: security and the economy. They will be concerned about the possibility of coups or rebellions and will invest in the creation of a robust internal security apparatus highly controlled by group leaders and divided to prevent plots. In the economic sector, ministries may be built or maintained to manage production and extraction of natural and agricultural resources, or parallel structures may be created to channel wealth to group leaders. Little emphasis will be placed on increasing state penetration of society (beyond security) or improving socioeconomic development for the masses. Investment in the provision of public goods and social services, such as education and health, will be limited.

In my dissertation, I test this theory through the comparison of three cases of rebel victory: the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN) in Nicaragua (programmatic, took power in 1979), the National Resistance Army/Movement (NRA/M) in Uganda (middle ground between programmatic and opportunistic, took power in 1986), and the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) in Liberia (opportunistic, took power in 1997). I gathered data through sixteen months of interviews and archival fieldwork, as well as extensive secondary research.²

Despite regional diversity, the three movements came to power against similar backdrops: corrupt, repressive regimes characterized by limited service delivery to citizens and extreme national poverty. All three organizations developed as vanguard movements with relatively strong internal cohesion but limited ties to the population, before expanding out over time. All three fought protracted civil wars before taking power, inheriting devastated—but hopeful—countries excited for the change their new rebel rulers had promised.

Where the groups differed, however, was in the character and goals of their leaders. The Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN) in Nicaragua took a programmatic approach as they fought from 1963–1979 and governed from 1979–1990. They had a collective leadership structure drawing people together under the ideological umbrella of Sandinismo, a fusion of Marxism–Leninism, nationalist anti-imperialism, and principles of Catholic liberation theology. FSLN rhetoric and actions sought to

develop close ties to the masses and they explicitly stated aims to incorporate marginalized populations into politics, reduce poverty, expand state influence throughout the national territory, and improve health and education services. While they controlled little territory as rebels, these plans were put into practice when they took power, with greater incorporation of women in politics, literacy and vaccination campaigns, and increased presence of state ministries throughout the country, including in service of land reform. The FSLN built a strong state that greatly expanded service delivery and political participation, but they were ultimately undone by a campaign of interference from the United States, which enacted an economic blockade of Nicaragua and sponsored the ‘Contra’ rebellion that plunged the country back into civil war.

The National Resistance Army/Movement (NRA/M) in Uganda, which fought from 1981–1986 and has governed since 1986, took a middle-ground approach. They had collective leadership structures, but the organization was clearly dominated by Yoweri Museveni, its chief ideologue and military tactician. Museveni embraced socialism while studying at the University of Dar es Salaam, a hotbed of 1960s leftist African liberation thought. Whether for pragmatic or personal reasons, though, over the course of the NRA/M struggle, Museveni became “deradicalised by armed struggle...less and less of a socialist,”³ and his initial core of more leftist supporters who had “spoken the language of anti-imperialism and socialism”⁴ began to either moderate or risk marginalization. The organization did, however, build Resistance Councils, new local-level democratic governing bodies, during the civil war and expanded this program once in power. Reluctant to take sides in the ideological battles of the Cold War simply to receive aid, Museveni’s emphasis shifted to pan-Africanism and market-driven developmentalism with some state intervention, shaping the new NRA/M government’s actions. It focused on security and economic reconstruction through agricultural modernization and industrialization, but did also formulate and implement some plans to improve social services, reduce the role of ethnic division in politics, and incorporate more women into politics. The scope of state intervention in society and provision of goods and services remained relatively narrow, however.

The National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), which fought from 1989–1996 and governed from 1997–2003, took an opportunistic approach. The NPFL emerged after a failed 1985 coup attempt and featured multiple early political and military leaders. Over time, however, one man, Charles Taylor, consolidated power around himself, pushing away or killing off potential rivals and building a cult of personality. The NPFL adopted some rhetoric from progressive Liberian opposition groups, but it never formulated a clear ideology or political plan beyond toppling the government. Taylor reportedly stated that



Previous page: An opposition rally against the NRM government of Yoweri Museveni, February 2016. Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda.

This page, top to bottom: An FSLN mural saying “They will never defeat us,” with an image of the movement’s inspiration, Augusto Cesar Sandino. San Juan del Sur, Nicaragua.

A plaque of FSLN founder and chief ideologue Carlos Fonseca. Leon, Nicaragua.

Photo credits for article: Kai M. Thaler



Broken-down UN peacekeeping vehicles. Virginia, Liberia.

he was uninterested in ideology, in favor of money and power,⁵ as his “evident aim was to rule;” and he “fought only for [his] own ambitions to hold power for its own sake.”⁶ The NPFL controlled the majority of Liberia’s territory for much of the war, but despite setting up an alternative government based in the interior city of

Gbarnga, this government’s main purpose was to legitimate Taylor’s personal claims to central power and engage in commercial deals with international firms to exploit Liberia’s resources for private wealth and funding the war.⁷ This pattern continued once Taylor did seize central power. Peace negotiations resulted in elections being held in 1997 and Taylor and the NPFL’s new political incarnation, the National Patriotic Party, won overwhelmingly. This was due, though, to people expecting Taylor to return to war if he lost and the NPFL already being the most powerful faction in society.⁸ Taylor did not change his ways once he entered into government, using the state and Liberia’s natural resources to secure wealth and fund fighters loyal to him, while neglecting broader public interests. Taylor’s defenders argue that a new civil war emerged too soon for him to put any of his vaguely expressed development plans into action, yet both the FSLN and NRA/M also faced new civil wars within months of taking power.⁹

I argue that programmatic groups are, on average, more likely to build stronger states and act in the public interest when they take power, but I do not necessarily expect their priorities to remain static. In fact, many programmatic

groups experience a decline over time in their ideological adherence and a diminishing focus on the public interest—power does corrupt. Programmatic organizations like Frelimo in Mozambique, the Communist Party of China, or the African National Congress in South Africa have gradually strayed from their initial programs and seen increasing focus on material benefits for leaders and those they favor.

What sees less decline, however, is the strength and reach of the state. Organizations are determined to hold onto power, maintaining or expanding the security and surveillance apparatuses and seeking to exert influence over restive areas or social groups. Victorious programmatic rebels have created what today are some of the longest-lasting authoritarian regimes, in countries such as Cuba, China, Vietnam, Angola, Iran, and Zimbabwe.¹⁰

As these regimes age and initial revolutionary generations die out, they must seek ways to adapt to changing social, political, and economic conditions both domestically and internationally.

Some do this by moderating and seeking to accommodate citizens’ concerns through policy reform, and international concerns through relatively free elections. Others take a more openly repressive tack, something that can breed dissent as the regimes increasingly come to mirror the dictatorships they once toppled. Understanding the roots of these victorious rebel organizations and how they have been able to gain—and in some cases maintain—popular support and build strong states remains key to understanding the prospects for democratization or future conflict in the states they govern. It also points to a dilemma for policy makers and advocates: while opportunistic rebels are never a preferred option to have in government, there may be a tradeoff with programmatic rebel organizations. Rebel victory can potentially provide peace¹¹ and public benefits in the short term, but it may come at the cost of longer-term authoritarianism and repression.

Notes:

1. Monica Duffy Toft. 2009. *Securing the Peace: The Durable Settlement of Civil Wars*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
2. Fieldwork was supported by grants from the Weatherhead Center, a Sheldon Traveling Fellowship, and the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard, as well as the Tobin Project.
3. Ali Mazrui, 2000. “Between Domestic Policy and Regional Power: The Role of Ideology in Uganda.” In *No-Party Democracy in Uganda: Myths and Realities*, eds. Justus Mugaju and J. Oloka-Onyango. Kampala: Fountain, 128.
4. E.A. Brett, 1993. *Providing for the Rural Poor: Institutional Decay and Transformation in Uganda*. Kampala: Fountain, 1.
5. Daniel Hoffman. 2006. “Despot Deposed: Charles Taylor and the Challenge of State Reconstruction in Liberia.” In *Legacies of Power: Leadership Change and Former Presidents in African Politics*, eds. Roger Southall and Henning Melber. Cape Town: HSRC Press, 311.
6. Yekutiel Gershoni. 1997. “War Without End and An End to A War: The Prolonged Wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone.” *African Studies Review* 40(3), 60-61.
7. William Reno 1998. *Warlord Politics and African States*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner; and Felix Gerdes, 2013. *Civil War and State Formation: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Liberia*. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag.
8. Multiple interviews, Monrovia, October–December 2015; David Harris, 1999, “From ‘warlord’ to ‘democratic’ president: how Charles Taylor won the 1997 Liberian elections,” *Journal of Modern African Studies* 37(3): 431-455.
9. Multiple interviews, Monrovia, October–December 2015.
10. On the durability of programmatic rebels’ regimes, see Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way. 2013. “The Durability of Revolutionary Regimes.” *Journal of Democracy* 24(3): 5–17; Levitsky and Way 2012. “Beyond Patronage: Violent Struggle, Ruling Party Cohesion, and Authoritarian Durability.” *Perspectives on Politics* 10(4): 869–89; and Terrence Lyons, 2016. “The Importance of Winning: Victorious Insurgent Groups and Authoritarian Politics.” *Comparative Politics* 48(2): 167–184.

Last spring, thirteen Harvard College students received travel grants from the Weatherhead Center to support their thesis field research on topics related to international affairs. Since their return in September, the Weatherhead Center has encouraged these Undergraduate Associates to take advantage of the Center's research community by connecting with graduate students, faculty, postdocs, and visiting scholars. Early in the 2017 spring semester, February 2–3, 2017, the students will present their research in a conference that is open to the Harvard community. Three Undergraduate Associates write of their experiences in the field last summer:



Kais Khimji

Canada Program Undergraduate Fellow. Committee on Degrees in Social Studies, Harvard College. Research interests: *Canada and the Ismaili Imamate: The relationship between His Highness the Aga Khan IV and the Canadian federal government.*

Studying something which you have lived out your whole life is an odd experience: the process of defamiliarizing yourself with a subject matter to render it a suitable object for academic analysis is both rewarding and discombobulating.

I am a Shia Nizari Ismaili (henceforth 'Ismaili'): we are a transnational community of Muslims who are united by our allegiance to His Highness the Aga Khan IV. As a descendant of Prophet Muhammad, His Highness currently serves as our forty-ninth hereditary Imam, or spiritual leader. The Imam's role entails the continual interpretation of the faith according to the times; this central authority figure differentiates the Ismailis from other Muslim communities.

I spent this past summer exploring the relationship between the Canadian government and the Ismaili Imamate, the spiritual leadership of the Ismaili community currently held by His Highness the Aga Khan IV. While this may seem to be a political—and distant—topic, elevated from personal, on-the-ground realities, its unfolding has determined the course of my life; in fact, I attribute my Canadian citizenship to it.

The goal of my research is to explore the nature of the relationship between the Imamate and Canada: What possibilities does it allow for and how does it structure those possibilities? What are the

incentives from both sides for materializing those possibilities via the avenue of this partnership? How has the emerging legal personality of the Ismaili Imamate, within the idiom of modern international law, impacted the institution's expression, role, and self-understanding?

As a historically persecuted minority, we have relied on the institution of the Imamate to navigate, adapt to, and persevere within different—often inhospitable—economic, political, and social contexts. There are approximately fifteen million Ismailis scattered across twenty-five different countries, with large migrant communities in east Africa, western Europe, and North America.

The peculiar—and often unremarked—characteristic of persecuted transnational bodies in the political history of humankind is their ability to persist in a scattered arrangement that lacks a cohesive apparatus. And yet, in its contemporary form, the Ismaili movement coheres and manifests itself as a global network that guides its members on matters of faith, offers a locus for identity formulation, and provides social services reminiscent of a state, though it is not one. The Ismaili polity's grip on its followers is curious phenomenon: its status as political, social, or religious is foggy at best, as it blurs the boundaries of our traditional categories.

This polity-like character of Ismailism is explained by the dual responsibility of the Ismaili Imamate to provide spiritual guidance and to enable the material well-being of the global Ismaili community. This twofold obligation arises from a distinctive feature of Ismaili thought: the lack of dichotomy between the material and the spiritual. The current Imam has approached this mandate through an institutional articulation; he sits at the head of a vast and complex nonprofit organization, the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN). The AKDN is a global constellation of secular NGOs committed to economic and social development, healthcare, education, and cultural preservation. A number of scholars have contended that the AKDN serves as a bureaucratic manifestation of the authority of the Ismaili Imamate, as it is a conduit for the numerous developmental and diplo-

matic relationships His Highness engages in with nation-states around the world.

Among these diverse geographies and nationalities, the Ismaili Imamate participates in a particularly close relationship with Canada, where some 100,000 Ismailis reside. His Highness is one of six people to have been bestowed honorary Canadian citizenship (others include Nelson Mandela, Aung San Suu Kyi, and Malala Yousafzai) and, in 2014, he became the first religious leader to address a joint session of the Canadian Parliament. The Imamate has established numerous noncommunal organizations in Canada such as the Aga Khan Foundation Canada, the Aga Khan Museum, and the Delegation of the Ismaili Imamate—all of which closely interact with Canadian government institutions. Most recently he has partnered with Canada to create the Global Centre for Pluralism.

My summer research entailed interviewing Canadian government officials and Ismaili institutional leaders, as well as other figures who have been and are currently involved in the construction, participation, and articulation of this relationship. I am also in the process of analyzing a number of legal agreements and protocols of understanding signed by different divisions of the Canadian government and the Ismaili Imamate. I ultimately would like to argue that the interaction between Canada and the Ismaili Imamate serves as a template for a noncompetitive relationship between a Muslim transnational network and a Western nation-state. Given the resurgence of populist rhetoric and right-wing exclusivist nationalism couched within the vocabulary of "otherizing" discourses, I think this case study is particularly pertinent within the current climate of divisive politics.



Henry Sewall Udayar Shah

Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. Committee on Degrees in History and Literature, Harvard College. Research interests: Comparative study of urban exclusion and eviction in India and France.

Over the course of 2016, I conducted research in two distinct places: Paris during the month of January, and Mumbai during the summer. The differences between them are clear and stretch beyond the 7,000 kilometers of distance between the two metropolises. Mumbai is subtropical, boiling with cinematic exuberance, while Paris is grey, encased in marble, and reliably brooding.

Yet Paris and Mumbai are more similar than they may appear. The two cities are unquestionably the economic and cultural centers of their respective countries. Their train stations bustle with families and young people from the countryside, whether Avignon or Andhra, coming to the city to make a fortune or make a name. Both cities also pulse not just with cash, but with visible poverty. Mumbai may be the setting of the

hit film *Slumdog Millionaire*, but there are slums only five miles from the Eiffel Tower.

In Paris, I finished up research with Roma (pejoratively know as Gypsy) adolescent migrants participating in a government-funded integration program. I then had the honor to deliver a conference presentation titled “Act with or act for: the participatory approach of RomCivic” at the School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences (EHESS). This work began the previous summer, when I worked as an intern for the FXB Center for Health and Human Rights at Harvard.

The January experience allowed me to see the whole research process through, from initial brainstorming to fieldwork to a polished final product. This temporal gift allowed academic and personal growth. At first, I saw the youth among whom I conducted ethnographic research as victims, deprived of basic rights and lacking the ability to make better lives. The challenges to them and their families are great, and are in need of redress. Yet many of these young people developed strategies and used the limited resources available to them to build resilient lives

in France. My presentation focused on strategies for and challenges blocking long-term integration. I was able to see this research through and also deepen my relationships with older and wiser colleagues in academia, expand my understanding of my informant population, and explore the rich French NGO landscape. This work was an attempt to complement the work of my European mentors, many of whom build expansive and rigorous documentations of challenges without giving equal attention to solutions.

When summertime came, I went to Mumbai

with an overly ambitious goal: think about slums, urban migration, and poverty across two continents, (at least) four languages, and in an entirely different historical context. The obstacles were numerous when I hit the ground. Archives were locked, did not even exist, or were guarded by impassive men drinking tepid tea. My NGO hosts, like all nongovernmental workers I’ve ever met, were understaffed and overworked. During the monsoon, it rained as if, well, there was a monsoon going on. I was not disappointed, but reinvigorated and challenged towards redefining my project. My dogged diligence won out. I trudged to consulates and permission offices, photocopying desks and a dead-end alley in Dadar.

I discovered a series of exciting documents on beggars and vagrants—Victorian-era colonial terms for the visible and wandering poor—in the Maharashtra State Archives. I pored through sheaves of crumbling paper as rain spilled in from the leaky roof, taking notes as I went. My contacts at the NGO encouraged me and sent me interesting articles, contacts, and projects to help push my thinking in new directions. I left without a comparative project, but with something more exciting in hand: a set of data and experiences that haven’t ever been explored by scholars.

This fall, I’ve turned towards my thesis. I’m digging into legal, humanitarian, and cinematic construction of beggars and vagrants in Bombay from the early 1920s to the late 1950s. I explore the past lives of the visibly poor as sites of not just anxiety and threat to the urban order, but as individuals bearing profound aspiration and achievement against all odds in the industrial metropolis. Both projects have reshaped the ways I think about poverty, migration, policy solutions, and history as I work towards a career in human-rights advocacy at the intersection of litigation and the academy.



The veranda outside the Maharashtra state archives. Photo credit: Henry Sewall Udayar Shah



Charlotte Solmssen

Undergraduate Research Intern, Department of History, Harvard College. *Research interests: Impact of empowerment techniques on the stabilization and integration of Roma communities in France.*

Out of the 20,000+ Roma economic migrants living in France, I got to know thirty this past summer. I was researching the program impact of the empowerment-focused NGO les Enfants du Canal and analyzing the structure of the organization, all while working alongside their volunteer team.

Les Enfants du Canal (EDC) is a leading organization in the realm of homelessness and poverty issues. EDC addresses many aspects of homelessness: What societal factors prevent people from exercising their right to education, healthcare, and nondiscrimination in employment? Within EDC, the three-year old program RomCivic works on homelessness within the Roma community by empowering young adults to lift their own communities out of poverty. The RomCivic program has two main goals: to address poverty and discrimination against the Roma, and to empower young adults and young parents within the community.

From the Algerian War to the Syrian refugee crisis, there have been several waves of immigration in France—but almost no immigration pattern has been as turbulent as that of the Roma. In order to address this problem, I conducted interviews with several groups of people: young Roma volunteers at EDC; members of the Roma communities in which EDC provided child care and access to health care; the management of EDC; and with EDC’s partners focusing on the legal, medical, or educational aspect of Roma integration. Each of these groups drew the same conclusion about the impact of the program: the responsibility and stability provided by RomCivic was life changing. By giving governmentally recognized responsibility to young adults and young parents, RomCivic changed their mindset. They transformed into role models for the community and liaisons into French society. They began to believe it was worth making long-term



career goals and investing in their children’s education. By giving them a place in French society, they felt they could flourish within the French system while maintaining Roma cultural ties.

I was particularly touched by the story of a young Roma woman named Natasha. She came to France for its economic security, but was quickly disheartened by the discrimination she faced. Before RomCivic, every day was an emergency, a race to provide basic nourishment and shelter. Her days were full of uncertainty, which stifled any long-term investments in education, career, or personal development.

RomCivic allowed Natasha to put her unique skillset to work. Compassionate, clever, and personable, she accompanied young Roma mothers to hospitals and provided medical translation. Now that she is getting ready to leave the program, she is more than a valued member of French society and a reliable employee at a local store—she is also confident in her cultural identity and her abilities.

RomCivic helps leverage the skills of people like Natasha in order to lift a community out of poverty—against all odds. In the words of Natasha, “We learn how to deal with difficult situations, not to panic, and to help others. For that, we are very proud.”

As a neurobiology concentrator, I am grateful to have had this opportunity to work on the front lines of poverty action and human rights. As I study the biological basis of human behavior, it is fascinating to see how introducing an intan-

gible concept like empowerment can have such a positive effect on community behavior. Empowerment requires a mentorship structure and the trust to delegate responsibility, but the increase in access to healthcare, education, and employment creates a positive feedback loop. This has a ripple effect through the community as these empowered young adults become role models for the next generation.

Children from multiple Roma communities perform together in the “Cirque des Rêves,” or Circus of Dreams, planned and led by RomCivic volunteers.

Photo credit: Charlotte Solmssen

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Above left: Bart Bonikowski, associate professor of sociology, left, and Peter A. Hall, Krupp Foundation Professor of European Studies, right, speak on a panel about Brexit at orientation. *Photo credit: Lauren McLaughlin*

Above right: Visiting WIGH Fellow Heena Mistry, left, and GSA Angie Bautista-Chavez, middle, listen to GSA Kera Street at the orientation clambake. *Photo credit: Kristin Caulfield*

THE CENTER WELCOMES ITS NEW AFFILIATES DURING ORIENTATION

At the end of August every year, incoming affiliates and their families come and mingle with staff, faculty, students, current affiliates, and friends of the Center to get to know each other, attend workshops, and get started on their work here at the Center.



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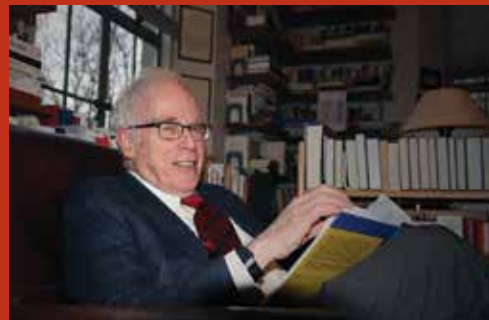
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