



Weatherhead Center
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

CENTERPIECE

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HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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Cover: His Highness the Aga Khan delivering the Samuel L. and Elizabeth Jodidi Lecture entitled, "The Cosmopolitan Ethic in a Fragmented World" on November 12, 2015, at Memorial Church, Harvard University. Right: His Highness the Aga Khan (left); Ali Asani (center), professor of Indo-Muslim and Islamic religion and cultures and director, Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Islamic Studies Program, Harvard University; and Michèle Lamont (right), Center director, Robert I. Goldman Professor of European Studies, and professor of sociology and African and African American studies, Harvard University.

Photo credits: Martha Stewart

Message from the Director

PRODUCING RESEARCH WITHIN OUR WALLS AND DIFFUSING IT BEYOND

As casual observers of the social science scene at Harvard have been quick to notice, the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs has been bustling with activity this fall. Our events have ranged from the typical to the exceptional.

The truly exceptional has included, first and foremost, a visit from the Aga Khan, who delivered the Samuel L. and Elizabeth Jodidi Lecture on the theme "The Cosmopolitan Ethic in a Fragmented World" on November 12. This sold-out event, hosted jointly with Harvard's Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Islamic Studies Program and held on the eve of the Paris attacks, provided a unique occasion to reflect collectively about group boundaries, what brings human beings together despite our many differences and how to overcome religious and other conflicts.

In the meantime, we continue to host our more typical events, including the many conferences, workshops, and meetings organized by the more than thirty WCFIA-supported seminars. For example, Alison Mountz, the William Lyon Mackenzie King Chair in Canadian Studies, is hosting a series of talks on timely questions of immigration, refugees, border crossings, and spatial boundaries—topics that are at the center of Alison's scholarship.

In addition to hosting a full range of events, we are developing specific activities to increase research activities conducted within the Center's walls. The Center's Executive Committee just approved two new Weatherhead Initiative research clusters. One cluster will center around Afro-Latin American Studies and will involve several researchers, including Professor Alejandro de la Fuente of the Department of History and the Department of African and African American Studies; Professor Doris Sommer of the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures and the Department of African and African American Studies; and Professor David Carrasco of the Department of Anthropology and the Harvard Divinity School. Another cluster will focus on climate engineering and will be led by Professor David Keith of the Harvard John A. Paulson School of Engineering and Applied Sciences and the Harvard Kennedy School. We will share details about these exciting Weatherhead Initiatives as they unfold. These projects are only part of our ongoing effort to strengthen multidisciplinary and transversal research themes within WCFIA.

One such theme is the burning topic of comparative inequality, which generates considerable interest across all the social science disciplines. We will explore this theme in at least two major ways: a Weatherhead Initiative research cluster on gender inequality and a series of faculty conversations on topics surrounding comparative inequality across a range of dimensions.

Last year we awarded a Weatherhead Initiative research cluster to researchers behind the *Dynamics of Inequality: Gender and Work in Comparative Perspective*. This Weatherhead Initiative on Gender Inequality (WIGI) just officially launched their project. The team is led by five faculty members with complementary expertise: Professors Mary Brinton and Jason Beckfield of the Department of Sociology, Professor Claudia Goldin of the Department of Economics, Professor Iris Bohnet of the Harvard Kennedy School, and Professor Kathleen McGinn of the Harvard Business School. This interdisciplinary team will be spearheading research across a variety of topics from the earnings gap to work/family policies.

The research team aims to tease apart the forces behind this "stalled revolution." The researchers will hold conferences and workshops throughout the three-year term, focusing on the interaction between two of the three following institutions: households and families; public policy; and labor markets and employment. The activities will include short- and long-term stays from visiting scholars, a biweekly lunchtime workshop featuring papers and presentations, and additional workshops geared toward undergraduates and graduate students. Indeed, one of the major goals of all our Initiatives is to foster more interaction across generations within the walls of WCFIA. Of course, we expect WIGI to contribute mightily to Harvard's reputation as a leading center in the comparative study of gender inequality.

The repercussions of inequality extend even beyond gender, so we must address inequality in other ways as well. This fall we launched a series of conversations around the topic of *comparative inequality and social inclusion*. This series is intended to foster dialogue between our Faculty Associates and stimulate new research questions and interdisciplinary agenda setting. In true collaborative fashion, these conversations are co-organized with other centers across campus and beyond.

The first conversation, "Frontier Questions in the Study of Inequality—Globally, Comparatively, and Beyond," regarded how inequality interacts with cultural context to influence well-being. It was co-organized with the Canadian Institute for Advanced Research and brought to Harvard researchers from the Successful Societies Program, which has pursued the interdisciplinary study of inequality for a dozen years.

The session, which was followed by a lively faculty dinner, featured presentations by the following four scholars: Hazel Markus, Davis-Brack Professor in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford University, who considered how traditions of interdependence may shield people from the negative consequences for inequality; David Grusky, professor of sociol-

ogy and director of the National Center on Poverty and Inequality, Stanford University, who discussed how the process of commodification is seeping into increasingly intimate domains of everyday life; Will Kymlicka, Canada Research Chair in Political Philosophy, Queens University, who discussed the challenges of reliably measuring status inequality as distinct from income inequality; and Peter A. Hall, Krupp Foundation Professor of European Studies, Harvard University, who analyzed how increase in inequality has been accompanied with a decline in support for redistribution to the poor. These four presentations tackled in complementary ways various causal paths connecting worldviews, inequality, and the transformation of group boundaries.

Subsequent conversations in the series will focus on racial inequality (February 24); gender inequality (March 10); stigmatization and recognition (April 6); and social inclusion and poverty eradication (fall 2016). Details for these events will be circulated in the next few weeks. While a number of faculty members have already joined these conversations, we hope that the series will become a forum for broader discussions. Comparative inequality and social inclusion will be only one of several transversal foci that will bring our faculty associates together to conduct research within the walls of WCFIA.

As we move to intensify our research efforts, we are also strengthening our communications strategy to include media outreach and a larger social media presence, so we may reach audiences beyond both the Weatherhead Center and Harvard—this includes revamping our *Epicenter* newsletter to give broader resonance to the Center's many research activities.

The communications team is also investing resources to help publicize the cutting-edge research done by our affiliates. We are developing a strong social media strategy and have recently launched a Twitter account (@HarvardWCFIA) to readily promote research findings and pertinent events. Many of our faculty and student affiliates are on Twitter, and rich academic discussions abound here. We are thrilled to jump in and take part in these conversations.

In addition to connecting with our affiliates via social media, the communications team hopes to forge new connections through more direct contact with our faculty and students. By sending out online surveys, we are gathering data on how we can best serve the Center's vast academic network in publicizing their research. Our goal is to narrow the gap between the research conducted by Center affiliates and a wider audience, and our communications team can serve as this liaison.

The intellectual vibrancy of the Center depends on ensuring that its resources are directed toward frontier topics in international, comparative, global, and transnational research. With your involvement, we will continue to support—and now promote—the landmark research that is produced within our walls, as well as the research we enable throughout the Harvard community.

Michèle Lamont
Weatherhead Center Director
Robert I. Goldman Professor
of European Studies
Professor of Sociology and
African and African American Studies

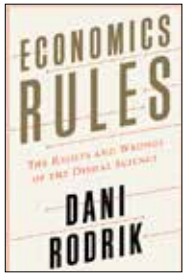
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For more on the Jodidi Lecture, including video, audio, and other media, visit: wcfia.harvard.edu/lectureships/jodidi



Economics Rules

by Dani Rodrik



In the wake of the financial crisis and the Great Recession, economics seems anything but a science. In this sharp, masterfully argued book, Dani Rodrik, a leading critic from within, takes a close look at economics to examine when it falls short and when it works, to give a surprisingly upbeat account of the discipline.

Drawing on the history of the field and his deep experience as a practitioner, Rodrik argues that economics can be a powerful tool that improves the world—but only when economists abandon universal theories and focus on getting the context right. *Economics Rules* argues that the discipline's much-derided mathematical models are its true strength. Models are the tools that make economics a science.

Too often, however, economists mistake a model for *the* model that applies everywhere and at all times. In six chapters that trace his discipline from Adam Smith to present-day work on globalization, Rodrik shows how diverse situations call for different models. Each model tells a partial story about how the world works. These stories offer wide-ranging, and sometimes contradictory, lessons—just as children's fables offer diverse morals.

Whether the question concerns the rise of global inequality, the consequences of free trade, or the value of deficit spending, Rodrik explains how using the right models can deliver valuable new insights about social reality and public policy. Beyond the science, economics requires the craft to apply suitable models to the context.

At once a forceful critique and defense of the discipline, *Economics Rules* charts a path toward a more humble but more effective science.

(W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2015)

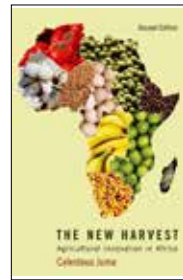
Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Dani Rodrik is the Ford Foundation Professor of International Political Economy, Harvard Kennedy School.

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

The New Harvest: Agricultural Innovation in Africa. 2nd ed.

by Calestous Juma



African agriculture is currently at a crossroads, at which persistent food shortages are compounded by threats from climate change. But, as this book argues, Africa faces three major opportunities that can transform its agriculture

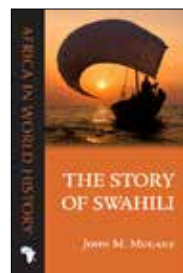
into a force for economic growth: advances in science and technology; the creation of regional markets; and the emergence of a new crop of entrepreneurial leaders dedicated to the continent's economic improvement. Filled with case studies from within Africa and success stories from developing nations around the world, *The New Harvest* outlines the policies and institutional changes necessary to promote agricultural innovation across the African continent. Incorporating research from academia, government, civil society, and private industry, the book suggests multiple ways that individual African countries can work together at the regional level to develop local knowledge and resources, harness technological innovation, encourage entrepreneurship, increase agricultural output, create markets, and improve infrastructure.

(Oxford University Press, 2015)

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

The Story of Swahili

by John M. Mugane



Swahili, or more properly Kiswahili, was once an obscure littoral dialect of an East African Bantu language. Today more than one hundred million people use Swahili, making it one of the few truly international languages—

Swahili is to eastern and central Africa what English is to the world. How this came about and why, of all African languages, it happened only to Swahili is the story that John M. Mugane sets out to explore.

The remarkable adaptability of Swahili has allowed Africans—and others—to tailor the language to their needs, extending its influence far beyond its place of origin. *The Story of Swahili* calls for a reevaluation of the widespread but fallacious assumption that cultural superiority, military conquest, and economic dominance determine the prosperity of any given language.

The Story of Swahili is about where languages come from, where they are now, and where they are headed, using the success of Swahili as a convenient point of entry. As a language that arose from contact between peoples from diverse cultures, Swahili is an excellent conveyor of the history of communities in eastern and central Africa as well as their associations throughout the Indian Ocean world. It is also a vibrant, living language that continues to adapt to the changing demands of global trade, technology, and communication.

(Ohio University Press, 2015)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate John M. Mugane is Professor of the Practice of African Languages and Cultures, and director of the African Language Program, Harvard University.

Sailing the Water's Edge

by Helen V. Milner and Dustin Tingley



When engaging with other countries, the US government has a number of different policy instruments at its disposal, including foreign aid, international trade, and the use of military force. But what determines which

policies are chosen? Does the United States rely too much on the use of military power and coercion in its foreign policies? *Sailing the Water's Edge* focuses on how domestic US politics—in particular the interactions between the president, Congress, interest groups, bureaucratic institutions, and the public—have influenced foreign policy choices since World War II and shows why presidents have more control over some policy instruments than others. Presidential power matters and it varies systematically across policy instruments.

Helen Milner and Dustin Tingley consider how Congress and interest groups have substantial material interests in and ideological

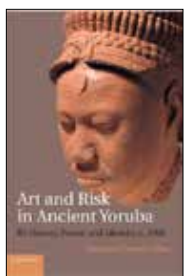
divisions around certain issues and that these factors constrain presidents from applying specific tools. As a result, presidents select instruments that they have more control over, such as use of the military. This militarization of US foreign policy raises concerns about the nature of American engagement, substitution among policy tools, and the future of US foreign policy. Milner and Tingley explore whether American foreign policy will remain guided by a grand strategy of liberal internationalism, what affects American foreign policy successes and failures, and the role of US intelligence collection in shaping foreign policy. The authors support their arguments with rigorous theorizing, quantitative analysis, and focused case studies, such as US foreign policy in sub-Saharan Africa across two presidential administrations.

Sailing the Water's Edge examines the importance of domestic political coalitions and institutions on the formation of American foreign policy.

(Princeton University Press, 2015)

Weatherhead Center Advisory Committee member Helen V. Milner is the Forbes Professor of Politics and International Affairs and director of the Center for Globalization and Governance, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University. Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Dustin Tingley is a professor of government at Harvard University.

Art and Risk in Ancient Yoruba: Ife History, Power, and Identity by Suzanne Preston Blier



In this book, Suzanne Preston Blier examines the intersection of art, risk, and creativity in early African arts from the Yoruba center of Ife and the striking ways that ancient Ife artworks inform society, politics, history, and religion.

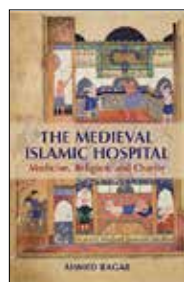
Yoruba art offers a unique lens into one of Africa's most important and least understood early civilizations—one whose historic arts have long been of interest to local residents and Westerners alike because of their tour-de-force visual power and technical complexity. Among the complementary subjects explored are questions of art making, art viewing, and aesthetics in the famed ancient Nigerian city-state, as well

as the attendant risks and danger assumed by artists, patrons, and viewers alike in certain forms of subject matter and modes of portrayal, including unique genres of body marking, portraiture, animal symbolism, and regalia. This volume celebrates art, history, and the shared passion and skill with which the remarkable artists of early Ife sought to define their past for generations of viewers.

(Cambridge University Press, 2015)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Suzanne Preston Blier is the Allen Whitehill Clowes Professor of Fine Arts and professor of African and African American studies, Harvard University.

The Medieval Islamic Hospital: Medicine, Religion, and Charity by Ahmed Ragab



The first monograph on the history of Islamic hospitals, this volume focuses on the under-examined Egyptian and Levantine institutions of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. By the twelfth century, hospitals serving the sick and the poor could be

found in nearly every Islamic city. Ahmed Ragab traces the varying origins and development of these institutions, locating them in their urban environments and linking them to charity networks and patrons' political projects. Following the paths of patients inside hospital wards, he investigates who they were and what kinds of experiences they had. *The Medieval Islamic Hospital* explores the medical networks surrounding early hospitals and sheds light on the particular brand of practice-oriented medicine they helped to develop. Providing a detailed picture of the effect of religion on medieval medicine, it will be essential reading for those interested in history of medicine, history of Islamic sciences, or history of the Mediterranean.

(Cambridge University Press, 2015)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Ahmed Ragab is the Richard T. Watson Assistant Professor of Science and Religion, Harvard Divinity School.

Kissinger: 1923–1968: The Idealist by Niall Ferguson



No American statesman has been as revered or as reviled as Henry Kissinger. Once hailed as “Super K”—the “indispensable man” whose advice has been sought by every president from Kennedy to Obama—he has also been hounded

by conspiracy theorists, scouring his every “telcon” for evidence of Machiavellian malfeasance.

Yet as Niall Ferguson shows in this two-volume biography, drawing not only on Kissinger's hitherto closed private papers but also on documents from more than a hundred archives around the world, the idea of Kissinger as the ruthless arch-realist is based on a profound misunderstanding. The first half of Kissinger's life is usually skimmed over as a quintessential tale of American ascent: the Jewish refugee from Hitler's Germany who made it to the White House. But in this first of two volumes, Ferguson shows that what Kissinger achieved before his appointment as Richard Nixon's national security adviser was astonishing in its own right.

The Idealist is the story of one of the most important strategic thinkers America has ever produced. It is also a political *Bildungsroman*, explaining how “Dr. Strangelove” ended up as consigliere to a politician he had always abhorred. Like Ferguson's classic two-volume history of the House of Rothschild, *Kissinger* sheds new light on an entire era.

(Penguin Press, 2015)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Niall Ferguson is the Laurence A. Tisch Professor of History, Harvard University; and Senior Research Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

“The Cosmopolitan Ethic in a Fragmented World”

The Samuel L. and Elizabeth Jodidi Lecture delivered by His Highness the Aga Khan

The Samuel L. and Elizabeth Jodidi Lecture held on November 12, 2015 was delivered by His Highness the Aga Khan at Memorial Church, Harvard University. The lecture was sponsored by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and the Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Islamic Studies Program. The lecture was followed by a conversation between His Highness the Aga Khan and Professor Diana L. Eck. The Jodidi Lecture is among the most prominent annual lecture series of the Weatherhead Center and one of the most distinguished at the University. Established in 1955, the lecture series provides for the “delivery of lectures by eminent and well-qualified persons...for the promotion of tolerance, understanding and good will among nations, and the peace of the world.”

Bismillah-ir-Rahman-ir-Rahim

Mark Elliott, Vice Provost
 Michèle Lamont, Director of the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs
 Ali Asani, Director of the Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Islamic Studies Program
 Diana Eck, Professor of Comparative Religion
 Members of the Harvard Community
 Distinguished Guests

Thank you for your warm welcome.

It is indeed a great pleasure for me to return to Harvard and this wonderful campus. And it is a particular pleasure to be welcomed here by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and the Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Is-

lamic Studies Program—two of the world’s leading forces for informed global understanding.

I am honored as well, to be giving the Jodidi Lecture for 2015, and to join the distinguished list of those who have given this lecture over the past sixty years.

Believe it or not, the Jodidi Lecture actually was founded during my freshman year at Harvard—but I had nothing to do with that! I would note, too, that the Harvard Center for International Affairs was also founded while I was a student here, although it did not yet have the illustrious Weatherhead name.

Now I must admit in all candor that I do not recall attending the Jodidi Lecture when I was an undergraduate, although I am sure I would have benefited from doing so! I was probably having too much fun at Wigglesworth or Leverett House to venture out to something so serious as the Jodidi Lecture. On the other hand, I wonder what I might have thought if some seer had looked into a crystal ball and told me that some sixty years later I would actually be giving this lecture. I might have immediately transferred to Yale!

My ties to Harvard have been reinforced in many ways through the six decades since my graduation, including the fact that my brother and my daughter also received their undergraduate degrees here at Harvard. And I was deeply gratified to come back to receive an honorary degree in 2008.

Whenever I return to Harvard I am impressed both with the wonderful qualities that have stayed the same over time, and also by some of the things that have changed. Surely one of the most notable changes has been the remarkable success in recent years of Harvard’s athletic teams all across the board: individual competition, team competition, women’s and men’s teams. Bravo Harvard!

Of course one cannot arrive in Cambridge this week without noticing that the football team—to mention just one example that remains undefeated again this year.

But it was not always that way. In fact, during the

His Highness the Aga Khan delivers the 2015 Jodidi Lecture at Memorial Church, Harvard University.



years that I was at Harvard, the football team never had a winning record.

Of course, I am referring here to the “American” football team. Coming from European schooling, what I called the football team is what you probably call the soccer team. And I must tell you that for the men's soccer team, those were golden years at Harvard—including two Ivy League championships. Goodbye Yale! And I must also tell you, with all due humility, that I was a happy member of that championship team.

Now, you may have been wondering just what I have been doing over these past six decades since I left the Harvard playing fields. Let me begin by saying a word about that topic.

As you know, I was born into a Muslim family, linked by heredity to the Prophet Muhammad (may peace be upon him and his family). My education blended Islamic and Western traditions in my early years and at Harvard, where I majored in Islamic history. And in 1957 I was a junior when I became the 49th hereditary Imam of the Shia Imami Ismaili Muslims—when my grandfather designated me to succeed him.

What does it mean to become an Imam in the Ismaili tradition? To begin with, it is an inherited role of spiritual leadership. As you may know, the Ismailis are the only Muslim community that has been led by a living, hereditary Imam in direct descent from Prophet Muhammad.

That spiritual role, however, does not imply a separation from practical responsibilities. In fact for Muslims the opposite is true: the spiritual and material worlds are inextricably connected. Leadership in the spiritual realm—for all Imams, whether they are Sunni or Shia—implies responsibility in worldly affairs; a calling to improve the quality of human life. And that is why so much of my energy over these years has been devoted to the work of the Aga Khan Development Network.

The AKDN, as we call it, centers its attention in the developing world. And it is from this developing world's perspective, that I speak to you today. So what I will be referring to is knowledge that I have gained from the developing world of Africa, Asia, the Middle East. What I will be speaking about has little to do with the industrialized West.

Through all of these years, my objective has been to understand more thoroughly the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, and to prepare initiatives that will help them become countries of opportunity, for all of their peoples.

As I prepared for this new role in the late 1950s, Harvard was very helpful. The University allowed me—having prudently verified that I was a student “in good standing”—to take eighteen months away to meet the leaders of the Ismaili community in some twenty-five countries where most of the Ismailis then lived, and to speak with their government leaders.

I returned here after that experience with a solid sense of the issues I would have to address, especially the en-

democratic poverty in which much of my community lived. And I also returned with a vivid sense of the new political realities that were shaping their lives, including the rise of African independence movements, the perilous relations between India and Pakistan and the sad fact that many Ismailis were locked behind the Iron Curtain and thus removed from regular contact with the Imam.

When I returned to Harvard, it was not only to complete my degree, but I was fortunate to audit a number of courses that were highly relevant to my new responsibilities. So as an undergraduate, I had the opportunity to benefit from the complete spectrum of courses offered by this great university.

Incidentally, I must have been the only Harvard undergraduate to have two secretaries and a personal assistant working with me. And I have always been very proud of the fact that I never sent any of them to take notes for me at my class!

Harvard has continued to be a highly valued partner for our Network since this time. The University played a key role in developing the blueprint thirty years ago for the Aga Khan University—working first in the fields of medicine and nursing education, and now offering a broad variety of degrees on three continents. Another close Harvard relationship has involved the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, launched here and at MIT in 1977.

My concern for the future of Islamic architecture grew out of my travels between 1957 and 1977 in countries with large Muslim populations. What I observed was a near total disconnect between the new built environment I encountered and Islam's rich architectural legacy. There was no process of renewal, no teaching in architectural schools, no practices that were rooted in our own traditions. Except for the occasional minaret or dome, one of the world's great cultural inheritances was largely confined to coffee-table books. It seemed to me that this state of affairs represented a monumental menace to our world's cultural pluralism, as well as a dangerous loss of identity for Muslim communities.

The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture was one response to this situation, as was the creation of the Aga Khan architectural award, which also continues today.

Bringing the art and architecture of the Islamic world to be understood and admired in the West, as it had been in the past, was a goal that also inspired the creation, just one year ago, of the Ismaili Center and the Aga Khan Museum in Toronto—the only museum in the western hemisphere devoted entirely to Islamic culture.

Today, the Aga Khan Development Network embraces many facets and functions. But, if I were trying to sum up in a single word its central objective, I would focus on the word “opportunity.” For what the peoples of the developing world seek above all else is hope for a better future.

Too often however, true opportunity has been a distant hope—perhaps for some, not even more than a dream.



Top to bottom:
Weatherhead Center
Director Michèle Lamont
welcomes attendees to the
Jodidi Lecture.

Professor Ali Asani
introduces His Highness
the Aga Khan.

Endemic poverty, in my view, remains the world's single most important challenge. It is manifested in many ways, including persistent refugee crises of the sort we have recently seen in such an acute form. And of course confounding new challenges continue to mount, such as the looming threat of climate change. My interest in climate change has been sharpened by recent studies linking it to the threat of earthquakes. This could be an issue in the high mountain areas of South Asia for example, where so many Ismailis live and are concentrated.

Sixty years ago as I took up my responsibilities, the problems of the developing world, for many observers, seemed intractable. It was widely claimed that places like China and India were destined to remain among the world's "basket cases"—incapable of feeding themselves let alone being able to industrialize or achieve economic self-sustainability. If this had been true, of course, then there would have been no way for the people of my community, in India and China and in many other places, to look for a better future.

Political realities presented further complications. Most of the poorest countries were living under distant colonial or protectorate or communist regimes. The monetary market was totally unpredictable. Volatile currencies were shifting constantly in value, making it almost impossible to plan ahead. And while I thought of all the Ismailis as part of one religious community, the realities of their daily lives were deeply distinctive and decidedly local.

Nor did most people yet see the full potential for addressing these problems through nonprofit, private organizations—what we today call "civil society."

And yet, it was also clear that stronger coordination across these lines of division could help open new doors of opportunity. We could see how renovated educational systems, based on best practices, could reach across frontiers of politics and language. We could see how global science could address changing medical challenges, including the growing threat of non-communicable disease. We could see, in sum, how a truly pluralistic outlook could leverage the best experiences of local communities through an effective international network.

But we also learned that the creation of effective international networks in a highly diversified environment can be a daunting matter. It took a great deal of considered effort to meld older values of continuity and local cohesion, with the promise of new cross-border integration.

What was required—and is still required—was a readiness to work across frontiers of distinction and distance without trying to erase them. What we were looking for, even then, were ways of building an effective "cosmopolitan ethic in a fragmented world."

This often meant working from the bottom up, learning to follow what was sometimes called "field logic." Most of our initiatives began at a local, community level, and then grew into regional, national, and international institutions.

As we moved forward, we learned a number of im-

portant lessons. We learned that lifting health and education services to world class standards was a global promise that could inspire local support. We learned to attack poverty simultaneously with multiple inputs, on a variety of fronts. We learned to work with effective partners—including the not-for-profit institutions of civil society. We learned to see our role as one of supporting the public sector, not competing with it. And we learned the importance of measuring carefully the outcomes of our efforts, and then applying that knowledge.

All of these approaches were facilitated by a determination to overcome linguistic barriers through a language policy that promoted better use of the national language, and network-wide English as a strong connecting tool.

And so our Network grew. Today it embraces a group of agencies—nongovernmental and nondenominational—operating in thirty-five countries. They work in fields ranging from education and medical care, to job creation and energy production; from transport and tourism, to media and technology; from the fine arts and cultural heritage, to banking and microfinance. But they are all working together toward a single overarching objective: improving the quality of human life.

Meanwhile, in the industrialized West, many things were happening that paralleled our AKDN experience. For one thing, an impulse for international cooperation was advancing in the late 1950s at an impressive pace. After half a century of violent confrontation, determined leaders talked hopefully about global integration. New international organizations and cross-border alliances blossomed. And Harvard University decisively expanded its own involvement in world affairs.

When the Jodidi Lectureship was established here in 1955, its explicit purpose (and I quote) was "the promotion of tolerance, understanding and good will among nations." And that seemed to be the way history was moving. Surely, we thought, we had learned the terrible price of division and discord, and certainly the great technological revolutions of the twentieth century would bring us more closely together.

In looking back to my Harvard days, I recall how a powerful sense of technological promise was in the air—a faith that human invention would continue its ever-accelerating conquest of time and space. I recall too, how this confidence was accompanied by what was described as a "revolution of rising expectations" and the fall of colonial empires. And of course, this trend seemed to culminate some years later with the end of the Cold War and the "new world order" that it promised.

But even as old barriers crumbled and new connections expanded, a paradoxical trend set in, one that we see today at every hand. At the same time that the world was becoming more interconnected, it also became more fragmented.

We have been mesmerized on one hand by the explosive pace of what we call "globalization," a centripetal force putting us as closely in touch with people who live

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For a transcript of the conversation between the His Highness the Aga Khan and Professor Diana L. Eck, please visit: wcfia.harvard.edu/lectureships/jodidi

across the world as we are to those who live next to us. But at the same time, a set of centrifugal forces have been gaining on us, producing a growing sense—between and within societies—of disintegration.

Whether we are looking at a more fragile European Union, a more polarized United States, a more fervid Sunni-Shia conflict, intensified tribal rivalries in much of Africa and Asia, or other splintering threats in every corner of the planet, the word “fragmentation” seems to define our times.

Global promise, it can be said, has been matched by tribal wariness. We have more communication, but we also have more confrontation. Even as we exclaim about growing connectivity we seem to experience greater disconnection.

Perhaps what we did not see so clearly sixty years ago is the fact that technological advance does not necessarily mean human progress. Sometimes it can mean the reverse.

The more we communicate, the harder it can sometimes be to evaluate what we are saying. More information often means less context and more confusion. More than that, the increased pace of human interaction means that we encounter the stranger more often, and more directly. What is different is no longer abstract and distant. Even for the most tolerant among us, difference, more and more, can be up close and in your face.

What all of this means is that the challenge of living well together—a challenge as old as the human race—can seem more and more complicated. And so we ask ourselves, what are the resources that we might now draw upon to counter this trend? How can we go beyond our bold words and address the mystery of why our ideals still elude us?

In responding to that question, I would ask you to think with me about the term I have used in the title for this lecture: “The Cosmopolitan Ethic.”

For a very long time, as you know, the term most often used in describing the search for human understanding was the word “tolerance.” In fact, it was one of the words that was used in 1955 text to describe one of the objectives of this Jodidi Lecture.

In recent years our vocabulary in discussing this subject has evolved. One word that we have come to use more often in this regard is the word “pluralism.” And the other is the word “cosmopolitan.”

You may know that our AKDN Network, a decade ago, cooperated with the Government of Canada to create a new Global Centre for Pluralism based in Ottawa, designed to study more closely the conditions under which pluralist societies can thrive.

A pluralist, cosmopolitan society is a society which not only accepts difference, but actively seeks to understand it and to learn from it. In this perspective, diversity is not a burden to be endured, but an opportunity to be welcomed.

A cosmopolitan society regards the distinctive threads of our particular identities as elements that bring beauty to the larger social fabric. A cosmopolitan ethic accepts our



ultimate moral responsibility to the whole of humanity, rather than absolutizing a presumably exceptional part.

Perhaps it is a natural condition of an insecure human race to seek security in a sense of superiority. But in a world where cultures increasingly interpenetrate one another, a more confident and a more generous outlook is needed.

What this means, perhaps above all else, is a readiness to participate in a true dialogue with diversity, not only in our personal relationships, but in institutional and international relationships also. But that takes work, and it takes patience. Above all, it implies a readiness to listen.

What is needed, as the former Governor General of Canada Adrienne Clarkson has said, and I quote, is a readiness “to listen to your neighbour, even when you may not particularly like him.” Is that message clear? You listen to people you don’t like!

A thoughtful cosmopolitan ethic is something quite different from some attitudes that have become associated with the concept of globalization in recent years. Too often, that term has been linked to an abstract universalism, perhaps well-meaning but often naïve. In emphasizing all that the human race had in common, it was easy to depreciate the identities that differentiated us. We sometimes talked so much about how we are all alike that we neglected the wonderful ways in which we can be different.

One result of this superficial view of homogenized, global harmony, was an unhappy counter-reaction. Some took it to mean the spread of a popular, Americanized global culture—that was unfair and an assessment that was erroneous. Others feared that their individual, ethnic or religious identities might be washed away by a super-competitive economic order, or by some supranational political regime. And the frequent reaction was a fierce defense of older identities. If cooperation meant

Diana L. Eck, professor of comparative religion and Indian studies; Fredric Wertham Professor of Law and Psychiatry in Society; member of the faculty of divinity, Harvard Divinity School; and director of the Pluralism Project, Harvard University, has a conversation with His Highness the Aga Khan after the lecture.
Photo credits this feature: Martha Stewart

Continued on page 20

Photos: The Jodidi Lecture

“THE COSMOPOLITAN ETHIC IN A FRAGMENTED WORLD”

The Samuel L. and Elizabeth Jodidi Lecture held on November 12, 2015 was delivered by His Highness the Aga Khan at Memorial Church, Harvard University. The lecture was sponsored by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and the Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Islamic Studies Program. The lecture was followed by a conversation between His Highness the Aga Khan and Professor Diana L. Eck. The Jodidi Lecture is among the most prominent annual lecture series of the Weatherhead Center and one of the most distinguished at the University. Established in 1955, the lecture series provides for the “delivery of lectures by eminent and well-qualified persons...for the promotion of tolerance, understanding and good will among nations, and the peace of the world.”



“A pluralistic, cosmopolitan society is a society which not only accepts difference, but actively seeks to understand it—and to learn from it. In this perspective, diversity is not a burden to be endured, but an opportunity to be welcomed.”



Top left: His Highness the Aga Khan (from left) met with Harvard President Drew Faust, Mark C. Elliott, vice provost for international affairs, and others prior to his talk at the Memorial Church. *Photo credit: Stephanie Mitchell/Harvard Staff Photographer*

Left: During a visit with President Drew Faust, His Highness the Aga Khan looked through a photo book created by the Center of his years as a Harvard student. *Photo credit: Stephanie Mitchell/Harvard Staff Photographer*

Above, left to right: Prince Hussain Aga Khan, Michèle Lamont, His Highness the Aga Khan, Ali Asani, and Mark C. Elliott. *Photo credit: Martha Stewart*

After the lecture, students, faculty, staff, and distinguished guests attended a reception and dinner in honor of His Highness the Aga Khan. Photo credit this page: Martha Stewart



In Memoriam Stanley Hoffmann, 1928–2015



The Weatherhead Center for International Affairs mourns the loss of Stanley Hoffmann, a Faculty Associate, who died in his sleep at his home in Cambridge, Massachusetts on September 13, 2015. He was eighty-six and is survived by his wife, Inge Schneier Hoffmann.

Hoffmann, the Paul and Catherine Buttenwieser University Professor emeritus at Harvard, inspired student learning in French and European politics and international relations for more than half a century.

He was chairman of Harvard's Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies (CES) from its creation in 1969 until 1995 and it remains one of his enduring legacies.

Within hours of his passing, colleagues began offering tributes.

"Stanley was a towering intellectual figure," said Joseph S. Nye, Jr., University Distinguished Service Professor, and former dean of the Harvard Kennedy School.

He said Hoffmann was a major presence at the Weatherhead Center, where he offered a strong European perspective. "He certainly had a strong effect on people at the Center and his graduate students," said Nye, who met Hoffmann in 1960.

Michael Sandel, the Anne T. and Robert M. Bass Professor of Government at Harvard, called

Hoffmann "one of the great professors of the second half of the twentieth century."

"Renowned scholar of international affairs, Stanley was above all, in his heart and soul, a teacher—one of the most devoted and influential teachers in Harvard's modern history," said Sandel.

Hoffmann was born on November 27, 1928, in Vienna. His mother took him to Nice a year later after she had separated from his father, an American who returned to the United States. In 1936, after they had moved back to a suburb of Vienna, Hoffmann, who was Austrian by birth and partly Jewish by heritage, was forced back to France by the German invasion.

The war deeply influenced his scholarly pursuits. He taught at the Institut d'Études Politiques (Sciences Po) from which he graduated in 1948, and at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales.

In 1955 he became an instructor in the Department of Government at Harvard. He received tenure in 1959 and taught French intellectual and political history, American foreign policy, post-World War II European history, the sociology of war, international politics, ethics and world affairs, modern political ideologies, and the development of the modern state.

In *The New Republic*, Art Goldhammer, a faculty associate at CES, wrote that, at the Center, Hoffmann created an "...outpost of Europe on the Harvard campus, and each year dozens of visiting scholars from across the Old Continent gather there to imbibe Stanley's spirit and to perpetuate his belief that the study of politics is not merely an academic pursuit but an existential exercise."

During his tenure as director of CES, Hoffmann created a thriving intellectual atmosphere, said Charles S. Maier, the Leverett Saltonstall Professor of History at Harvard. From 1994–2001, following Hoffmann, Maier served as director of CES.

Hoffmann insisted on depth of thought, said Maier. "He hated the term 'take away.' He always said policy requires complex choices. He taught complexity. He took you seriously as a student."

Anne Sa'adah, professor of government and the Joel Parker Professor of Law and Political Science at Dartmouth College, said she walked into Hoffmann's course on French politics as a first-year student at Harvard, and it was intellectually transformative.

"I was a freshman. I didn't know you weren't supposed to bother full professors," she said with a laugh. "He was extraordinarily supportive. I experienced Harvard not as an impersonal place but as accessible. His teaching defined my undergraduate experience."

She said that his teaching has changed innumerable students for the better, yes, but also society as a whole.

"Friends and colleagues often contrasted Stanley's preference for distancing himself from power to Henry Kissinger's embrace of power. But Stanley saw his teaching and scholarship as civic acts," she said.

Many colleagues in the Harvard community knew Hoffmann as more than a brilliant thinker. He was also described as just plain fun.

"He's always portrayed as very serious but Stanley loved to laugh. He had a wonderful sense of humor, a twinkle in his eye. That's a dimension that people don't always capture," said Nye.

Hoffmann was a frequent contributor to journals like *Foreign Policy*, *The New York Review of Books*, and *The New Republic*, in whose pages he articulated his concerns about American foreign policy.

A list of his publications includes: *Decline or Renewal? France Since the 30's* (1974); *Primacy or World Order: American Foreign Policy since the Cold War* (1978); *Duties Beyond Borders* (1981); *Janus and Minerva* (1986); *The European Sisyphus* (1995); *The Ethics and Politics of Humanitarian Intervention* (1997); *World Disorders* (1998); and *Gulliver Unbound* (2004). He is co-author of *The Mitterrand Experiment* (1987); *The New European Community* (1991); and *After the Cold War* (1993). His *Tanner Lectures on Human Values* of 1993, on the French nation and nationalism, were published in 1994. He was working on a book on ethics and international affairs.

"All of Stanley's work was shaped by his childhood memories of the havoc that the perversion of politics wreaked on the place of his birth," wrote Goldhammer in *The New Republic*. "He did his best to prepare his students and readers to recognize and avoid such perversions, while knowing full well, and feeling in the depths of his soul, that even with the best of intentions we humans will all too often find ways to achieve the least desirable of outcomes. The world today could use his counsel, and those of us who had the privilege to know him will miss him dearly."

Stanley Hoffmann, 1928–2015.

Photo credit: Kris Snibbe/Harvard News Office

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This is an edited version of the memoriam. To read the full version, please visit: wcfia.harvard.edu/in-memoriam/hoffmann

WCFIA Faculty Associate Sven Beckert's *Empire of Cotton* is a Nominee for the Cundill Prize

Laird Bell Professor of History **Sven Beckert** was nominated for the Cundill Prize in Historical Literature for his new book, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (Alfred A. Knopf, 2014). The Cundill Prize in Historical Literature at McGill is the world's most important international nonfiction historical literature prize.

WCFIA Faculty Associate Maya Jasanoff Named Harvard College Professor

Maya Jasanoff, Coolidge Professor of History, was named one of five new Harvard College Professors. Each year, a few faculty members are named Harvard College Professors to recognize their excellence in undergraduate teaching, and contributions in advising and mentoring students.

WCFIA Faculty Associate Melani Cammett's Book, *Compassionate Communalism*, Receives 2015 APSA Book Awards

Professor of Government **Melani Cammett's** *Compassionate Communalism: Welfare and Sectarianism in Lebanon* (Cornell University Press, 2015) won the 2015 Giovanni Sartori Book Award of the APSA Section on Qualitative and Multi-Method Research and the Honorable Mention for the 2015 Gregory Luebbert Book Award for the APSA Section on Comparative Politics.

Center Director Michèle Lamont Elected the 108th President of the American Sociological Association (ASA)

Weatherhead Center Director **Michèle Lamont**, the Robert I. Goldman Professor of European Studies and professor of sociology and African and African American studies, has been elected the 108th president of the American Sociological Association (ASA). Lamont will serve as president-elect for one year beginning in August 2015.

WCFIA Faculty Associate Jacob Olupona Awarded the 2015–2016 Reimar Lust Award for International and Cultural Exchange

Professor of History and Professor of African and African American Studies **Jacob Olupona** has been awarded the Reimar Lust Award by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. The award is in recognition of "outstanding humanities scholars and social scientists from abroad who, as multipliers in and through the field of academic studies, have made an exceptional contribution to the enduring promotion of bilateral relations between Germany and their own countries."

WCFIA Faculty Associate Peter V. Marsden Receives AAPOR Book Award

Edith and Benjamin Geisinger Professor of Sociology **Peter V. Marsden**, editor of *Social Trends in American Life: Findings from the General Social Survey since 1972* (Princeton University Press, 2012), is the recipient of the American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) Book Award for 2015. This award was established to recognize influential books that have stimulated theoretical and scientific research in public opinion, and/or influenced our understanding or application of survey research methodology.

Center Director Michèle Lamont Elected as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada

Weatherhead Center Director **Michèle Lamont**, the Robert I. Goldman Professor of European Studies and professor of sociology and African and African American studies, has been elected as a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. The eighty-seven new fellows have been elected by their peers in recognition of outstanding scholarly, scientific, and artistic achievement. Election to the academies of the Royal Society of Canada is the highest honor a scholar can achieve in the Arts, Humanities, and Sciences.

WCFIA Faculty Associate Sven Beckert Wins 2015 Philip Taft Labor History Prize

The 2015 Taft Prize in Labor and Working-Class History has been awarded to **Sven Beckert** for his book *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (Alfred A. Knopf, 2014). "The Committee found the book to be a major work with immense range that will help to define and expand the field of labor history. Empirically rich and exhaustively researched, Beckert successfully places the history of slaves, millworkers, and sharecroppers into the broad terrain of the history of capitalism as it was shaped by the demand for one of its most important and lucrative commodities, cotton. Linking Indian Weavers to African slavery to American plantations to European consumers, Beckert masterfully bridges the global transformations of the cotton economy with local history..."

WCFIA Faculty Associate Elhanan Helpman Wins Jean-Jacques Laffont Prize

Jean-Luc Moudenc, Mayor of Toulouse, awarded Professor **Elhanan Helpman** the Jean-Jacques Laffont Prize on October 15 at the 21st IDEI Annual Conference in a ceremony at Hôtel de Ville in Toulouse, France. Elhanan Helpman is the Galen L. Stone Professor of International Trade at Harvard University. Helpman's contributions include studies of the balance of payments, exchange rate regimes, stabilization programs and foreign debt. Most important, however, are his studies of international trade, economic growth and political economy. He is a cofounder of the "new trade theory" and the "new growth theory," which emphasize the roles of economies of scale and imperfect competition.

Dispatches Undergraduate Researchers in the Field

Seventeen Harvard College students received summer 2015 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 2016 spring semester, February 4–5, 2016, 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:



Neil Alacha

Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. Committee on Degrees in Social Studies, Harvard College. *Research interests: The construction of "human rights" in Jordan by interactions between local and international actors.*

I spent the majority of the summer in Amman, Jordan conducting interviews for my senior thesis. I spoke to thirty individuals from various agencies including the United Nations Refugee Agency, the United States Agency for International Development, and the World Health Organization, among many others. I also conducted an extensive review of nongovernmental organization (NGO) reports and United Nations (UN) documents and presentations.

Going into the summer, I expected the focus of my thesis to be on the transnational advocacy network—between UN agencies, international NGOs, and local actors—that supports Syrian refugees in Jordan. I was hoping to understand the internal dynamic of that network, and how power is distributed among its various participants. My goal was that this pressing case study would shed light on transnational advocacy networks more generally. Though there has been well-received academic literature on the potential efficacy of transnational advocacy networks when it comes to changing state behavior and promoting human rights (most notably in the work of Margareta Ked, Kathryn Sikkink, and Beth Simmons), the literature has not focused as much on how those networks function internally.

As I began speaking to aid workers in Jordan, I realized that my initial conception of who was

acting on behalf of Syrian refugees in Jordan was missing a very important player that shaped the boundaries of the work—the Jordanian government. It became clear that the more interesting story was how the UN and international NGOs, both individually and together, navigated their relationship with the Jordanian government as they sought to expand their operations. Additionally, I learned quite a bit about the potential motivations for the government to publicize its support to refugees, and for even allowing international NGOs and the UN to operate within its borders.

My thesis as it now stands explores the response to the Syrian refugee crisis in Jordan as a case study of the interplay between humanitarian, development, and security concerns in international crises, especially when international legal standards are either murky or non-existent. Of course, this topic is related to my initial goal of exploring the internal dynamics of the transnational advocacy network, as these three groups of concerns happen to correspond to categories of actors.

For instance, by and large the issue-oriented international NGOs working in Jordan—such as Save the Children or the International Rescue Committee—are more focused on simple, quick, and direct humanitarian response. The United Nations Development Programme, however, was insistent on shifting the response from short-term humanitarian interventions to long-term, development-oriented practices, such as building new housing units or new water pipelines. Distinct from both of those is the Jordanian government and foreign government donors, whose primary attention in the response seems focused on regional security. Framing my question in terms of these differing concerns, however, allows my case study to be more relevant, accessible, and applicable to other potential crises that require international action.

It was incredibly fulfilling to be able to sit at cafés in Amman and connect with people who have dedicated their lives to helping others—it was a privilege to have those people open up to me. I saw the human side of international law

and advocacy, and felt that I was able to participate in it myself.

This summer reinforced my desire to attend law school and to pursue a career in international human rights law. Though I have known for quite some time that I want to work in law, my last few years in college and my reflections on world events have allowed me to ruminate on the deeper-seated problems of the world. I was incredibly fortunate to have been born in this country and to have had the opportunities afforded me, and I am glad that I am in a position to do more to help others.

I learned a lot over the summer and now need to pare it down to something manageable and specific. Moreover, I still feel more like a journalist than an academic. The boundaries seem thin at this stage, and I would like to refocus my thinking so that it is more critical and analytical, rather than merely presentational of what I have found. This concern is important to consider when doing interview-based primary research, as one needs to convey not only what interview subjects have expressed, but provide his or her own analysis. I want to ensure that I am thinking as a researcher, and not just a conveyor belt of information.

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Congratulations to Neil Alacha for being named a 2016 Rhodes Scholar! news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2015/11/five-from-harvard-are-rhodes-scholars/



Andrea Ortiz

Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. Committee on Degrees in Social Studies, Harvard College. *Research interests: Class and prospective migrants' perceptions on migration to the United States from Latin America.*

I met a woman in a small rural community outside of Zacatecas, Mexico who told me a story of how she made tennis shoes out of scrap cloth. Her son's school was having a parade and he was too embarrassed to go to school without shoes. As she watched her seven-year-old son go to bed with tears in his eyes, she stayed up all night sewing together a makeshift pair of Converse shoes from cloth and her husband's old sneakers. She, along with many more inspiring people I met through my research, made my experience this summer not just productive, but reflective and transformative.

I traveled to Zacatecas to conduct research in rural communities with high migration rates. This was my first time in the area and I had only a few contacts. I stayed with a host family and as a result, I found a second home in the city of Zacatecas. In the short weeks I was there, I learned more about myself and the complexities of people and institutions than I ever had in a classroom.

My research question centers on how the Mexican matching fund program known as Programa 3x1 had affected social accountability in high migratory communities in Zacatecas.

My thesis topic stayed the same throughout my time in Mexico, but my hypothesis and conclusion were completely transformed. I had originally seen this program, which allows migrant organizations to raise funds along with the government to build public works projects in their hometowns, as an innovative way to help the development of rural communities and curb migration. Soon after arriving in Zacatecas, I realized that most communities are actually taken advantage of by the very social programs that were implemented to help them, particularly in the case of hometown associations and Programa 3x1.

Every day I woke up around 6:30 a.m. to prepare for a full day of fieldwork in a different community. A professor at the University of Zacatecas would accompany me to conduct key informant interviews in different communities to try and understand how Programa 3x1, based on collective remittances for local development, was affecting the community.

In between interviews, I made significant friendships, tried traditional snow cones made from ice blocks, and learned about struggle and resilience. Many of the communities I visited had lost most of their populations to US migration. Those who stayed behind were older and very much dependent on family remittances they received. Yet even with almost stagnant local economies and dwindling populations, these communities had so much life. They all had high levels of community engagement around issues related to education. Many older men and women I spoke to shared their stories of how they did everything possible to send their kids to college so they wouldn't have to work the fields for the rest of their lives.

My research findings surprised me. The main takeaway from this trip was how institutions are the main obstacle to community development. In each community I visited, the corruption in one branch of the program—whether it was the migrant organization, the municipal government, or community leaders—was the determining factor of why a community was not moving forward. Human capital is precious and present, but when institutions are not given sufficient oversight and accountability mechanisms, the best of the community is taken advantage of. In three communities I witnessed priests who smuggled funds; community leaders who took advantage of other community members; and local politician neglect due to previously held grudges. I realized that mi-

grants abroad could only do so much if leaders and politicians at home weren't willing to collaborate honestly, transparently, and efficiently.

The greatest challenge of the summer was saying goodbye. I felt I had learned so much—about myself and my culture as well as a newly discovered love for research—but given nothing in return. I have applied for a Fulbright to continue a similar study in two different migrant-sending states in Mexico with the hope that I can continue to work on a cause and for a country I care so deeply about. I hope to revisit these communities one day with something to give back—whether that's a report that my research was published and it helped inform further implementation of the program, or that I have continued to dedicate my life to promoting the empowerment of community voices. I am thankful for this incredible opportunity of self-discovery and challenge. I only hope that my experiences can serve as continuous motivation and inspiration to work on an issue like migration that is deeply important to me.





Matthew Disler
Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. Committee on Degrees in Social Studies, Harvard College. *Research interests: Government and social movements in contemporary Brazil.*

This summer, I traveled to São Paulo to study a case of mass mobilization in Brazil in 2013, which became the largest wave of Brazilian protests since the early 1990s. In early June of that year, a series of small demonstrations centered in São Paulo and organized by the Movimento Passe Livre-SP (Free Fare Movement São Paulo) began in opposition to a proposed hike in bus fares from R\$3.00 to R\$3.20.

However, instances of harsh police repression covered in the national media provoked a drastic expansion of the protest movement. By June 21, there were more than a million people participating in demonstrations throughout the country, including hundreds of thousands in major cities like São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. The demands of protesters became increasingly varied. The bus fare grievance was coupled with widespread claims against corruption, the transportation system, politicians, international soccer tournament spending, and a proposed constitutional amendment that would limit the power of the Public Ministry (PEC 37). Protesters called for improved healthcare and education, political change, and more security.

From my perspective, the movement was characterized by profound ambiguity with regards to who was participating and what they wanted, especially as the movement grew. Politicians—whom protesters tasked with crafting policy solutions to their demands—faced significant difficulties in determining what to do. In interviews I conducted with politicians, government officials, and journalists, respondents frequently noted that they and their colleagues were caught “by surprise”

by the magnitude and intensity of the protests. Many expressed uncertainty regarding the goals of demonstrators. Given this chaotic backdrop, my questions were: What were the ways in which politicians learned about and responded to the protests? How did they decide which demands were salient, and what did they do?

Answering these questions was more challenging than I anticipated. My first task was to find and speak to interviewees who were well-versed in my topic area. Thankfully, friends and professors at Harvard had given me several contacts, including in the social sciences faculty at the University of São Paulo and politicians in the mayor’s office. I started building my network of interviewees from these connections and then moved on to other academics, government officials, and journalists—especially at one of Brazil’s leading newspapers, the *Folha de São Paulo*. At the end of my time in Brazil, I had accumulated a collection of interviews that conveyed a variety of perspectives about the events of 2013; they present a sample of views across the entire political spectrum and from various fields.

Early on in my research, I found that my understanding of the 2013 protests had to be significantly updated. Before arriving in Brazil, I had imagined the protests as a series of amorphous mass marches. In fact, however, early on they included specific groups of activists that articulated fairly well-defined demands. Only after several instances of police brutality enraged a broad sector of society did the protests—and the viewpoints they represented—explode, resulting in the confusing, chaotic situation. Yet many of the policy changes that occurred during the protests, even when they responded to the demands of the first stage, occurred in the second stage.

My studies this summer also allowed me to learn more about the politics of São Paulo city (which shares a name with its state). The issue of lowering bus fares—which ignited the protests—is primarily a municipal issue, and the mayor, Fernando Haddad, had recently entered office on a mandate of increasing political participation. Yet Haddad did not want to lower bus

fares, and my interviewees indicated that even after meeting with community members, colleagues, and even the president of Brazil, he remained hesitant to do so. Nonetheless, he did lower the fares at the height of the protests. Consequently, my project can’t focus solely on the way social movements formulate demands and craft strategies. It must also include how politicians make decisions and craft policies.

All in all, my research this summer was both incredibly helpful for my thesis and personally fulfilling. I was able to stay with a host family who welcomed me into their home and introduced me to all aspects of Brazilian culture, from soccer games to birthday parties and street fairs. I studied the beginning of a period of political upheaval in a country where the tumult has reached its highest peak in years, with single-digit approval ratings for the president and another round of mass protests. And I gained valuable perspective about the challenges involved with governing new democracies and mega-cities.

Andrea Ortiz (page 15):
Conducting a field visit with a Zacatecas community member and local researcher to learn how migration had transformed their hometown.

Jessie Wyatt (page 17):
Doing research at the UK Parliament in London.



Jessie Wyatt

Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. Committee on Degrees in Social Studies; Committee on the Study of Religion, Harvard College. *Research interests: Muslim community motivations in establishing a counter-narrative to violent extremism.*

This summer, I spent three months conducting research on Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) strategies implemented across Britain. Initially, my research intended to focus on efforts of Muslim community leaders to counteract violent extremism in their own communities in relation to strategies implemented by the British gov-

ernment, such as Prevent. However, my thesis evolved after my first meeting with a former Weatherhead Fellow who enlightened my view of CVE strategies in general.

Previous to my research this summer, I read reports and summaries about the British government's implementation of Prevent. As I began my research trip, I thought I had a general grasp of Prevent. However, I quickly realized that I knew only a portion of the ramifications of this program when I met with the former Weatherhead Fellow. The more I dug around the topic, the more I uncovered.

After speaking with members of Parliament and members of community-based organizations, it was clear that many members of the Muslim community want nothing to do with government money—and they actively seek to avoid it. The level of distrust between the British government and the greater Muslim population is shocking. This distrust is created by the fact that CVE programs have been used in the past as a way for the British government to “keep watch” over the Muslim community.

The concept of trust continued to emerge throughout my research. Consequently, my topic evolved to focus on the current push to build mutually trusting relationships between the British government and the British Muslim community. Upon returning to London in the beginning of September, I attended a conference consisting of Muslim community members and the Army, working together to create environments to foster trusting relationships. The ideal environment, they concluded, is a “high-impact, out of postcode” program that takes youth out of their local communities and into the Lake District. These programs are offered to all British citizens, not just the Muslim community. One such program is titled Adventurous Training.

Yet again, my research took another turn. Currently, I am analyzing the focus on trusting relationships between the Muslim community and the British government by using a comparative analysis of Prevent and Adventurous Training, two government-implemented programs. As a joint-concentrator in the Comparative Study of Religion and Social Studies, I will use my training from both fields to answer broader questions such as: Why is trust important between religious communities and the government? And how do religious communities and the government foster mutually trusting relationships?

As I look toward the rest of my research process, I will continue to spend time analyzing my interviews to do my interviewees justice, for it is their words that have transformed my thesis to what it is today. In addition, I will continue to research the significance and ramifications of the ties the British government draws between violent extremism and the Muslim community. My fourth chapter aims to bring out some of those criticisms by using the voices of some of my interviewees from the Muslim community.

The experience of conducting research in London this summer was beyond compare. Because of the material I collected—data from Parliament, interviews with people from various different backgrounds, curricula used by community leaders, and much more—I am able to spend the next few months digging into a topic that I believe is not only important for understanding strategies used by the United Kingdom, but also for strategies that policy makers are developing here in America.





Graduate students visit three rugged outport communities in Newfoundland and Labrador's "Iceberg Alley." More photos from the Newfoundland project are available in this issue of *Centerpiece* online: wcfia.harvard.edu/galleries/cpfall2015-canada
Photo credit: Mason White

Iceberg Alley's outports—the small, isolated communities situated along the remote, rugged coast of Canada's Newfoundland and Labrador province—have subsisted on local and ocean-based economies. But these outports, and their dependence on traditional methods of fishing, storage, and shipping, now suffer under an advancing modernity. The collapse of cod stocks (and the ensuing early 1990s moratorium on fishing), competition from a global economy, and the trend of urbanization leading to depopulation coalesce to create a new struggle for community survival on Canada's eastern edge.

According to Mason White, a visiting associate professor of architecture and design at Harvard's Graduate School of Design (GSD), design and architecture may play a role in addressing population concerns. Many outports are in poor condition as depopulation has threatened the area, and this poses an architectural challenge in developing the identity of fishery buildings, the saltbox, and the root cellar, among other traditional structures. White asks, "Can design bring a fresh perspective to this issue? Can those outports with a rich architectural heritage reinvent themselves and remain sustainable into the future?"

In October 2015, White traveled to Iceberg Alley with a studio class of graduate students of architectural and urban design to conduct site research for a course project. The project is supported in part by a grant from the Weatherhead Center's Canada Program, and other sponsors include Heritage Newfoundland and Harbour Grace Ocean Enterprises.

"This project is about rural development," says White, who is at Harvard from the University of Toronto's John H. Daniels Faculty of Architecture, Landscape, and Design. And the approach of the class, he says, begins with "observing the place—what seems to be working, with architecture and heritage buildings, and enhancing without ruin."

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The students split into three groups, with each assigned to one of three Newfoundland outports, all formerly flourishing communities: Twillingate, Port Union, and Harbour Grace. The three outports now comprise a collective population of under 7,000 people across approximately fifty square miles. White and the GSD students studied the land and listened to local stakeholders—civic leaders, enterprising business owners, and economic boosters—who, White says, are eager to consider a reimagining and repurposing of their towns' underused architecture and overlooked heritage as a vital part of the switch across economies from fishing to resources to tourism.

Maria Carriero, a GSD master of architecture student who was on the team assigned to Harbour Grace, describes the site visit as fruitful for her studio project. "Right now we're processing all of the information that we learned—and we learned a lot," she says. "We're trying to come up with a way to balance Harbour Grace's future with its past. We were impressed with the heritage that it has and all of these buildings that are important to the character of the place, so we'd like to celebrate the history of the place, while opening up opportunities for businesses to thrive there. In small towns, everyone has such a huge stake in the idea of the future."

By the end of the studio, White's students will produce a booklet describing local architecture and development challenges and opportunities; a series of fourteen student design proposals for three communities, envisioning a near-future (2020) vision for outports to address local economy, heritage, and tourism through sustainable development; and an exhibition and lecture to make the project findings public, currently scheduled for December 11 in Gund Hall at the Harvard Graduate School of Design.

STUDENT PROGRAMS

2015–2016 KENNETH I. JUSTER FELLOWS

The Weatherhead Center is pleased to announce its 2015–2016 class of Juster Fellows. Now in its fifth 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:

Javier Felipe Aranzales, a senior government concentrator, will be undertaking a research internship with Evaldesign, a research consulting firm in New Delhi, India, where he will assess the impact of education initiatives in the development sector.

Allyson Rose Perez, a junior social studies concentrator, will travel to Cuba in January to participate in a Food Systems in Cuba research course offered by the University of Massachusetts at Amherst's Sustainable Food and Farming Program. During this time she also intends to explore thesis research topics related to global food systems and policy.

Karla Citlalli Mendoza, a junior cognitive neuroscience and evolutionary psychology concentrator, will travel with a nonprofit organization, Saha Global, to work with local women to establish and implement a sustainable water purification business/entrepreneurship in rural Ghana.

Sarah Nyangweso Michieka, a junior African and African American studies concentrator, will travel to Nairobi, Kenya, to conduct research on attitudes towards voting technology options, a project which she plans to develop into a senior thesis project.

Tessa Mattea Mrkusic, a junior human rights and the environment concentrator, will travel to the island nation of Kiribati to conduct research on ethical migration policies affecting populations facing displacement due to climate change.

Henry Sewall Udayan Shah, a junior history and literature concentrator, will travel to Paris, France, to participate in a conference and present qualitative and quantitative research findings gathered from a field research internship initiative he participated in last summer which focuses on access to rights for Roma communities in France through empowerment approaches.



Center Advisory Committee
Chair Kenneth I. Juster.

PROGRAM ON U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONS

The Program on U.S.-Japan Relations collaborated with two Harvard faculty members, Peter Galison (Joseph Pellegrino University Professor, Department of History of Science) and Robb Moss (Harvard College Professor and Chair of the Department of Visual and Environmental Studies), on their recently released film, *Containment*. The film investigates the problem of accumulating radioactive waste from civilian and military nuclear programs, and offers an in-depth coverage of three particular sites, including the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant in the wake of the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake and subsequent tsunamis.

The Program supported the filming of on-camera interviews of Naoto Kan, former Prime Minister of Japan, and Yoichi Funabashi, chairman of the Rebuild Japan Initiative Foundation (RJIF) and former editor in chief of *Asahi Shimbun*, who led the independent investigation of the Fukushima nuclear crisis. In addition, the Program offered access to the images and videos inside the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant, which are archived at the Tokyo Electric Power Company (TEPCO).

Poster for *Containment*.

In February 2014, Professors Galison and Moss discussed the making of the film *Containment* (2015) in a Program on U.S.-Japan Relations' seminar.

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For more information
on the film, please visit:
containmentmovie.com.





Michèle Lamont,
Weatherhead Center Director

E-mail correspondence regarding *Centerpiece* or other matters may be directed to:

Theodore J. Gilman,
Executive Director
tgilman@wcfia.harvard.edu

Kristin Caulfield,
Manager of Communications
kcaulfield@wcfia.harvard.edu

Lauren McLaughlin,
Communications Coordinator
laurenmclaughlin@wcfia.harvard.edu

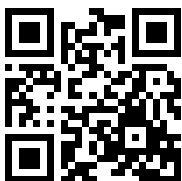
Meg Murphy,
Communications Specialist
margaretmurphy@wcfia.harvard.edu

wcfia.harvard.edu
twitter.com/HarvardWCFA
facebook.com/wcfia
vimeo.com/wcfia
soundcloud.com/wcfia

1737 Cambridge Street
Cambridge, MA 02138

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homogenization, then a lot of people found themselves saying “No.”

But an either-or-choice between the global and the tribal—between the concept of universal belonging and the value of particular identities—was in fact a false choice. The road to a more cooperative world does not require us to erase our differences, but to understand them.

A responsible, thoughtful process of globalization, in my view, is one that is truly cosmopolitan, respecting both what we have in common and what makes us different.

It is perhaps in our nature to see life as a series of choices between sharply defined dualities, but in fact life is more often a matter of avoiding false dichotomies, which can lead to dangerous extremes. The truth of the matter is that we can address the dysfunctions of fragmentation without obscuring the values of diversity.

A cosmopolitan ethic will also be sensitive to the problem of economic insecurity in our world. It is an enormous contributing factor to the problems I have been discussing. Endemic poverty still corrodes any meaningful sense of opportunity for many millions. And even in less impoverished societies, a rising tide of economic anxiety can make it difficult for fearful people to respect, let alone embrace, that which is new or different.

This problem has been compounded by the very advances that have long been the source of so much hope. I am thinking here for example about medical advances that have dramatically increased human longevity. People live longer, but they often find that they have outlived their resources.

The developing world is now facing a major challenge: how does it care for the elderly? Even in more developed societies, social changes have eroded some of the domestic support that once eased the burdens of the aging. How, we must all ask, will we manage the new challenges of longevity?

All of these considerations will place special obligations on those who play leadership roles in our societies. Sadly, some would-be leaders all across the world have been tempted to exploit difference and magnify division. It is always easier to unite followers in a negative cause than a positive one. But the consequences can be a perilous polarization.

The information explosion itself has sometimes become an information glut, putting even more of a premium on being first and getting attention, rather than being right and earning respect. It is not easy to retain one’s faith in a healthy, cosmopolitan marketplace of ideas when the flow of information is increasingly trivialized.

One answer to these temptations will be found, I am convinced, in the quality of our education. It will lie with our universities at one end of the spectrum, and early childhood education at the other—a field to which our Development Network has been giving special attention.

Let me mention one more specific issue where a sustained educational effort will be especially important. I

refer to the debate—one that has involved many in this audience—about the prospect of some fundamental clash of civilizations between Islam and the West. In my view, the deeper problem behind any prospective “clash of civilizations” is a profound “clash of ignorances.” And in that struggle, education will be an indispensable weapon.

Finally, I would emphasize that a cosmopolitan ethic is one that resonates with the world’s great ethical and religious traditions.

A passage from the Holy Quran that has been central to my life is addressed to the whole of humanity. It says: “Oh Mankind, fear your Lord, who created you of a single soul, and from it created its mate, and from the pair of them scattered abroad many men and women...”

At the very heart of the Islamic faith is a conviction that we are all born “of a single soul.” We are “spread abroad” to be sure in all of our diversity, but we share, in a most profound sense, a common humanity.

This outlook has been central to the history of Islam. For many hundreds of years, the greatest Islamic societies were decidedly pluralistic, drawing strength from people of many religions and cultural backgrounds. My own ancestors, the Fatimid Caliphs, founded the city of Cairo, and the great Al Azhar University there, a thousand years ago in this same spirit.

That pluralistic outlook remains a central ideal for most Muslims today.

There are many, of course, some non-Muslims and some Muslims alike, who have perpetrated different impressions.

At the same time, institutions such as those that have welcomed me here today, have eloquently addressed these misimpressions. My hope is that the voices of Islam itself will continue to remind the world of a tradition that, over so many centuries, has so often advanced pluralistic outlooks and built some of the most remarkable societies in human history.

Let me repeat, in conclusion, that a cosmopolitan ethic is one that will honor both our common humanity and our distinctive identities—each reinforcing the other as part of the same high moral calling.

The central lesson of my own personal journey—over many miles and many years—is the indispensability of such an ethic in our changing world, based on the timeless truth that we are—each of us and all of us—“born of a single soul.”

Thank you.

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For more on the Jodidi Lecture, including video, audio, and other media, visit:
wcfia.harvard.edu/lectureships/jodidi