

Centerpiece



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FEATURE P. 8

Commodifying the Desert: Colonial Formulas and Ancestral Lands in Morocco's Renewable Energy Sector

FEATURE P. 18

STAR Lab: In Conversation with Michael Hiscox

Weatherhead

Table of Contents



Left to right: Weatherhead affiliates gather for an end-of-year celebration with the 2024 International Book Blitz featuring Christina Davis, Michèle Lamont, Meg Rithmire (speaking center), Sugata Bose, Merilee Grindle, and Ya-Wen Lei. Credit: Bethany Versoy

Message from the Executive Director	3
Of Note	4
New Books	6
Commodifying the Desert: Colonial Formulas and Ancestral Lands in Morocco's Renewable Energy Sector By Asmaa Elgamal	8
Photos: Spring 2024 Events Special Event Series on Israel/Palestine	14
STAR Lab: In Conversation with Michael Hiscox By Michelle Nicholasen	18
Research Groups Canada Program / Student Programs / Global Sports Initiative / New Faculty Associates	22



Erin Goodman
Executive Director

MESSAGE FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Through the hustle and bustle of a busy semester, the throughline at Weatherhead has been our continued commitment to modeling civil discourse and debate. We continued our online forum series on Israel/Palestine, focusing on topics such as scenarios for peace, broader geopolitical ramifications, a philosophical dialogue, and peace activism (see page sixteen for more information on the series). The series was covered extensively in the *Harvard Gazette*, as well as in the *Harvard Crimson* and the *Chronicle of Higher Education*. Time and again we heard that the Weatherhead Center is seen as a leader on campus by modeling measured discussions on current events with the same spirit of thoroughness and inquiry that undergirds our approach to tackling complex global issues.

These efforts culminated with an in-person event on May 1 in Tsai Auditorium, as part of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences Civil Discourse Initiative and in collaboration with five other centers at Harvard. “Pernicious Prejudice: Scholarly Approaches to Antisemitism and Islamophobia” featured four leading social scientists in conversation with Faculty Director Melani Cammett on the conceptualization, measurement, and study of key forms of prejudice in the US context.

“Time and again we heard that the Weatherhead Center is seen as a leader on campus by modeling measured discussions on current events with the same spirit of thoroughness and inquiry that undergirds our approach to tackling complex global issues.”

Another major area of focus for our Center this semester was climate change. On the heels of Earth Day and before Harvard’s second annual Climate Action Week, we share with you two feature articles addressing climate from different angles. Our first feature, “Commodifying the Desert,” looks at the colonial history behind Morocco’s trailblazing status in the renewable energy sector. Our second feature spotlights our interview with Michael Hiscox, director of the Sustainability Transparency Accountability Research (STAR) Lab, our newest research group that collaborates with companies that tackle social or environmental problems.

Other Weatherhead activities bolster our work on climate and the environment. Our research cluster on climate change hosted a successful conference on the Climate Pipeline Project in late April. We partnered with Class Act HR73 and the Salata Institute for Climate and Sustainability to host the daylong

symposium on “Climate Change, Public-Private Partnerships, and Social Equity: Lessons from Bangladesh” (the conference videos are available on the Class Act YouTube channel, @classacthr7385). Careful readers will spot several climate-related awards in our “Of Note” section, and a new book on veganism and the future of food in our “New Books” section.

In staffing news, we welcomed a new director of the Weatherhead Scholars Program, Walid Hammam, who joined us from Columbia University. I’d also like to recognize my colleague Shinju Fujihira in the Program on US-Japan Relations, who will receive a Harvard Hero award this June. Finally, we bid farewell to Faculty Associate Jeffrey Frieden, who will join Columbia University this fall. Professor Frieden served as interim director of the Weatherhead Center on multiple occasions over the past two-and-a-half decades, and we thank him for being such a beloved member of our community.

I look forward to welcoming new and returning affiliates to the Weatherhead Center in the fall, and in the meantime I wish everyone a wonderful summer.

Sincerely,
Erin Goodman

Cover (left to right): Eric Beerbohm (chair), Melani Cammett (moderator), Nazita Lajevardi, Jeffrey Kopstein, Sabine von Mering, and Kassra AR Oskooii speak at “Pernicious Prejudice: Scholarly Approaches to Antisemitism & Islamophobia” held on May 1, 2024. Credit: Bethany Versoy

Of Note

Recent Awards and Accolades Received by Weatherhead Center Affiliates



Dustin Tingley Wins American Energy Book Award

Faculty Associate **Dustin Tingley**, professor of government at Harvard University, is the recipient of a 2023 Energy Award for “Best Book, The Energy Market Economy” for proposing credible market-based solutions in support of an energy transition in his book, *Uncertain Futures: How to Unlock the Climate Impasse* (Cambridge University Press). Each year, the American Energy Society spotlights the most extraordinary contributions to energy and sustainability in the categories people, media, technology, innovations, markets, the arts, and more.

Multiple Weatherhead Affiliates Chosen for Motsepe Presidential Research Fund Award

Seven projects have been selected as the 2024 awardees for the Motsepe Presidential Research Accelerator Fund for Africa, distributed by the Office of the Vice Provost for Research and the Office of the Vice Provost for International Affairs, in collaboration with the Harvard University Center for African Studies. Many of the awardees are Weatherhead Center affiliates, including Faculty Associates **Daniel Agbiboa** (for “Towards a Cocoa Producer-Focused Climate Policy in Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana”),

Kevin Croke (for “Service Delivery Redesign for Maternal and Newborn Health in Kakamega County, Kenya”), **Gareth Doherty** (for “Holy Places and Shaded Spaces: Imagining a Role for Religious Spaces in Climate Change Adaptation across Four African Cities”), **Doris Sommer** and former Graduate Student Associate **Tom Osborn** (for “Expanding Mental Health Interventions for Kenyan Youth: Scaling Up the Pre-Texts Arts-Literacy Intervention”), and **Lucie White** (for “A University of Ghana/Harvard Law School Agricultural Justice Clinic: Challenge and Opportunity”).

Jayita Sarkar Wins Bernard S. Cohn Book Prize

Former Visiting Scholar **Jayita Sarkar**, associate professor of global history of inequalities at the University of Glasgow’s School of Social and Political Sciences, is the recipient of the 2024 Bernard S. Cohn Book Prize from the Association for Asian Studies. The prize is awarded to the most original and innovative first books on South Asia. Sarkar’s book, *Ploughshares and Swords: India’s Nuclear Program in the Global Cold War* (Cornell University Press), also has received an honorable mention for the Global Development Studies Book Award offered by the International Studies Association.

Ellen Nye Wins Herman E. Krooss Prize

Academy Scholar **Ellen Nye**, who holds a PhD from the Department of History at Yale University, is the winner of the Herman E. Krooss Prize for Best Dissertation in Business History for her dissertation

titled “Empires of Obligation: Law, Money, and Debt between England and the Ottoman Empire, 1670–1720.” The prize was offered by the Business History Conference, a scholarly organization devoted to encouraging all aspects of research, writing, and teaching about business history and about the environment in which businesses operate.



Alisha Holland Wins Lemann Brazil Research Fund Award

Faculty Associate **Alisha Holland**, associate professor of government at Harvard University, is the recipient of a 2024 Lemann Brazil Research Fund award for a project titled “The Contracting State: How Private Contractors Affect Public Policy and Political Parties in Brazil.” The funding award is given by the Office of the Vice Provost for Research and the Office of the Vice Provost for International Affairs at Harvard University. Established in 2016 by a generous gift from the Lemann Foundation, the Lemann Brazil Research Fund “supports Brazil-related research in all areas related to education, as well as research in any other disciplinary area undertaken with a Brazilian colleague.”

Rosie Bsheer Wins Mendelsohn Award

Faculty Associate **Rosie Bsheer**, Frederick S. Danziger Associate Professor of History at Harvard

University, is a recipient of the 2023–2024 Everett Mendelsohn Excellence in Mentoring Award, presented annually to one or more Harvard faculty members on the basis of nominations from Harvard Griffin Graduate School of Arts and Sciences (GSAS) students. This year was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the award, where “a selection committee reviews nominations from GSAS students in order to highlight for the entire Harvard community faculty members who provide excellent and exceptional mentorship to graduate students.”

Two Affiliates Elected to American Academy of Arts and Sciences

Faculty Associate **Pol Antràs**, Robert G. Ory Professor of Economics at Harvard University, has been elected to the 2024 class of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences. The organization was founded in 1780 “to help a young nation face its challenges through shared purpose, knowledge, and ideas.” The 250 members elected this year are recognized for their excellence and invited to uphold the organization’s mission of engaging across disciplines and divides. Also in this year’s class is former Faculty Associate **Alexandra (Sasha) Killewald**, professor of sociology and the Robert F. Schoeni Research Professor at the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan.

Daniel Aldrich Wins Outstanding Teaching Award

Former Graduate Student Associate and Postdoctoral Fellow **Daniel Aldrich**, professor of political science

at Northeastern University, is one of four recipients of the 2023–2024 Outstanding Teaching Awards at Northeastern University’s College of Social Sciences and Humanities. The award praises Aldrich, an instructor at Northeastern for the past seven years, for consistently demonstrating a passion and enthusiasm for teaching and a willingness to go the extra mile in and out of the classroom.

Lawrence D. Bobo Assumes American Institutes for Research Board Leadership Position

Faculty Associate **Lawrence D. Bobo**, dean of the Division of Social Science and W. E. B. Du Bois Professor of the Social Sciences at Harvard University, is the new chair of the American Institutes for Research (AIR) Board of Directors. The organization is one of the world’s oldest and largest behavioral and social science institutions, where Bobo has been a member since 1997. He most recently served as vice chair, and is now the first African American to chair the board.

Kim Lane Scheppele Wins Guggenheim Fellowships

Advisory Committee Member **Kim Lane Scheppele**, Laurance S. Rockefeller Professor of Sociology and International Affairs at Princeton University, received a 2024 Guggenheim Fellowship and joins a class of 188 Fellows in fifty-two fields. The John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation offers fellowships to “exceptional individuals in pursuit of scholarship in any field of knowledge and creation in any art form, under the freest possible conditions.”

Christina Davis Recognized for Two Awards

Faculty Associate **Christina Davis**, Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics at Harvard University, received the Foreign Minister’s Commendation in an award ceremony at the Consulate-General of Japan in Boston. Consul General Suzuki presented the award to Davis for her work in promoting Japanese studies in the United States as well as teaching young leaders who will lead Japan’s next generation. Davis also received the Society for Women in International Political Economy (SWIPE) Award for mentoring women in the field of international political economy, from the International Studies Association.



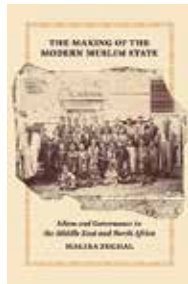
Ya-Wen Lei Wins Axiom Business Book Award

Faculty Associate **Ya-Wen Lei**, professor of sociology at Harvard University, is the bronze winner in the International Business / Globalization section of the Axiom Business Book Awards for her book, *The Gilded Cage: Technology, Development, and State Capitalism in China* (Princeton University Press). The awards are intended to bring recognition to exemplary business books and their authors.

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New Books

Recent Publications by Weatherhead Center Affiliates



The Making of the Modern Muslim State: Islam and Governance in the Middle East and North Africa

Princeton University Press

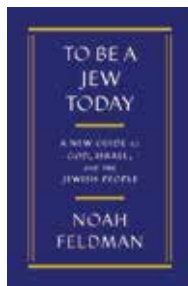
By **Malika Zeghal** / Faculty Associate / Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Professor in Contemporary Islamic Thought and Life, Harvard University



Statelet of Survivors: The Making of a Semi-Autonomous Region in Northeast Syria

Oxford University Press

By **Amy Austin Holmes** / Former Visiting Scholar / Research Professor of International Affairs, George Washington University



To Be a Jew Today: A New Guide to God, Israel, and the Jewish People

Macmillan

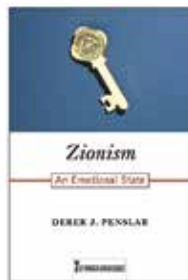
By **Noah Feldman** / Faculty Associate / Felix Frankfurter Professor of Law, Harvard Law School



Asia after Europe: Imagining a Continent in the Long Twentieth Century

Harvard University Press

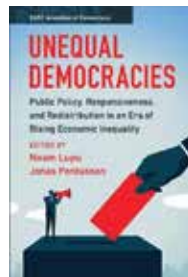
By **Sugata Bose** / Faculty Associate / Gardiner Professor of Oceanic History and Affairs, Harvard University



Zionism: An Emotional State

Rutgers University Press

By **Derek J. Penslar** / Faculty Associate / William Lee Frost Professor of Jewish History, Harvard University



Unequal Democracies: Public Policy, Responsiveness, and Redistribution in an Era of Rising Economic Inequality

Cambridge University Press

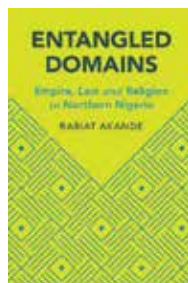
Coedited by **Noam Lupu** / Former Visiting Scholar / Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Vanderbilt University



Exit Wounds: How America's Guns Fuel Violence across the Border

University of California Press

By **Ieva Jusionyte** / Former Faculty Associate / Watson Family University Associate Professor of International Security and Anthropology, Brown University

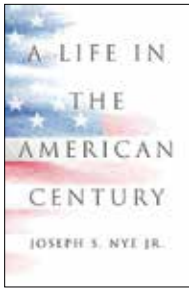


Entangled Domains: Empire, Law and Religion in Northern Nigeria

Cambridge University Press

By **Rabiya Akande** / Former Graduate Student Associate and Academy Scholar / Assistant Professor, Osgoode Hall Law School, York University

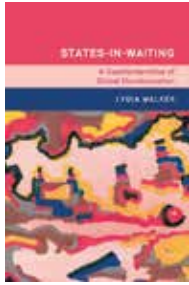
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A Life in the American Century

Wiley

By **Joseph S. Nye Jr.** / Former Center Director / Harvard University Distinguished Service Professor, Emeritus, Harvard Kennedy School



States-in-Waiting: A Counternarrative of Global Decolonization

Cambridge University Press

By **Lydia Walker** / Former Graduate Student Associate / Assistant Professor; Myers Chair in Global Military History, The Ohio State University



January 6 and the Politics of History

University of Georgia Press

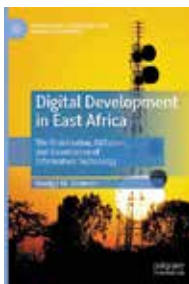
Edited by **Jim Downs** / Former Fellow / Gilder Lehrman-National Endowment for the Humanities Professor of Civil War Era Studies and History, Gettysburg College



The Good Eater: A Vegan's Search for the Future of Food

Bloomsbury Publishing

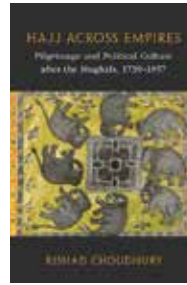
By **Nina Guilbeault** / Former Graduate Student Associate / Lecturer, Haas School of Business, University of California, Berkeley



Digital Development in East Africa: The Distribution, Diffusion, and Governance of Information Technology

Palgrave Macmillan

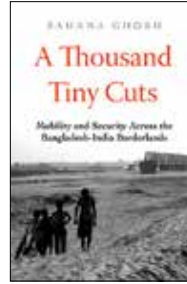
By **Warigia M. Bowman** / Former Graduate Student Associate / Associate Professor of Law, College of Law, University of Tulsa



Hajj across Empires: Pilgrimage and Political Culture after the Mughals, 1739-1857

Cambridge University Press

By **Rishad Choudhury** / Former Academy Scholar / Assistant Professor, Department of History, Oberlin College



A Thousand Tiny Cuts: Mobility and Security across the Bangladesh-India Borderlands

University of California Press

By **Sahana Ghosh** / Former Academy Scholar / Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, National University of Singapore



Gleaning for Communism: The Soviet Socialist Household in Theory and Practice

Cornell University Press

By **Xenia A. Cherkaev** / Former Academy Scholar / Center Associate, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University; Postdoctoral Fellow, Department of Social Anthropology, Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg, Russia

An aerial photograph of a vast solar power station in a desert. The image shows thousands of rows of solar collectors (heliostats) arranged in a grid, reflecting the bright sunlight. The ground is a mix of brown and tan, with some infrastructure visible in the lower left. The sky is a clear, pale blue.

Commodifying the Desert: Colonial Formulas and Ancestral Lands in Morocco's Renewable Energy Sector

by Asmaa Elgama1

Noor Power Station in the Drâa-Tafilalet region of Morocco. *Credit: Adobe Stock*

Page 9: Map showing approximate route of proposed XLinks power cable from Morocco to England, 4 February 2023. *Credit: Wikimedia Commons, Bearas (CC BY-SA 4.0 DEED)*

If you type “Sahara Desert” into a dozen different AI image generators, you will almost invariably get the same result: vast swaths of unperturbed sand, unobstructed views of the horizon, and a yellow tint that recalls the thick, oppressive heat of sun-soaked landscapes.

At first blush, this seems accurate. In fact, the Moroccan Agency for Sustainable Energy (Masen) portrays this imagery in a promotional video, where vast, empty landscapes are set against the backdrop of a string of suspenseful melodies. As the tempo picks up, a male voice narrates the journey of Morocco’s transition to renewable energy sources. Before Masen’s intervention, “these arid plains were completely untouched by human activity,” he says, his BBC English accent lending additional authority to the words.

However, upon closer examination, the alleged emptiness of the desert is a mirage. An estimated 2.5 million people live in the Sahara, among them Indigenous groups such as the Amazigh, Tuareg, and Sahrawis. The desert habitat is harsh, and though many still live there, the population has dwindled over the years.

There is nostalgic yearning expressed in the words of Sahrawi poet Badi, whose paean to the simple pleasures of Bedouin life tells a story of an intimate connection to the desert. The title of the poem, “Tishuash,” or “the pleasure of remembering things that are past,” conveys a sense of loss toward the lives once sustained by the arid climate of the Sahara:¹

*All that has been has gone,
(how great the living and everlasting God!)
but how beautiful this scene is!
I see it sometimes –
no particular place –
just there with the goats,
like those nights I spent
at the mouth of a well,
making the wet sand my bed.
Enchanted by night’s music:
the howl of wild dogs
and insects’ whine.*

These two images of North Africa’s arid landscape—the barren, idle, and unproductive lands in the video, memories of vibrant human and nonhuman forms of life in the poem—are difficult to reconcile. In the context of Morocco’s push to expand its renewable energy sector,

the latter is often overlooked. But indelibly intertwined in the Kingdom of Morocco’s renewable energy story is another story: one imbued with the legacies of colonial exploitation. This story is of a desert that is neither idle nor unproductive, but one that bears witness to a long history of land rights that are coming to the forefront as the acquisition of land for renewables accelerates.

A Climate Trailblazer

Morocco has made great strides in the renewable energy sector, and Masen is a key player in this effort, supporting the Kingdom’s ambition to produce 52 percent of the country’s energy from renewable sources by 2030. The agency is investing in a vast array of solar, wind, and hydro energy projects, chief among which is the Noor solar power plant in the southeastern region of Ouarzazate.

Noor is not only one of Morocco’s biggest renewable energy projects, but the world’s largest concentrated solar power plant. The first stage of the project was completed in 2016, with subsequent phases launched in 2018 and 2019. Built on approximately 3,000 hectares of land—an area nearly nine times the size of New York City’s Central Park—the entire complex is designed to provide 580 megawatts of energy.

These investments have carved a place for Morocco as a trailblazer in the field of renewable energy in North Africa. The climate and topography of the region, particularly the abundance of year-round sunshine, make it a prime location for investments in solar and wind farms.

Within this context, Morocco is slated to become one of the largest exporters of energy to Europe. As the continent seeks to reduce its reliance on Russian gas, investors are pumping funds into the construction of

submarine cables that would transport energy from North African deserts to European electricity grids. The largest among these is the proposed \$25 billion Xlinks Morocco-UK Power Project, which would transport—through 3,800 kilometers of submarine cables—energy from the southern region of Guelmim Oued Noun in Morocco to the English town of Alverdiscott in North Devon.



Desert Experiments

Central to these projects is the imagery, captured in the Masen promotional video, of arid landscapes as vacant, uninhabited, and underused. In a recent *Washington Post* article, Michael Birnbaum writes that “industry experts say there is little practical barrier to significantly expanding solar projects in Morocco, since there are wide expanses of land that aren’t being used by farmers and don’t have significant economic value.”

Such narratives reinforce what Amazigh Indigenous scholar Brahim El Guabli calls “Saharanism,” or “a pervasive ideology that universalizes deserts, anchoring them in the popular imagination as empty, exploitable, and interchangeable spaces.” In doing so, he adds, Saharanism transforms deserts into a *res nullius* (“property of no one”), readily available for exploitation and experimentation by states, militaries, venture capitalists, and other actors.

Narratives about the purported desertedness of deserts have their roots in colonial discourse, which justified the occupation, appropriation, and exploitation of arid zones. For instance, in her edited volume, *Deserts Are Not Empty*, historian Samia Henni details how the French colonial army tested the country’s first atomic bombs between 1960 and 1966 in the Algerian Sahara. At the time, General Charles Ailleret, head of the French nuclear program, described the Sahara as “a land of thirst and fear, from which all life was reputedly absent.”²

Yet these spaces, as the title of Henni’s book suggests, are far from empty. Indeed, one need look no farther than the rich history of desert poetry across North Africa to be reminded of the peoples and communities that call these lands home.

But if deserts are not empty and their landscapes are not a *res nullius*, to whom do they belong and how, in the context of Morocco, are they being harnessed in the interest of renewable energy?

Commodifying the Commons

Morocco is home to approximately fifteen million hectares of collective lands, an area slightly larger than the country of Greece. These territories, the majority of which are pasture lands, belong to various Indigenous tribes and tribal confederations. They are placed under the management of Majlis al-Wisayah, or the “Tutelary Council,” an administrative body under the leadership of the Moroccan Ministry of Interior. In consultation with tribal representatives, the council makes decisions on leases, sales, and other issues on behalf of an estimated ten million individual rights holders who descend from these tribes.

The land acquired for the new Noor solar power complex used to be held under collective title by the Indigenous tribal confederation of Ait Oukrou. Before construction began, this land was transferred from Ait Oukrou to the ownership of Masen in a deal brokered by the Moroccan Ministry of Interior in 2010 for the low price of one dirham (around ten US cents) per square meter.

As a consequence of this deal, eight thousand villagers lost access to their collective pasture lands. Meanwhile, money from the sale was deposited in an account in the name of Ait Oukrou, to be managed by the Ministry of Interior in the interest of development initiatives in the region. In spite of the anticipated environmental benefits of the project, land rights activists, local residents, and other observers have criticized the deal for its lack of political transparency and the low terms of compensation, dubbed a “symbolic dirham.”³

Importantly, the sale of the Ait Oukrou lands was governed and facilitated by a colonial-era law, the Dahir of 1919, which placed Morocco’s collective lands under the tutelage of the state. The Dahir of 1919, which remained (with minor amendments) in effect until as late as 2019—that is, one hundred years after its creation





and sixty-three years after Moroccan independence—has enabled both the preservation of lands under collective title as well as their transformation into private property.

Colonial Anxieties

To understand this paradox, one must return to the dilemmas of colonial rule in the early twentieth century—well before Morocco gained independence in 1956. With the declaration in Morocco of a French protectorate in 1912, colonial policymakers were faced with a number of political predicaments. As a case of late European imperialism, the conquest of Morocco yielded both benefits and drawbacks of hindsight.

The French colonization of neighboring Algeria in 1830—a particularly brutal conquest marred by blood, resistance, and mass dispossession—served as a cautionary tale for French officials in Morocco on the pitfalls of misguided policy. In addition, they had to contend with a waning appetite in the metropole for new overseas colonies, further complicated in 1914 by the onset of the First World War. As France sent its troops to the war front in Europe, fewer resources were available to pursue the ongoing conquest of its Moroccan

territories. In the meantime, French officials also wanted to move forward with their capitalist vision for Morocco's development, which included plans for colonization and large-scale agricultural production.

In other words, colonial policymakers had to find the means through which to acquire and exploit Morocco's land resources without precipitating an Algerian-style wave of mass dispossession, which according to the lessons of history, would only intensify resistance to the French colonial project—a scenario they could ill-afford in the context of depleted resources and an ongoing conquest. Moreover, in contrast to some of their predecessors in Algeria, French officials in Morocco believed in a hearts-and-minds approach that favored what they called a policy of “association” over one of forced assimilation.

A Legal Formula

The product of these considerations was the Dahir of 1919. Though theoretically, the collective ancestral lands of Moroccan Indigenous communities had been declared inalienable—that is, nontransferable—the legislation installed provisions which, by admission of French jurist Louis Milliot, effectively “destroyed the very principle of inalienability so soon after having proposed it.”⁴ According to the legislation, Indigenous tribes were to be treated as minors in need of protection against their own “improvidence.” This translated into the creation of the Tutelary Council,⁵ which in fulfilling “the duties of a diligent tutor and a good father,”⁶ made decisions about land leases, including short-term, medium-term, and eventually, “perpetual” leases, the latter more or less constituting a full transfer of land rights.

The logic behind this legislation was, in the words of Colonel Huot, a senior colonial administrator, that one cannot “Frenchify the property before one Frenchifies the man.”⁷ A mass confiscation of land or a rapid transition into individual private property would risk creating a disgruntled Muslim proletariat susceptible to thoughts of armed resistance.

Nevertheless, Huot insisted, there was no question of “freezing tribal lands in an archaic formula and getting in the way of the natural current that tends towards the individualization of land.” Once the Tutelary Council

Page 10: Shepherd and Toubkal Mountain, Morocco. Credit: Flickr, doevos (CC BY-NC 2.0 DEED)

This page: L'Abdication de Moulay-Hafid. *Le Petit Journal*. Supplément du Dimanche, Numéro 1136, 1912-08-25. Source: gallica.bnf.fr, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, public domain

deemed native populations “sufficiently evolved” and in possession of the necessary “proprietary education,” it could authorize the individual ownership of collective lands.⁸

What’s in a Legacy?

The Dahir of 1919 was not just a solution to a political dilemma or a tool for the appropriation of ancestral lands—it was also a state-building strategy calculated to maintain a healthy reserve of land resources for future exploitation. In some ways, it was designed to serve the very purpose for which it remained in use nearly a century after its creation.

The story of this legislation suggests that the legacies of colonial governance exist not only in the legal structures and political institutions it leaves behind, but also in the very logic of governance cultivated by those institutions. Though Colonel Huot had anticipated the necessary “propriety education” of the native Moroccan population would require approximately ten years, the Dahir of 1919 proved more durable than his estimates. Its replacement in 2019 by a new legislation that maintains the Tutelary Council but allows the individualization of collective lands at an accelerated speed suggests that the original aims of its architects—to move toward a model of individual property ownership—are coming to fruition.

As the Kingdom continues to invest in its renewable energy infrastructure, collective lands and the colonial calculations that govern them will undoubtedly remain part of Morocco’s environmental story.

Asmaa Elgamal is the Hicham Alaoui Postdoctoral Fellow in the Weatherhead Scholars Program. She holds a PhD from the Department of Urban Studies and Planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Footnotes

1. Sam Berkson and Mohamed Sulaiman, *Settled Wanderers: Poetry of a Landless People*. (Influx Press: 2014).
2. Quoted in Samia Henni (ed.), *Deserts Are Not Empty*. (Columbia University Press: 2022).
3. See Atman Aoui, Moulay Amhed El Amrani, and Karen Rignall, “Global Aspirations and Local Realities of Solar Energy in Morocco.” *MERIP Middle East Report 296* (2020); Zakia Salime, “Life in the Vicinity of Morocco’s Noor Solar Energy Project.” *MERIP Middle East Report 298* (2021).
4. Louis Milliot, *Les Terres Collectives : Étude de Législation Marocaine*. (Paris : Ernest Leroux, 1922), 62.
5. During the colonial era, the Council was headed by the Director of Indigenous Affairs, later transformed into the Ministry of Interior. Though the Council also included Moroccan notables and other colonial administrators, the Director had the authority to act unilaterally.
6. Quoted in Rivet, *Lyautey et l’Institution Du Protectorat Français Au Maroc 1912-1925* (Vol. 2). (Paris : L’Harmattan, 1996), 206.
7. Colonel Huot, “Les terres collectives du Maroc et la colonisation Européenne.” *Renseignements Coloniaux. Supplément de l’Afrique Française : Bulletin mensuel du Comité de l’Afrique Française et du Comité du Maroc*. (August 1923), 285–286.
8. Huot, “Les terres collectives du Maroc et la colonisation Européenne,” 288–289.



Ouarzazate, Morocco.
Credit: Flickr, leiris202
(CC BY-NC 2.0 DEED)

Photos Spring 2024 Events



Above: On April 25, David Morrison, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, speaks at the Canada Program Conference. *Credit: Erin Goodman*



Above: On March 1, ClassACT's Benazir Bhutto Leadership Program, along with the Weatherhead Center and the Salata Institute, host a daylong symposium focused on climate change mitigation strategies in emerging economies. *Credit: ClassACT HR73*

Right: Executive Director Erin Goodman and Faculty Associate (emeritus) Merilee Grindle discuss Grindle's new book at the 2024 International Book Blitz held on April 22. *Credit: Bethany Versoy*



Above: On April 26, attendees of the politics and government group gather at the Climate Pipeline Project Conference, sponsored by the Weatherhead Research Cluster on Climate Change. *Credit: Clare Putnam*



Above: On April 26, affiliates of the Weatherhead Scholars Program and Program on US-Japan Relations enjoy a Red Sox game at Fenway. *Credit: Shinju Fujihira*





Above: Research groups of the Weatherhead Center are featured at the Weatherhead Spotlight and affiliates are given the opportunity to present their work and engage with the community. Left to right: The Weatherhead Scholars Program on February 7, The Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies on January 24, and the Weatherhead Research Cluster on Migration on March 6. *Credit: Lauren McLaughlin and Kristin Caulfield*



Above: On February 15, Juan Luis Manfredi (left) and Javier Lafuente (right) give a talk titled “Desinformación en América Latina. Retos para la democracia liberal.” *Credit: Erin Goodman*

Above: Current and former SCANCOR affiliates gather for their annual alumni conference held on April 18. *Credit: Michelle Nicholasen*



Left: Affiliates and alumni of the Weatherhead Research Cluster on Comparative Inequality and Inclusion gather for a conference held on February 10. *Credit: Maximillian Calleo*

Above: Canada Program Postdoctoral Fellow Judith Brunton and the newest Weatherhead affiliate enjoy a treat at the end-of-year ice cream social held on May 6. *Credit: Kristin Caulfield*



Left: Jeffrey Kopstein, Melani Cammett, Nazita Lajevardi, Sabine von Mering, and Kassra AR Oskooii speak at “Pernicious Prejudice: Scholarly Approaches to Antisemitism & Islamophobia” held on May 1. *Credit: Bethany Versoy*

This page, left to right:
 Yael Berda, Amahl Bishara,
 Derek Penslar / Leila
 Farsakh, Yuval Feinstein,
 Shai Feldman / F. Gregory
 Gause, Adel Hamaizia,
 Peter Krause, Dahlia
 Sheindlin, *Credit: Oren Ziv*
 / Michael Sandel, *Credit:*
Stephanie Mitchell, Harvard
University, Moshe Halbertal,
 Sari Nusseibeh, *Credit:*
 Blaues Sofa, Wikimedia
 Commons / Alon-Lee Green,
 Rula Hardal, Mohammad
 Kundos, Oded Leshem.

Page 17: Melani Cammett,
Credit: Mark Ostow



Series on Israel/Palestine



“Since October 7, passions about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict have run understandably high, making it difficult for people to think through its multifaceted issues in a relatively dispassionate way. By launching this series, we draw on the talents of scholars and practitioners at Harvard and beyond to address a set of core issues related to the conflict: key historical background, possible future scenarios, geopolitical dimensions, and others. We want to provide deep, informed perspectives from a wide variety of vantage points—even ones we may not agree with. It is essential that we at Harvard have difficult conversations to try to understand the roots of this longstanding conflict and its possible trajectories. The Weatherhead Center is an ideal conduit for such conversations, given our focus on complex global issues.” —Melani Cammett

In Part 1: A Primer, panelists **Yael Berda**, **Amahl Bishara**, and **Derek Penslar** offered crucial background on recent history and events leading up to the October 7 attack on Israel and the violence in Gaza. Scholars shared their insights on the forces that have shaped the crisis and how it is experienced on the ground.

In Part 2: Scenarios for Peace, panelists **Leila Farsakh**, **Yuval Feinstein**, and **Shai Feldman** debated the critical questions of sovereignty—such as a two-state solution, citizenship under one state, and a confederation of states under Israel. Scholars discussed theoretical proposals for peaceful coexistence.

In Part 3: Geopolitical Dimensions, panelists **F. Gregory Gause**, **Adel Hamaizia**, **Peter Krause**, and **Dahlia Sheindlin** discussed the volatile and fluctuating state of relations within the Middle East and the broader geopolitical ramifications of this heightened, century-long conflict. Nations have staked their positions based on various and differing grounds, be they humanitarian, security, economic, or strategic.

In Part 4: A Dialogue, **Michael Sandel** moderated a discussion between two prominent philosophers—one Israeli, **Moshe Halbertal**, and one Palestinian, **Sari Nusseibeh**—with the hope that philosophical reflection can contribute to our understanding of the crisis in the Middle East.

“We need these voices and others to be heard here in the US. The dialogue is hardening here and static. The willingness to look at future options is hopeful to convey to many people here who are not considering nuances.”

— Jennifer Leaning

In Part 5: Peace Activism, panelists **Alon-Lee Green**, **Rula Hardal**, **Mohammad Kundos**, and **Oded Leshem** shared their experiences they have had in bringing people together and bridging gaps between Palestinians and Israelis. Undeterred by bans on protests and blowback on social media, peace activists and educators are pursuing distinct visions to construct new realities for people living in crisis.

WWW • Watch the series recordings on the Weatherhead Center YouTube channel: youtube.com/@HarvardWCFIA



On March 14, 2024, Michael Hiscox presented "The Case for Behavioural Science in Climate Action" at the fourth CBA-UTS Behavioural Experimentation Hackathon in Sydney, Australia. *Credit: Andreas Ludwig*

STAR Lab

In Conversation with Michael Hiscox / by Michelle Nicholassen

With a mission to help businesses create positive social impacts, STAR Lab succeeds in helping both individuals and the environment.

Twenty years ago, Michael Hiscox was a budding trade economist working in private sector governance. His research was aimed at understanding consumer behavior regarding Fairtrade certified goods. He and his colleagues conducted field experiments, including driving around New England visiting Whole Foods stores, to assess the impact of labeling Fairtrade certified coffee on sales. Their findings revealed that the label really did matter—and indicated consumer preferences for socially responsible products.

This research was an important finding for the fair trade movement, and it set the stage for Hiscox's work today. He is the director of the Sustainability Transparency Accountability Research (STAR) Lab, the newest research project at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. *Centerpiece* sat down with Hiscox to ask him questions about the work STAR Lab is doing. This interview has been edited for clarity and length.

CENTERPIECE: What is STAR Lab?

MICHAEL HISCOX: STAR Lab is a group of scholars at Harvard—behavioral scientists in business, economics, or government—who collaborate with companies that are implementing sustainability and corporate responsibility initiatives. We work with companies on how to incorporate behavioral science into these initiatives to determine what works effectively to address social or environmental problems.

There are two big elements to what we do in terms of the research. One is that we almost exclusively focus on behavioral economics and its value and how, with a richer model of human decision-making, we might be able to help people make better decisions for themselves. And the other part is the rigorous evaluation—primarily through randomized controlled trials. We conduct field experiments with companies who are launching new initiatives, whether they be products or services aimed at helping customers reduce their climate impact or improve their employees' well-being. So a lot of the projects that we're focusing on now are climate action projects in one form or another.

CENTERPIECE: Do you include scholars at all levels of their careers, from undergrad on up?

HISCOX: We have opportunities for scholars at various career stages. We have an undergraduate research group, composed of undergrads who typically have taken my classes. They have become engaged as research assistants and are working on projects that are aligned with the STAR Lab mission. We also have our first predoctoral fellowship that's gone to a PhD student here in the Department of Government, Aleksandra Conevska.

And we have two postdoctoral fellows, Nurit Nobel and Saika Belal, who are working full-time on the STAR Lab projects now.

CENTERPIECE: Can you give an example of a STAR Lab project that has been successful?

HISCOX: Sure, I can discuss a project with the Commonwealth Bank in Australia. We thought their low-income customers could improve their financial well-being if they had access to government benefits for which they're eligible. This is a very common problem across advanced economies—there are welfare programs designed to help people in need, but eligible people don't take them up as expected.

We designed a trial with the bank where they sent out different messages in their smartphone app to customers that might be eligible for an electricity rebate. When customers clicked on that message, they were taken to a simplified landing page with "click to call" buttons for their electricity provider to immediately have the rebate credited to their account.

Of course, if you went through the normal government process, you'd have to go to a government website, read through several pages of text to discover that you had to then contact your electricity provider, then you would have to look up the phone number for your electricity provider and make the call.

So what we did was simplify that whole process.

We also created an online platform for the bank called Benefits Finder which enabled customers to enter a few extra pieces of information that the bank didn't have about them. The platform would generate a list of the major government benefits in Australia for which they were likely eligible, then direct them to a simplified web page which explained the process for applying for that benefit.

We estimate now that over two million claims have gone through that website and over two billion dollars in government benefits have been distributed. We think that's done quite a lot to help the bank's low-income customers. And now they've opened that platform up to individuals who are not even customers at the bank.

CENTERPIECE: That's great. And these benefits—they're not connected to sustainability, right? These are just available benefits?

HISCOX: Part of our mission here was to improve financial well-being for low-income customers. The bank had a social purpose, which was to improve Australia's financial well-being. And so this was a good fit for us. And that was the work that we focused on up until about a year ago, when the bank turned its focus to climate work and climate action.

Right now, the largest project that we have in development is improving customer access to their low-interest-rate loan that would finance customers putting rooftop solar on their houses and installing heat pumps to improve energy efficiency and lower their electrical costs.

This is a great area for behavioral work because it's a very difficult set of decisions that have to be made by a homeowner about what's best to do for their home. There are many options for different systems, batteries, heat pumps, and other renovations—plus how you can finance those changes and what government rebates are available. A lot of homeowners get stalled at that early stage, thinking they should make their homes more energy-efficient, where it seems very complicated and difficult. And so they put off making any kind of big renovation.



Credit: Adobe Stock

“ To get roughly 80 percent of home electricity use in Australia to be carbon-neutral, we don’t need new technology, we don’t need a tax, we don’t need new ideas. We just need to help people get the rooftop solar system on their roof. ”

– Michael Hiscox

CENTERPIECE: And I don’t suppose you’re going to simplify that in one app.

HISCOX: Right. That is our big challenge at the moment—how to provide a decision helper for people to help access the credit. And it’s not just the access to financing that stops people, it’s the complicated nature of this decision that seems overwhelming.

What we’re trying to do is to simplify at least the first step, which is to pick a rooftop solar system that they could pay for with this low-interest loan. Then we may set up a renovation helper platform just like Benefits Finder where people can say, well, I’ve done rooftop solar, what about heat pumps and what about better insulation and better windows?

And ultimately with home renovation, it’s going to also cover climate risk, which is relevant for us all—how vulnerable are we to extreme weather events? And what windows do we have, and what kind of roof do we have, and everything else. We have a stream of work here which is valuable not just for homeowners, but for small and medium enterprises who have to make the same kinds of decisions about the energy efficiency of their small business.

CENTERPIECE: If you can make that one-stop shopping, it would be a huge help.

HISCOX: It’s my favorite project to talk about. To get roughly 80 percent of home electricity use in Australia to be carbon-neutral, we don’t need new technology, we don’t need a tax, we don’t need new ideas. We just need to help people get the rooftop solar system on their roof.

CENTERPIECE: You recently attended a behavioral science hackathon. Can you tell us about that?

HISCOX: We took eight Harvard students—two teams of four—to Sydney, Australia for this hackathon, and it was organized and hosted by the Commonwealth Bank of Australia. Teams of students from Harvard and other universities competed to develop innovative solutions to promote sustainable behaviors, such as adopting solar energy and reducing carbon emissions. The ideas generated ranged from gamified apps to personalized energy-saving recommendations. For instance, one team proposed a virtual reality platform that simulates the benefits of renewable energy adoption, while another suggested a social networking app to encourage peer-to-peer sharing of sustainable practices. These ideas showcase the potential of behavioral science in driving positive environmental outcomes through technology and social engagement.

And our two Harvard teams won the competition! They were given \$5,000 in funding for their projects. And I think they’re invited back to present the next stage of their research in September. So we might take them all back to Sydney then. They’re all in my behavioral class, “Nudging for Good,” which has 707 students at the moment—the most it’s ever had. The two teams got a round of applause in class when they got back from winning the competition.

CENTERPIECE: That’s exciting. Where do you see STAR Lab going in the future?

HISCOX: Well, I do have dreams for it to expand and have a bit more of a permanent staff and a larger group of postdoctoral fellows who are working full-time with the partners. At the moment, we really can’t keep up with the demand. Qantas Airways wants us to work on a range of things as well as Bank of Ireland. We’re talking with a few other companies, but at the moment, our problem is really capacity. If we had more people, we could do so much more. So ultimately, I hope to have a little center that has a larger group of permanent researchers as well as our faculty and student affiliates who work on the projects with us.

WWW • Learn more about STAR Lab by visiting starlab.wcfia.harvard.edu

EN AND PUBLIC POLICY PROGRAM SPRING 2024

Supporting Caregiving for a Thriving Economy: Lessons with MP Karina Gould



The *Karina Gould*
Lead
Car



Research Groups

Canada Program By Sierra Lloyd ('25)

On March 26, 2024, the Canada Program hosted a special event with the Honorable Karina Gould, Leader of the Government in the House of Commons in the Canadian Cabinet. The well-attended event, held at Harvard Kennedy School and in collaboration with the Harvard Business School, was titled “Supporting Caregiving for a Thriving Economy” and addressed Canada’s recent Early Learning and Childcare Initiative, a national program subsidizing accessible and universal childcare for children aged one to six.

Before this childcare program, daycare in Canada consisted of a mix of public, nonprofit, and private strategies. Costs were exorbitant, and in some cases, parents would have to pay as much for childcare as they would earn going back to full-time work. This meant parents who wanted to rejoin the workforce couldn’t do so. Journalist Rachel Pulfer described Gould’s childcare initiative as a “game changer” for many women such as herself.

While universal subsidized childcare is new nationwide in Canada, it is long established in Quebec, a province which began their program in 1998 for a parental fee of \$5 a day. Following its implementation, Quebec experienced a significant increase in women’s workforce participation, raising income tax revenue to more than cover the costs of the childcare program. But having lowered daycare rates too quickly, demand quickly exceeded supply. In designing the nationwide policy, Gould and other ministers learned from Quebec’s mistakes and didn’t lower fees so dramatically at the outset. The finalized initiative lowers fees across the country to an average of \$10 a day by 2026, and lowered fees 50 percent in the first year.

In 2015, candidates for the New Democratic Party ran on a platform for \$15-a-day childcare without receiving much interest from voters. By 2021, following the COVID-19 pandemic, affordable childcare was much more of a priority for the public at large, including for grandparents to whom the burden of care often fell as parents worked from home.

The Early Learning and Childcare Initiative is designed to make the parents of young children more economically productive and increase the number of dual-income households across all provinces. This will contribute to Canada’s overall economy and is projected to increase government revenue by a 50–80 percent rate of return.

Because Canada is a federal country, in which most social programs are delivered at the provincial level, getting all provinces on board has been the challenge. Canada’s diverse population also presents challenges to ensure that remote communities, Indigenous nations, and programs for disabled children benefit as well. British Columbia, one of Canada’s big four provinces, was the first to implement the new initiative, followed by Nova Scotia. This pressured others to join. Differences across provinces—in daycare worker wages, daily cost, and other factors—is helped by each province having access to similar resources for their population’s childcare program. For example, all except Ontario and Alberta raised the minimum hourly wage for daycare workers. Manitoba instituted a sliding scale daily rate for childcare based on family income, but people need to apply to be eligible. In Gould’s experience, the best model has daycare centers add up their costs, subtract income from the \$10/day charge to parents, and look to the government to cover the funds that come up short.

Today, Canada boasts the highest female workforce participation rate in its history. Increasing the number of people who can afford childcare means increasing the demand for childcare in the economy—which in a standard economic model would mean increasing prices. It would be interesting to see economic models on whether the increase in income tax revenue will continue to account for increasing costs associated with the childcare program. Perhaps this initiative could also increase the number of children women in Canada decide to have, in a demographic transition point of relatively low fertility rates. The fact that Canada’s federal government could use Quebec as a smaller-scale model of how universal childcare could work as a public policy was fortunate, for both the policy’s efficiency and insight into its ultimate impact.

Sierra Lloyd ('25) is an undergraduate student at Harvard College. Lloyd is a student of Antonia Maioni, 2023–2024 William Lyon Mackenzie King Visiting Professor of Canadian Studies in the Canada Program.

Page 22, left to right: Karina Gould, Antonia Maioni, and Rachel Pulfer. Used with permission by Antonia Maioni

WWW • Learn more about the Canada Program by visiting the website canada.wcfia.harvard.edu

Student Programs

New Undergraduate Associates / The following students have been appointed Undergraduate Associates for the upcoming 2024–2025 academic year. They have received funding from the Weatherhead Center as well as from our Hartley Rogers Family Fund to support summer 2024 research and travel in connection with their senior thesis projects.

João Victor Bezerra de Arruda / *Government; Art, Film, and Visual Studies / Brazil /* corruption levels, polarization, and voting behavior

Christina Nehemie Chaperon / *Sociology / Jamaica /* impact of colonization on gender and female-based anticolonial resistance movements

Adreanna Elizabeth Dillen / *Social Studies / Trinidad and Tobago /* colonial history legacy on how economy adapts to climate change

Nadia Raquel Douglas / *Government / Switzerland /* impact of ethnic / racial identity in two-state violent conflicts and resolutions

Samir Duggasani / *Government; Computer Science / India /* parallels between suppression of Black Americans under Jim Crow and that of religious minorities in India

Anna Farronay / *History; Romance Languages and Literatures / Argentina /* aesthetics and national identity formation

Alice Ruby Ferguson / *History; Government; History of Art and Architecture / England, France, and Washington DC /* intelligence diplomacy between allied nations

Sebastian Ramirez Feune / *Government / Puerto Rico and Guam /* English and local languages, American territorial policies, and resident sentiments

Peter Nicholas Darlow Jones / *Government; Spanish /* Hungary, Georgia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina / anti-NGO foreign agent laws on civic space

Jovan Lim / *Social Studies; Economics /* Thailand and South Korea / economic histories of Shin Ramyun in South Korea and MAMA Noodles in Thailand

Rayha Kelly McPherson / *Psychology; African and African American Studies /* Rwanda / movement-based intervention for adolescents with transgenerational trauma

Aqil Arif Merchant / *Anthropology; Global Health and Health Policy /* Greece / EU migration-deterrence measures on asylum seekers

Saya Horikawa Mitchell / *Social Studies /* Japan / state building in Manchukuo

Laila Abdulaleam Nasher / *History; Anthropology /* Oman and England / South Yemeni separatism and

independence

Ryan Hieu Doan-Nguyen / *History and Literature; Government /* England / UK's overlooked involvement in the Vietnam War

Allaura Marie Osborne / *Anthropology; History /* South Dakota / Pine Ridge Reservation tribal members' experiences with Indian boarding schools and family services

Charlotte Pearl Ritz-Jack / *Social Studies /* South Africa / use of restorative justice in postapartheid Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Daniella Owusu Saforo / *Government; Educational Studies /* Ghana and Sierra Leone / education policy reforms in resource-constrained countries

Maryam Suraya Karim Tourk / *Social Studies /* England and India / effects of Indian legislation and surveillance on law in Kashmir

Jamaal Nathan Andre Willis / *Government; African and African American Studies /* Jamaica / impact of British antihomosexual legal codes



The Graduate Student Associates (GSA) program is one of the Center's oldest and most valued programs. Directed by Erez Manela, professor of history and Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate, the program welcomes applicants from any of Harvard's graduate and professional schools. Thank you to this year's GSAs for all your hard work and dedication!

2023-2024 Graduate Student Associates and staff. *Credit: Michelle Nicholasen*

2024 Undergraduate Thesis Conference / On February 1-2, the Center's undergraduate students presented their thesis research findings in a series of two-hour panels.



Above left: Undergraduate students Garrett O'Brien, Jolly Rop, and Amen Hasset Gashaw presented at a panel titled "Politics and Development in the Global South." Above right: Undergraduate students Hamaad Waqar Mehal, Henry N. Haimo, and Justin Hu presented at a panel titled "Colonialism, Independence, and Nationalism." Silvia Escanilla Huerta (right) chaired the panel. *Credit: Lauren McLaughlin and Michelle Nicholasen*

2024 Thomas Temple Hoopes Prize Winners / The Weatherhead Center congratulates the following undergraduate students who were awarded 2024 Thomas Temple Hoopes Prizes on the basis of their outstanding scholarly work.

Amen Gashaw / For God or Greater Good: Organizational Religiosity as an Enhancer of Coalitional Capacity and Efficacy in Development Service Delivery

Henry Haimo / Rewriting History: Education, Publishing, and Media in Ghana, 1945-1966

Justin Hu / Studying with Césaire: Caribbean Counter-Pedagogies of the Lycée Victor Schœlcher during the Third Republic, 1870-1945

Logan Kelly / Immoral Medicine: A Comparative Study of Religious Influence on Drug Policy in Portugal and Spain

Eleanor Wikstrom / Making Subjects of Subjects: The Transnational Project of US Education, English, and Epistemic Colonialism in the Philippines

Global Sports Initiative

The Global Sports Initiative (GSI), a project within the Weatherhead Research Cluster on Global History, seeks to build stronger connections between the worlds of academics and sports. Focusing on sports allows the GSI to contribute to a range of debates—such as immigration, class, and capitalism—to better understand how these subjects relate to issues such as national and other forms of identity, gender relations, race, political economy, and the desire for greater social welfare.

This winter, the GSI sponsored a three-day conference with the Nottingham Forest Football Club titled “Fighting Racism and Creating Gender Equity in European Football” in Nottingham, England. The conference featured former World Cup winners Thierry Henry, Lilian Thuram, Christian Karembeu, and ex-New Zealand player Rebecca (Bex) Smith amongst other current and former football players, putting players in conversation with academics and other people working in the industry.

Scholars presented on a variety of topics, including the current state of racism in European football, as well as how US athletes such as Muhammad Ali and Colin Kaepernick have used their platforms to bring attention to certain issues. Over twenty-four current and former players attended these sessions and later signed a declaration to encourage more players to use their platforms. The second day of the conference featured research on the treatment of players in women’s soccer, a discussion on the importance of cross-sectional analysis, a talk on issues related to migration, and a presentation on the law and football.

The conference complements the research spearheaded by the three 2023–2024 GSI fellows on the relationship between sports and society: Heidi Beha, Fernando Martín Loarte, and Carlos Ocaña Orbis.

Heidi Beha, team lead of Development Programs at FIFA, is working with Mathias Risse, director of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at Harvard Kennedy School. Beha’s research focuses on the relationship between large sports organizations and human rights. In the run-up to the 2026 World Cup, FIFA has emphasized gaining a better understanding of what constitutes human rights within sports and on promoting a more robust implementation of human rights policies. To help FIFA think through different possible strategies, Beha’s study looks to determine what might be possible and what types of precedents exist. Her research has raised questions about FIFA’s global governance and about how much the organization can affect policy that strays from its core mission and activities.

Fernando Martín Loarte and Carlos Ocaña Orbis, both from Real Madrid, are working with Stephen Ortega, chair of the Global Sports Initiative, and with Isabel Jijon from the Department of Sociology at Harvard University. Their research focuses on soccer/football fandom of the future. With over 500 million fans, Real Madrid has one of the largest supporter bases in the world, but the organization anticipates that younger people will represent a different type of fan than their older counterparts. After doing a thorough literature review of the available sociological, psychological, historical, and cultural materials, they will create focus groups and then conduct a survey to better understand how the typologies of fandom need to change in lieu of new data and changing circumstances.



Current and former players stand in solidarity against racism at the Nottingham Conference on January 31, 2024. Credit: Ritchie Sumpter

WWW • For more information, including how to apply, see our website at globalsports.wcfia.harvard.edu

New Faculty Associates



ELIANA LA FERRARA

Professor of Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School.

What inspired you to pursue your field of study?

I have always been motivated by the desire to fight inequities in society and work towards improving the conditions of disadvantaged groups. The study of development economics seemed a natural setting in which to channel my efforts. Having trained in the study of the classics in high school, and having then focused on quantitative methods during college, I decided to undertake a line of research that would investigate the interplay between economic incentives and social constraints to development.

Tell us about a current research project you are working on.

I have a number of ongoing projects that aim to understand the roots of harmful gender norms in low income countries, and test the effectiveness of alternative policies to eradicate such norms. In one of these projects, my coauthors and I propose a model to study when an intermediate action can serve as a “stepping stone” that facilitates the elimination of a harmful norm. While the intermediate action may facilitate the first “step,” and eventually gradually help communities to transition away from the harmful norm, it may also become an “absorbing state,” i.e., a new norm in which the community gets stuck. In this project, we derive analytical conditions for stepping stones, which depend on the relative size of social penalties and intrinsic utility benefits, and we then propose an empirical test applied to originally collected data on female genital cutting in Somalia.

Where are you from, and what do you like to do outside of work?

I am Italian. Outside of work I like to listen to music, read, and spend time with friends and family.



GABRIELLE OLIVEIRA

Jorge Paulo Lemann Associate Professor of Education and of Brazil Studies, Harvard Graduate School of Education.

What inspired you to pursue your field of study?

During my undergraduate studies and right after I graduated, I worked in communities surrounding the city of São Paulo in Brazil with microfinance. I became particularly interested in the gender dynamics of women who became breadwinners through the small loans and how the shifts in the household impacted their ability to pay back the money they received. I quickly observed that many women were migrants from the northeast in Brazil and I started to ask questions about mobility, migration, gender dynamics, and education. As I pursued my master’s and PhD, I focused more on how and when women migrate and the consequences for children on both sides of the border. I read a book by a sociologist named Pierrette Hondagneu Sotelo called *Doméstica: Immigrant Workers Cleaning and Caring in the Shadows of Affluence* that really informed my interest in focusing on migrant families as well as children. The focus on education became more relevant when I started to focus on what children do once they migrate: they spend most of their days in schools and classrooms.

Tell us about a current research project you are working on.

I am currently working on a project in the north of Brazil, the state of Roraima, where I am focusing on how Venezuelan migrant children and Brazilian children co-construct knowledge, belonging, and literacy practices in elementary classrooms in public schools. Since 2017, Brazil has been receiving more and more migrants from Venezuela including Indigenous Warao. We hope that with this research, teachers’ curriculum and education policy can support the learning of all students in a multicultural classroom.

Where are you from, and what do you like to do outside of work?

I am from São Paulo, Brazil, and outside work I love baking sourdough goods (tortillas, bread, muffins, rolls, bagels) from scratch. Growing my own sourdough starter and baking with kids have been really therapeutic!

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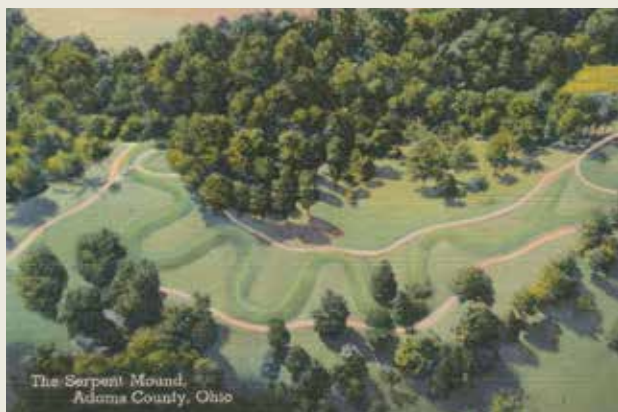
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The Serpent Mound of the Ohio Valley / Members Only: How States Favor Friends and Exclude Rivals

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