This summer the Buffett Center’s Global Engagement Summer Institute (GESI) will send about sixty undergraduate students to co-design and implement international community development projects with twelve non-governmental organizations (NGO) in Argentina, India, and Uganda. Through this program and others at its Center for Global Engagement (CGE), the Buffett Center seeks to develop a generation of students committed to social justice by providing training for young social entrepreneurs from Northwestern and around the world.

GESI is a two-course summer study abroad program focused on community development in a global context. Students will learn about international development, global engagement practices, project management, leadership, and the realities of contemporary Argentinean, Indian, or Ugandan life by connecting...
GlobeMed: Strengthening a Student Movement for Global Health Equity

by Victor Roy, Executive Director, GlobeMed

The past two years, due in part to the support of the Roberta Buffett Center for International and Comparative Studies, have been an exciting time for GlobeMed in our mission to strengthen a movement of students working with communities around the world to promote global health equity. Started at Northwestern, GlobeMed has now expanded to universities across the United States. Our progress seemed improbable only a short time ago.

As an undergraduate student entering Northwestern in 2004, my peers and I began to see a burgeoning interest in global health on our campus. At conferences I attended in other parts of the country, I saw a similar passion among students who believed that the gross health inequities they observed in our world were unacceptable. To us, mere observation—without action—seemed almost as unacceptable.

But what was a student to do? A relatively new global health minor at Northwestern seemed like a good place to start to learn more about these challenges. Yet, the classroom, while very important, seemed to be only a part of the puzzle. Additionally, many of the volunteer opportunities I found lacked a responsible or effective design by which volunteers could both learn and make a positive impact.

By developing GlobeMed, a group of my peers and I felt we could provide a better answer for what passionate students could do for global health. We have worked for much of our undergraduate years—and even after graduation—to develop a national model through which students can serve as leaders for global health equity both today and in the long-term future.

Origins and Lessons
GlobeMed’s roots stretch back to 1999, when students at Northwestern created a group called Medical Supplies Mission, which collected medical supplies from the Chicagoland area to send to
Faculty Affiliate Research » Factional Politics and Financial Policies in China

by Victor C. Shih, Department of Political Science

Faculty Affiliates present recent research from books, articles, and project proposals.

China encapsulates a paradox that much of the existing political economy literature has a hard time reconciling. On the one hand, China has enjoyed three decades of relatively stable inflation rates, which contrasts sharply with much of the developing and post-communist world. Much of Latin America and post-Soviet Eastern Europe experienced inflation rates in the 1000s of percent. In China, the highest inflation experienced through decades of economic transition was 35%.

At the same time, China, despite its spectacular growth rate, did not experience a “miracle,” as some have argued. The problem that China faced and continues to face is enormously inefficient distribution of capital, which led to an accumulation of non-performing loans in the banking sector equivalent to 50-70% of the economy in the late 1990s. These two outcomes, high inflation and an insolvent banking sector, suggest distinct types of policy-making processes. While relatively low inflation suggests technocratic control of money supply, chronic inefficiency points to political meddling in the financial system. Yet, in China, we see both logics playing out.

The key to unlocking this contradiction was the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which controlled all the government agencies and financial institutions in China. As a Leninist ruling party, the CCP appointed senior officials in both the economic bureaucracy and in financial institutions, which are to this day still mainly state-owned. Given this institutional set-up, elite political jockeying is expected to have an enormous impact on financial policies.

My research uncovers two types of elite factions that play an important role in financial policies in reform era China: the bureaucratic faction and the generalist faction. The bureaucratic faction was made up of technocrats who want to centralize economic authorities to the central government in Beijing. In contrast, the generalist factions have many followers in the provinces, who demand devolution of financial authorities to the provinces. Thus, within the Chinese government, there were countervailing forces—one demanding the inflation-prone policy of financial decentralization and the other jockeying for inflation-retarding policy of financial centralization.

In the past three decades, these two types of factions competed with one another to either centralize or devolve monetary power, resulting in inflationary cycles that maintained a relatively low rate of inflation. When inflation became high, the bureaucrats found it easier to marshal political resources with which to retake control of monetary policy, thereby stopping inflation. When inflation was low and growth gained momentum, provincial officials lobbied their factional patrons to pressured central bureaucrats into relinquish control over monetary policies. This political pressure inevitably saw the devolution of financial control and a period of high lending, followed by inflation. China experienced six such inflationary cycles since the beginning of economic reform in 1978.

Although the two types of factions had varying preferences on financial centralization, both types of factions struggled for political and policy supremacy, which made banking sector reform a low priority regardless of who was in control. As the Chinese economy monetized, leaders from both types of factions found it useful to use funds in the increasingly plentiful banking system to fulfill various political aims. It didn’t help that factional struggle bred short time horizons. By the late 90s, there was a massive accumulation of non-performing loans in the
banking sector. The only thing that prevented China from financial chaos was robust growth and foreign exchange earnings from the export sector, which earned China sufficient funds with which to recapitalize the financial system.

This research contributes to important debates on the long-term impact of state-led growth and the role of technocrats in monetary outcomes. Since Gerschenkron’s seminal work on how backward states overcome the developmental gap, scholars have devoted enormous effort in finding formulas that allow poor countries to “catch up.” In East Asia, the commonly accepted formula is the combination of state insulation and competent technocracy. Similarly, scholars in the neo-classical tradition assume inflation aversion or reform orientation among central bankers or government technocrats, who can implement stable monetary policy and reform in the absence of political intervention. However, these assumptions require careful scrutiny before being blindly applied to developing countries, where a diverse array of political institutions shapes bureaucratic incentives.

In the course of my research, which involved over seventy interviews with high-level officials, scrutinizing hundreds of classified documents, and statistical analysis, I found that state insulation and a competent bureaucracy have not significantly increased efficiency in the financial system over time despite the rising education level of bureaucrats and bankers. In fact, the Communist Party’s monopoly in legitimate political expression has given rise to factional politics that have effectively transformed bureaucrats into power-maximizing actors who make policies according to political needs. As a result, bad debt equivalent to one-third to one-half of the economy saddled the Chinese financial system. Yet, bureaucratic participation in elite politics provided credibility to their anti-inflationary preferences since bureaucrats were able to retaliate against politicians with different preferences. Unlike the causal mechanism described in the central bank independence literature, active political participation by central bureaucrats in this case has prevented the worst inflation from taking place in the People’s Republic of China.

The logic of elite factional politics continues to exercise important influence in contemporary monetary policy. Last year, when inflation in China reached a ten-year high of nearly 10%, the central bureaucracy led by the Premier Wen Jiabao convinced party secretary general Hu Jintao to impose stringent monetary policies over the opposition of cash-starved real estate developers. As inflation fell and as growth stalled due to the global slow-down, provincial officials began to lobby their factional patrons in Beijing to relax monetary policies. The Chinese central bank was compelled to successively lower interest rate and reserve requirements in the fall of 2008. In November, the central bank abolished its credit ceiling, formally signaling to banks that they could lend as much money to provincial interests as possible. This has led to a spectacular rise in lending in January of 2009, which was equivalent to one-third of total lending in 2008. Not only did this credit binge lay the ground work for the next round of inflation. Many of the loans made in recent months were made without much due diligence, thus much more vulnerable to defaults. As long as banks continue to serve the whims of the political elite, the story of China continues to fall short of an economic miracle.

Factions and Finance in China: Elite Conflict and Inflation
Victor C. Shih
(Cambridge University Press, 2008)
tion” or “neo-colonialism” are now widely blamed on a lack of citizenship and the legal structures that might enforce it. Social inequality and destructive agricultural practices are frequently explained as issues of unmet needs for “economic citizenship”—the basic rights to housing, work, and subsistence that are laid out in Brazil’s utopian 1988 constitution. The massive waves of urban crime and drug-related violence that have afflicted most Brazilian cities are said to hinge on issues of economic and civil citizenship, the latter roughly equivalent to “civil rights” in the United States. And political problems, from populism and corruption to disenchantment with democracy, are often said to result from inadequately developed notions of political citizenship beyond the voting booth. Underlying all of these troubles, and blocking the productivity of debates regarding them, are legal structures that consistently fail to make inroads across barriers of race, social class, and geography. Citizenship, broadly defined, might be the answer to Brazil’s ills, but its lack is the most corrosive of them, and Brazil’s future often seems to hang in the balance between citizenship’s failure and promise.

Given citizenship’s importance in debates about Brazil’s future, it is surprising how little we know about its past. Standard historical accounts rely on concepts and chronologies developed with reference to Europe or the United States. From this perspective, Brazilian citizenship’s inadequacies appear congenital; Brazil’s failure to establish basic civil citizenship in the nineteenth century corroded the significance of any political or social advances that followed, resulting in perpetual inequality and confusion in the country’s citizenship regime. Key to this argument is the sense that economic citizenship—labor rights, social safety net guarantees—was extended by a populist-authoritarian government in the 1930s and 40s rather than won through popular struggles grounded in civil and political rights, as it had been in Western Europe. Such benefits, given rather than claimed, were stripped of their emancipatory possibilities. Until the late twentieth century, according to this account, Brazil’s popular classes were largely “bestialized: disengaged from both politics and the struggle for rights, victimized by rural oligarchs and urban bosses and largely incapable of shaping their own destinies as citizens. It was only in the late 1980s, freed from dictatorship, that the struggle began for the real civil and political rights that could make economic citizenship meaningful. Such accounts fit neatly with neo-Marxist visions of Brazil’s failure to reach a state of revolution, as well as with left-wing critiques of the dictatorships under which most of Brazil’s social guarantees were extended. Until relatively recently, they were virtual cannon.

A Poverty of Rights is one of several recent works that call this history into question. It does so on three counts. First, the book argues that the linear (and heroic) account of citizenship’s Brazilian history is deeply flawed. Civil, political, and economic citizenship have developed in ebb and flows throughout Brazil’s history; what is distinctive about the country is not the order in which citizenships were established, but rather their perpetual incompleteness and instability. Second, A Poverty of Rights contends that Brazil’s poorest people—at least those who lived in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil’s capital city until 1960—were extraordinarily engaged with the struggle to achieve citizenship, long before the word became a rallying cry in the 1980s. Indeed, far from being “bestialized” recipients of state repression or largesse, Rio’s twentieth century poor devoted great energy both to demanding rights and test-
The difference between their experience and that of more iconic social groups around the world lay not only in their weaker economic position, but also in the diffuse nature of their struggles, carried out mostly through petitions, bureaucratic wrangling, informal negotiations, and individual legal suits rather than through mass rallies or political movements.

A Poverty of Rights' final contribution to debates about the history of citizenship in Brazil touches on the historical expectations attached to the concept itself. Inherent in the standard, progressive account is the notion that citizenship, over time, is fated to become complete and universal, regulated by legal institutions that assure complete access to it. But this book argues that such universality is unlikely in Brazil, because unequal citizenship has developed as an integral part of the country's political and legal system. Lack of universal citizenship and legal protection, the book argues, is not a by-product of Brazil's incomplete modernization. Rather, informality and the sub-citizenship that comes with it are the terrains of compromise that have made it possible to sustain a liberal, republican legal and constitutional system in a radically unequal society with neither the resources nor the political will to make citizenship function for all.

A Poverty of Rights grounds these arguments in the history of Rio de Janeiro between 1930 and 1964. The period is often known as "the Vargas era" because it was dominated politically by Getúlio Vargas, who oversaw a singular expansion of Brazilian laws and legal institutions during his checkered tenure as head of state. These legal reforms did much to expand civil, political, and economic citizenship in Brazil; among other things, they established a system of independent electoral tribunals, codified numerous civil rights, and elevated labor rights and social welfare to the level of constitutional guarantees. Yet none of the Vargas-era citizenship reforms was ever universal. Some tied citizenship rights to expensive and burdensome bureaucratic requirements, or imposed cultural practices that clashed with popular lifeways. Others were unenforceable. And others intentionally excluded whole classes of Brazil's population, most frequently the illiterate or those without formal employment. Whatever the cause, even as millions of Brazilians enjoyed some meaningful form of citizenship for the first
time, others found themselves in a state of legal poverty, lacking not only in material goods but also in public protections and rights.

In order to explore this process, *A Poverty of Rights* adopts a broad view of citizenship, zeroing in on four areas of law and legal practice that mattered greatly to Rio’s poorest people: urban planning regulations, work and social welfare law, criminal law and procedure, and property law. The book is based on reams of archival material and hours of interviews, as well as on samba lyrics, novels, chronicles, legal codes, legal commentaries, and statistical compilations. From these sources, the book constructs several interwoven narratives, each chronicling the history of rights poverty in a particular legal arena.

Among all of these histories, none is more emblematic than that of Rio’s ubiquitous favelas (shantytowns). Here, poor residents—many of them rural migrants—mounted a fierce struggle for urban permanence at mid-century, fighting for property rights and reforms to urban codes that declared their homes and neighborhoods illegal. Their fight was one for citizenship in the broadest sense; they wanted a say over the laws and regulations that governed their city. But it was also an argument for the effective recognition of their civil and constitutional rights to claim property based on occupancy or need, and an appeal to end the violent and illegal evictions that were throwing communities of thousands into turmoil.

The favela residents’ eventual fate was also emblematic. They never won urban rights. But over the years, many powerful actors came to hold a stake in their indefinite, extra-legal permanence. Pretenders to favela lands could collect rent without regulation, taxes or investment; politicians could win votes simply by protecting settlements from the law; drug lords, eventually, could foster their operations away from the watchful eyes of the legalized city. The favelas became a literal terrain of compromise, places where all concerned benefited from a lack of regulation, a lack of citizenship, or both combined. The favelas that still cover Rio’s most spectacular hills are a testament to the enduring power of that compromise.

What does such remote history mean for Brazil’s current citizenship debates? The book’s conclusions are at once heartening and disturbing. On the one hand, *A Poverty of Rights* demonstrates that the active pursuit of citizenship is a very old story in Brazil, and that previous accounts of passive populations easily manipulated by cheap populism do little to illuminate the country’s history. The book also shows that, despite all of its contradictions, citizenship’s expansion has transformed the nature of Brazil’s power politics over the last century, adding legal instruments to the array of tools that poor Brazilians can sometimes call upon in trying to better their circumstances.

On the other hand, *A Poverty of Rights* suggests a powerful caution for those who would see in Brazil’s recent democratic opening a chance for citizenship’s universal triumph. This is not the first time that Brazil’s citizens have fought for citizenship’s expansion, or learned to use legal instruments for their own causes. And it is also not the first time that citizenship’s promise is being undermined by its incompleteness, and by the openings for power and profit that such incompleteness generates. *A Poverty of Rights* suggests that the gaps and inconsistencies that riddle Brazil’s citizenship regime are no accident; they are rather the critical terrains of compromise that soften the clash between the country’s expansive, egalitarian laws and its often brutal and unequal social realities.

Launched in 2006, the Research Alliance to Combat HIV/AIDS (REACH) is a collaborative program between the Buffett Center and the faculty of social sciences at the University of Ibadan (UI) in Ibadan, Nigeria, to produce knowledge and recommendations for the development of more effective HIV/AIDS prevention strategies in specific Nigerian communities. It aims to increase the quantity and quality of information available to policymakers, practitioners, activists, researchers, and communities on the factors driving HIV transmission, while building the capacity of Nigerian AIDS researchers. Since its inception REACH has made remarkable progress in seeking ways to prevent HIV/AIDS in Nigeria through research in different communities around the country.

This past year, REACH held a series of trainings to prepare the researchers for work in the field. In February 2008, trainings were conducted in Ibadan and two other REACH sites—one in Markudi, Benue State and the other in Ugep, Cross River State. All of the field workers and supervisors, a total of about seventy-five people, benefited from the training, which was facilitated by Professor Jelani Mandara of Northwestern University’s School of Education & Social Policy and Professor Kim Blankenship of Duke University along with REACH’s Principal and Co-Principal researchers, who shared their previous research experiences and provided assistance in the field in Nigeria. This training helped to jumpstart and assist with information regarding field data collection.

Additional trainings were held in August and September 2008 to reinforce the February training. These refresher trainings were conducted by the postdoctoral fellows on the REACH Project who were recruited by Northwestern University to ensure that the research is done effectively and efficiently. The fellows are: Dr. Rachel Weber, who received her PhD in Epidemiology from Johns Hopkins University and Dr. Chukwumeka Anyamele, a medical doctor who received a masters degree in public health from Harvard University. Weber, Anyamele, and field workers discussed issues about ethics, recording responses, managing difficult respondents, the changes in various instruments and the coordination between supervisors, field assistants, and the Principal Researchers. The post doctoral fellows continue to hold ongoing trainings for the field staff to facilitate the process of data collection, entry, and analysis.

Since the engagement of the post doctoral fellows, the tempo of capacity building at the main office in Ibadan and at the REACH sites has increased tremendously. Kunle Owoyokun, a graduate student at the UI, commented on the benefits of the research training:

“My expectation coming in to REACH was that of building my capacity. Now months later, this aim is being achieved even faster than I thought. My observation skills are sharper, my quantitative skills are better, and I am becoming a better researcher. The postdocs at REACH are eager to teach and build capacity, both at organized lectures and whenever general research issues come up. For anybody who wants to learn about HIV/AIDS research, REACH is the place to be.”
The assistance from postdoctoral fellows not only facilitates the process of REACH research, but also helps to teach life-long research skills, as Owoyokun articulates. Moving forward, training and capacity building plans on both qualitative and quantitative research for the REACH staff will now be organized regularly and will be open to other post graduate students in the faculty of social sciences at UI.

In addition to the assistance from the post doctoral fellows, four Graduate Assistants (two for quantitative data and two for qualitative data) and three data entry clerks were hired in order to fast track the process of data entry and its management at the REACH office in Ibadan. Each person brings his or her own area of expertise to the REACH team. These specialties are: Medical and Industrial Sociology, Epidemiology and Biostatistics, and Population and Reproductive Heath Education. Consequently, the program continues to increase capacity within the faculty of the social sciences and other faculties and institutions in Ibadan.

Part of REACH’s expansion entails collaboration and networking with similar programs. Eight members of the REACH Program attended the International Conference on AIDS and STIs in Africa (ICASA) held in Dakar, Senegal, in early December. ICASA consisted of various presentations and discussions with other people and organizations engaged in research on HIV/AIDS in Africa. This served not only as a venue for the REACH team to network with other organizations, but also to improve research competency in the various skills building workshops that ICASA offered. The team implemented these techniques at the various REACH research sites back in Nigeria.

With the data collection process in full swing, Richard Joseph, REACH principal investigator, and Nkem Dike, REACH associate project director, visited Nigeria in late-January and early-February to embark on a tour of nine of the twelve REACH sites in Oyo, Lagos, Cross River, and Benue states. The reception they received in each of the communities during their visit further showed the success of REACH in mobilizing the members of the communities. Joseph and Dike, along with Prof Lai Erinosho, Dr. Weber, Dr. Anyamele, and the REACH program manager, Rasak Olajide, toured each of the nine research sites where they met with local leaders and members of each community at town halls, the traditional rulers' palaces, and other key places in and around the sites. As the team observed from the visit, it was evident that after much effort, REACH has been successful in setting up a very effective institution in Nigeria that has produced a significant database for policy research.

The research is making headway, as Dike remarked. In the expanded REACH offices at UI, staff are steadily inputting the data that have already been collected. The program is on track to have a comprehensive database later this year and to begin distilling the findings, rolling them out in stakeholder meetings, and preparing dissemination in various forms. It is to be noted that while the research progresses, the staff and researchers continue to constitute a major asset for AIDS prevention in Nigeria. After three years, REACH has endowed Nigeria with a research institution with roots in twelve communities, plus university, government, and NGO linkages. Moreover, the program has evolved into a unique collaborative model for tackling HIV/AIDS over the long term and hopes to affect how other organizations—including those beyond Nigeria—confront the HIV/AIDS epidemic.
Center for International Asylum Evidence Advocacy Launches

Buffett Center Faculty affiliate Galya Ruffer is using her background in political science and law to tap into Northwestern undergraduates’ passion and talent for international civic engagement opportunities. This spring, Professor Ruffer has founded the Center for International Asylum Evidence Advocacy (CIAEA) within, and in partnership with, the Buffett Center. The CIAEA brings together teams of Northwestern undergraduates to work with partner immigration organizations and Northwestern’s Bluhm Legal Clinic to build international networks for asylum evidence documentation and to develop creative approaches to asylum evidence through advocacy studies.

Ruffer has always worked at the cross-section of academics and legal practice to push the boundaries of how the legal process and civic institutions respond to the problems of global migration. After representing clients in asylum claims as a pro-bono attorney at the National Immigrant Justice Center, Ruffer became concerned that judges and pro-bono attorneys did not have the skills or resources to understand country conditions, practices of persecution in sites of political turmoil or the complicated situations, cultural differences and experiences of asylum seekers. She was particularly troubled that, although supporting evidence is crucial to winning an asylum case, most asylum seekers escape their countries without any documents in hand. What she calls the “international evidence gap” has contributed to inconsistent rulings and treatment of asylum seekers, difficulty in proving credibility, and increasing criminalization of the asylum process. The broader problem, according to Ruffer, is that the legal process does a poor job with international, cross-cultural understanding and the political contexts that result from the expanded role of national courts in a global world.

CIAEA and the National Immigrant Justice Center (NIJC), have identified a group of countries and unresolved asylum issues for further study. Two CIAEA fellowships, funded by the Buffett Center, enable undergraduate students to work on advocacy studies in these areas. Ian Epstein (WCAS ’09), who began working with Ruffer as a research assistant this past fall, is focusing on evidentiary issues associated with the gang-related asylum claims of unaccompanied minors. Emily Eisenhart (WCAS ’09) is contributing to the work of the National Asylum Partnership on Sexual Minorities through her Anthropology honors thesis, which examines the role of “cause lawyering” in addressing the gap between policy and practice in LGBT asylum cases. Two CIAEA interns in the Chicago Field Studies program are also conducting research. Ashley Bell (WCAS ’09) and Paul Stibbe (WCAS ’10) are working on-site for the NIJC’s National Asylum Partnership on Sexual Minorities documentation project and asylumlaw.org, establishing a database of country reports and foreign contacts, including field workers, academic experts, media sources, human rights groups and community organizations.

Ruffer’s vision is to create a role for CIAEA student affiliates, as well. Under development are two projects that would enable students abroad to participate in the process of obtaining affidavits from potential witnesses in asylum cases.
them with community-based organizations from around the country to co-design and collaboratively implement a small-scale community development project. The program is an expansion of the CGE’s “ENGAGE Uganda” program, which has sent almost 40 students to work in team-based community development in Uganda in the last two years.

ENGAGE Uganda: A new paradigm of education

ENGAGE Uganda was initially created as the pilot program of the Center for Global Engagement to fill an important gap in the Northwestern curriculum. Founders Jon Marino and Nathaniel Whittemore asked: “What do students need to contribute their assets to enact responsible, effective, and sustainable global change?” The answer, Marino and Whittemore believed, was that today’s developing change agents must have a critical knowledge of a complex world; opportunities to utilize their ideas and initiative to engage with challenges in a real-world context; and support from a community of like-minded peers and mentors. Yet at Northwestern and around the country, few global immersion experiences existed that combined community engagement and curricular learning. In response to this problem, Marino and Whittemore created ENGAGE Uganda as a model curricular global engagement program that connects students with real communities in another country, as partners in tangible social improvement.

Over the past two years, ENGAGE Uganda has been a remarkable success. Students co-designed and implemented projects focused on microfinance, youth and education, hygiene, and computer literacy, all contributing significant value to their host NGOs and communities. One team’s efforts have led to particularly sustained impact. Working with a microfinance organization in Jinja, Uganda, the five students helped a committee of farmers plan out the process for starting a locally-run savings and credit cooperative. Four months after leaving, the students found out that the cooperative of 250 farmers had just been launched and would soon start making small loans for local farmers and entrepreneurs. The project has a high potential for stimulating significant economic growth in a low-income Ugandan community.

Student participants had a remarkable learning experience through ENGAGE Uganda. One student described it in an outgoing evaluation as the “best learning experience I’ve had in terms of leadership, project development, and cross-cultural communication. Hands-on practice combined with academic reflection made it substantially different.” Another explained that, “Engage Uganda helped increase my understanding of and connection to the non-profit sector. Living and working in a community setting gave me a chance to see how projects are initiated on a local level and in a bottom-up approach, a different framework than I had encountered in prior volunteer experiences.”

The goal of any study abroad program is to deepen students’ understanding of and engagement with the broader world. The initial in-country learning is crucial, but it hasn’t stopped there. ENGAGE Uganda students have already followed through on their experience in several ways: return trips to Uganda, student research projects, international development projects and internships, and on-campus student group work.

Given the success of the program and the high demand from students at Northwestern and throughout the United States, Buffett Center leadership, ENGAGE Uganda faculty, and CGE staff decided to move forward with ambitious expansion plans. The result: The Global Engagement Summer Institute.

From Good to Great: Building the Global Engagement Summer Institute

The Global Engagement Summer Institute (GESI) builds upon the ENGAGE Uganda program in several significant ways.

Geographically, we have expanded to include a South Asian country, India, and a Latin American country, Argentina. There are several reasons for this. First, the greater variety of locations will provide students interested in immersive global learning more opportunities to integrate this work with specific

Ann Schraufnagel (WCAS ’09) and youth leaders facilitate a discussion on the importance of education with primary school students in Kampala.
regional or issue focuses of their broader curricular studies and major programs. Second, the ability to compare the three country contexts and engagement experiences further enriches the academic benefits of the program. The students have an opportunity to learn that the same issues and approaches may play out differently in different parts of the world and to understand the reasons for variations and similarities in outcomes.

To meet student demand at Northwestern and around the country, we have opened up GESI to non-Northwestern students. The program’s growth rate is steep—moving from sixteen participants in 2007 to twenty in 2008 to sixty in 2009—but one that will much better meet high student demand and will multiply the positive impacts of students on the ground, around the world.

To accommodate these two major expansions, we have fortified a pre-existing partnership with the Foundation for Sustainable Development (FSD). FSD is a San Francisco-based nonprofit that has coordinated internships with NGOs in developing countries for the last fourteen years. In each country, site teams of three FSD staff will support student relationships with host organizations and home-stays and provide in-country support for health, safety, and all other issues. The FSD staff’s year-long presence in the community will foster more nuanced orientation for students and better project follow-through after students depart.

We are also revamping the curriculum with a ten-day training institute and two-day final summit in Chicago sandwiching the seven-week immersion experience. Led by Northwestern Professors Paul Arntson (Communication Studies) and Jody Kretzmann (Education & Social Policy), the ten-day training institute will feature intensive coursework focusing on the history, theory and practice of community development, team dynamics in international development relationships, and the local history, politics, and culture of India, Argentina, and Uganda. The program focuses in part on “Asset-Based Community Development,” a framework for harnessing the resources of individuals and communities to ensure local ownership and sustainability of development efforts.

The final summit will focus on reflection and cross-country comparisons, as well as next steps for students. These opportunities are unparalleled by any other program and will include student group involvement, conferences, internship opportunities, further project development resources, additional curriculum, and potentially a post-graduate fellowship.

Emerging as a National Leader
Over the past several years, it has become clear that Northwestern’s existing global engagement programs—particularly the annual Global Engagement Summit (GES) and ENGAGE Uganda—are one-of-a-kind. Delegates at the annual GES, which draws student social entrepreneurs from around the world for a week of intensive capacity-building, have often wistfully asked if they could turn GES into a full-time school. Facilitators have praised the quality of learning and often leave reinvigorated.

The high quality of global education that has been developing at Northwestern for years—within and outside of CGE—is starting to get more exposure. In February, three Buffett Center staff spoke at the annual Clinton Global Initiative University conference. CGE founder Nathaniel Whittemore (NU ’06) spoke on a panel for university presidents about how universities can better foster global education, and GESI Coordinator Ryan Pederson (NU ’08) spoke about turning student project ideas into action. In addition, GlobeMed Executive Director Victor Roy (NU ’07) spoke about growing GlobeMed’s national organization. Our hope is that our collective experiences building successful programs at Northwestern will be helpful to other schools developing similar programming.

Sophie Ostlund (Comm ’09) with a child from an internally displaced persons camp in Northern Uganda
clinics in developing countries across the world. In 2003, Medical Supplies Mission formally incorporated as an independent non-profit and changed its name to Global Medical Relief Program (GMRP) in order to expand beyond its original scope.

In 2004, students leading GMRP began to raise funds in order to build a village-level health clinic in rural Ghana. In a little over one year, students at Northwestern had raised over $20,000 for construction of the first HOPE Center. The center, however, took over a year after the construction to formally open. Without active local leadership mobilizing community resources in Ghana, the Center could not serve the villages in its catchment area. During this time, students learned a valuable lesson: forming partnerships involved listening to community and enabling local leadership to be the drivers of projects. As “outsiders” we needed to work alongside our partners. By eventually forming a partnership with the district-level government in Ghana, the HOPE Center opened its doors, and today, the Northwestern chapter of GlobeMed works closely with the HOPE Center and Ghanaian health workers to support the implementation of vital new projects. In March of this year, for example, the chapter supported the development of a new diagnostic lab for the clinic.

The invaluable lessons from Medical Supplies Mission and the Global Medical Relief Program motivated students to create a new model in 2007, when the organization formally changed its name to GlobeMed. We realized that the experiences of Northwestern students working with the HOPE Center in Ghana could be used to shape effective student engagement in global health at universities across the country.

A Watershed Year

In 2007, GlobeMed organized its first annual Global Health Summit, bringing together forty-five students from across the country. At the time, we had formed a loose network of chapters, and the Summit was an opportunity to bring the chapter’s emerging student leaders together to discuss the formation of a collective and singular vision for our entire network.

At the Summit, we heard from notable speakers including Dr. Joia Mukherjee, Medical Director of the renowned Boston-based organization, Partners in Health, which serves the poor around the world. Through panels, keynotes, and workshops, students quickly learned about many global health issues while gaining exposure to the critical skills essential for leading change.

Inspired by experts in global health and by peers from across the country, students in GlobeMed spent much of the Summit discussing how to better organize our fledgling network.

During the Summit, we envisioned a network of student-led chapters partnering with grassroots organizations in communities across the world to improve the health of the impoverished. These chapters would engage students not only to raise funds for these projects and organize trips, but would also lead educational sessions to encourage dialogue and learning about key global health issues. With this firm direction, the student participants left the Summit with tremendous excitement.

Soon after the Summit, students at Northwestern, working at the national level, procured large-scale support from the Abbott Fund, through which we developed plans to hire full-time staff. By the summer of 2007, we had two full-time staff working to develop GlobeMed’s national office. The Buffett Center also became a pillar of support for GlobeMed, providing office space, administrative support, and continual mentorship. The Buffett Center and Northwestern University became the hub for our growing national organization.
GlobeMed’s Model

Over the past two years, our national office staff and student leaders from GlobeMed chapters have worked diligently to improve our model.

Each and every GlobeMed chapter’s work centers on partnering with a grassroots organization, with every academic year and summer bringing a new collaborative project with that organization. At the beginning of each year, student-leaders from the chapter communicate with their partner to identify a project for which students can raise funds and make a positive impact. In the past year, students at George Washington University have worked with a clinic in Rwanda to support the installation of water and electricity; the University of Michigan chapter fully equipped a new health clinic for an urban slum in Mali; and the Northwestern chapter helped to launch a community nutrition program for mothers in rural Ghana.

Throughout the year, students organize campaigns to raise funds for these projects. Through events, online fundraising, and campus-based “small-businesses”, GlobeMed chapters mobilize from performing assessments to installing medical records systems. Through their time working alongside their partner community, students contribute in valuable ways while gaining critical experience that they can bring back to their campus and to their long-term career paths.

Each chapter also leads a year-round educational program called globalhealthU, through which students learn about core thematic areas in global health, from structural violence, to aid policies, to human rights. Using a curriculum provided by the national office and unique resources found at each university, chapters organize weekly discussions, panels, and documentaries to encourage a deeper understanding of global health. This program allows students to gain knowledge that they can directly apply in their project efforts, while instilling lasting interest in global health issues.
To support this chapter model, the national office, based here in Evanston through the Buffett Center, serves three main functions: train students to lead chapters, partner our chapters with grassroots organizations, and grow the movement of students involved in our national network. The national office, composed primarily of student volunteers from Northwestern along with two full-time staff, organizes two events each year at Northwestern—our spring annual Global Health Summit as well as fall Leadership Institute. Each program brings together students from all our chapters, with the latter event focused on leadership training for a smaller group of student officers. Throughout the year, a Chapter Advisor coaches and supports each of the chapter presidents through challenges and opportunities in order to lead effective chapters.

**Looking back, looking ahead**

It is remarkable how far GlobeMed has come in the past two years: we have grown from seven to eighteen chapters, and from 100 to over 400 students, and we have positively impacted twenty-one communities around the world through health projects. In the process, we have helped to mobilize an entire cadre of future leaders who will fight inequities in global health throughout their lives. Evan Blank, who founded a GlobeMed chapter at Washington University in St. Louis, recently stated:

“When I began college, I had no intention of working in the field of global health. As I became academically interested in global health, I discovered GlobeMed and realized the impact that university students can make in the lives of people around the world. GlobeMed has given me the opportunity to explore the issues of global development and health in a way that is otherwise impossible. Through my experience with GlobeMed I have found my true calling and plan to make a career in the field of global health.”

Students such as Evan Blank will be living reminders of GlobeMed’s impact for decades to come. Across all professions and sectors, our strong belief is that students involved in GlobeMed will be engaged in leadership for global health equity. Their work with communities around the world, from Uganda, to Rwanda, to Mexico, already makes a difference in the lives of people today. As we build GlobeMed at universities across the United States in the coming years, we are inspired by these stories to continue our exciting progress.

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*Northwestern students and health workers at the HOPE Center in Ghana*
Buffett Center Affiliates Honored

**John Hagan**, Northwestern University professor and Buffett Center affiliate, received the prestigious Stockholm Prize in Criminology for his field research and criminological theory on the causes and prevention of genocide. The Stockholm Prize in Criminology is awarded for “outstanding achievements in criminological research or for the application of research results by practitioners for the reduction of crime and the advancement of human rights.” The prize comes as a result of Hagan’s work regarding crime measurement techniques related to the study of genocide. Hagan is both a professor of Sociology in the Weinberg College of Arts and Sciences, and a professor of Law at the Northwestern University School of Law. He is also co-director of the Center on Law and Globalization at the American Bar Foundation. His influential books, *Darfur and the Crime of Genocide* (Cambridge University Press, 2009) and *Justice in the Balkans* (University of Chicago Press, 2003), have been cited as major contributions to the field. The Buffett Center was fortunate to have Hagan present an early version of his work on Darfur at a Faculty and Fellows Colloquium. Hagan is also a member of the International Law and International Organization Working Group, through the Buffett Center.

**Samuel Kleiner** (WCAS ’09) is one of forty Americans to receive a Marshall Scholarship. The scholarship finances study at the recipient’s choice of universities in the United Kingdom. At Northwestern, Kleiner studies political science and American history. With support of the Buffett Center, he co-founded the Northwestern Political Union and the Northwestern Interdisciplinary Law Review (*NILR*). The Political Union brings together dozens of undergraduates each week to discuss and debate political and world affairs. The *NILR* is the nation’s first interdisciplinary law review staffed by undergraduates; it presents the work of law students and legal experts, along with the writing of Northwestern undergraduates. Kleiner deferred acceptance to Harvard Law School, and will attend the University of Oxford, pursuing a master of philosophy degree in International Relations.

**Victor Roy** (WCAS ’07), executive director of GlobeMed, was awarded a Gates Cambridge Fellowship, which enables graduate students from outside the United Kingdom to study at the University of Cambridge. The scholarships are awarded to approximately one hundred recipients worldwide each year, based on students’ intellect, demonstration of leadership, and the “desire to use their knowledge to contribute to society throughout the world by providing service to their communities and applying their talents and knowledge to improve the lives of others.” Roy graduated from Northwestern University with a BA in political science, as a student in the Honors Program in Medical Education. For the past three years he has worked as the executive director of GlobeMed. GlobeMed is a national organization of student-led chapters at universities across the country that partner with grassroots NGOs serving poor communities. The organization enables students and communities to work in partnership to improve the health of the poor. Through training students in global health, partnering with effective grassroots organizations, and growing its network of chapters, GlobeMed works to strengthen the movement fighting for equity in global health. He also works with the GlobeMed Leadership Initiative, supported by the Abbott Fund, to develop a curriculum and replicate the GlobeMed model developed at Northwestern University. Under Roy’s leadership, the program has grown to eighteen chapters at universities nationwide. ♦
New Faculty and Visiting Scholars

Several new faculty and visiting scholars joining Northwestern specialize in international and comparative issues. We encourage our affiliates to introduce themselves to these new colleagues. Keep an eye out for our Faculty & Fellows Colloquium schedule for opportunities to learn more about their research.

Ann C. Gunter, professor in the department of Art History, received her PhD in Near Eastern art history and archaeology from Columbia University and in 1987 joined the staff of the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, as curator. In 2004 she was appointed head of scholarly publications and programs at the Freer and Sackler Galleries. A specialist in ancient Near Eastern art and Anatolian archaeology, Gunter has curated several exhibitions, including When Kingship Descended from Heaven: Masterpieces of Mesopotamian Art from the Louvre, Preserving Ancient Statues from Jordan, and Caravan Kingdoms: Yemen and the Ancient Incense Trade. Her numerous publications include Gordion: The Bronze Age and A Collector’s Journey: Charles Lang Freer and Egypt. She co-edited with Stefan R. Hauser, Ernst Herzfeld and the Development of Near Eastern Studies, 1900–1950. Her most recent publication is Greek Art and the Orient (Cambridge University Press, 2009). Gunter is currently preparing for publication on late Bronze and early Iron Age ceramics excavated from the site of Kinet Höyük, Turkey, an archaeological field project under the auspices of Bilkent University, Ankara.

Wendy Pearlman is assistant professor of Political Science and the Crown Junior Chair in Middle East Studies at Northwestern University. She specializes in the comparative politics of the Middle East, with a particular interest in conflict processes, social movements, and political dynamics in weak states and nonstate entities. Pearlman has studied or conducted research in Spain, Morocco, Egypt, Lebanon, Israel, and the West Bank and Gaza Strip. She has held fellowships sponsored by the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government and the U.S. Institute of Peace. She completed her PhD at Harvard University in 2007 and is the author of Occupied Voices: Stories of Everyday Life from the Second Intifada (Nation Books, 2003). Pearlman will present a talk titled Fragments in Conflict: Internal Divisions and External Violence in the Palestinian National Movement, 1918-2008 at the Faculty & Fellows Colloquium on May 8.

Vit Sisler, visiting Fulbright scholar at the Buffett Center, is a PhD candidate at Charles University in Prague, where he is finishing his thesis on new media, the Internet and the construction of contemporary Islamic knowledge. Sisler is also engaged in research on contemporary Islamic law, the relation between Islam and digital media, and the social and political aspects of video games. His publications include: “Digital Arabs: Representation in Video Games” in the European Journal of Cultural Studies, “The Internet and the Construction of Islamic Knowledge in Europe” in the Masaryk University Journal of Law and Technology and forthcoming book chapter on new media and youth identity construction in Syria, Egypt and Lebanon. Sisler is also founder and editor-in-chief of Digital Islam, a compound research project on Islam, the Middle East and digital media (digitalislam.eu). He will present a talk titled Digital Intifada: Representation of Islam and the Middle East in Video Games at the Faculty & Fellows Colloquium on May 15.
French Interdisciplinary Group Brings Distinguished Visiting Scholars to Northwestern

This year, French Interdisciplinary Group (FIG) exchange and cooperative dual PhD programs are flourishing, and a variety of distinguished faculty are visiting at Northwestern this spring.

From the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) come professors Éloi Ficquet, Liora Israel, Pap Ndiaye and Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan. Northwestern professors Elizabeth Shakman Hurd (Political Science) and Nasrin Qader (French & Italian) are currently visiting EHESS, and this past fall, Robert Launay (Anthropology) participated in the exchange. In addition, four graduate students are currently pursuing the dual PhD at EHESS: Katia Gottin (French & Italian), Aurélien Mauxion (African Studies), and Min Lee and Lily Woodruff (Art History). Florent Souvignet of EHESS is pursuing the dual African Studies PhD at Northwestern. Northwestern and EHESS recently won a grant to promote exchanges and graduate training leading to the dual PhD in African Studies.

FIG’s exchange program with the Institut d’Études Politiques (Sciences Po) began five years ago, and this quarter professors Zaki Laïdi, Marco Oberti and Etienne Wasmer are visiting Northwestern. Laid’s visit is part of an effort to develop research and educational ties in International Relations, while Oberti is visiting to examine instituting a more focused research and graduate training program on “the global city,” using Paris and Chicago as research sites. From the political science department, Ian Hurd is visiting at Sciences Po this quarter; Michael Loriaux visited this past fall, and Karen Alter is slated to visit in 2010. In addition, two Northwestern students are currently pursuing the dual PhD at Sciences Po: Angela Maione (Political Science) and Mario Lamothe (Communications Studies). Five Sciences Po students are pursuing the dual PhD in political science: Florent Blanc, Natacha Lemasle, Romain Malejacq, Francesco Ragazzi, and Martin Walter. A sixth student, Igor Stiks, recently defended.

Additional FIG visitors this quarter are Marc Crépon, Lorenza Mondada, and Bernard Stiegler.

Marc Crépon is the director of research at the Husserls Archives at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique and a professor of philosophy at the Ecole Normale Supérieure. Crépon recently published the first volume of La culture de la peur: Démocratie, identité, sécurité. His larger body of work includes Les promesses du langage, Altérités de l’Europe, and Nietzsche: L’art et la politique de l’avenir.

Éloi Ficquet is an anthropologist and historian at the Centre d’Etudes Africaines, EHESS. His research interests include contemporary African art and the comparative anthropology, history, and geography of societies of the Horn of Africa. He has published numerous articles, including “Flesh Soaked in Faith: Meat as a Marker of the Boundary Between Christians and Muslims in Ethiopia” in Muslim-Christian Encounters in Africa. Ficquet co-directed, with Abebe Berhanou, the creation of the Dictionnaire Français-Amharique.

Liora Israel teaches sociology of law at EHESS. Her dissertation analyzed the ways in which a minority of lawyers and magistrates resisted the Vichy regime. Israel has contributed to the popularization of cause lawyering in France. She wrote a chapter for The Worlds Cause Lawyers Make: Structure and Agency in Legal Practice. Israel is currently working on legal mobilization in the post-1968 era.

Zaki Laïdi is a professor at the Center for European Studies, Sciences Po. His research interests include power and norms in Europe and political regulation of globalisation. He is the founder of Telos, a French think tank that
comments on global issues in French society and is working to analyze the distance between France and other nations. He is the author of numerous books, including Norms over Force: The Enigma of European Power, and a contributing editor to Le Monde, Libération, and other publications.

Lorenza Mondada is a professor of linguistics at the Department for Language Studies, Université de Lyon 2. Her research deals with grammatical and multimodal practices of interaction. Utilizing video-recordings from conversations in general, institutional and professional settings, including medical contexts and other workplaces, Mondada’s current research focuses on the ways in which participants sequentially and multimodally organize their courses of action.

Pap Ndiaye is an a professor of history at EHESS. His academic interests involve the history and sociology of minorities in the United States and France. His last book, La Condition noire: Essai sur une minorité française, has been acclaimed as a path-breaking study and has received extensive coverage from the French academia and media.

Marco Oberti is a professor of sociology at Sciences Po. His current research focuses on urban segregation and models of social cohabitation by taking close look at social divisions in the city, their effects on public utilities, and especially on relations between social groups in Paris. He is also looking at academic renewal in working-class suburbs, a study of four ZEP high schools in Seine-Saint-Denis. His publications include L’école dans la ville: Ségrégation - mixité - carte scolaire, and numerous other works.

Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan is a professor of anthropology at EHESS. Sardan lives and works in Niger and is among the founders of the Laboratory for Study and Research on Social Dynamics and Local Development (LASDEL) in Niamey. His publications include Anthropology and Development and articles in Current Anthropology, Anthropology and Medicine, and The Journal of Modern African Studies. Sardan is currently working on an empirical socio-anthropology of public spaces in West Africa focusing on the delivery of public services and goods.

Bernard Stiegler, a professor of philosophy, is the director of the Department of Cultural Development at the Centre Georges-Pompidou. Key themes of his work include the philosophy of technology, time, Americanization, consumerism, individualization, politics and society. Stiegler’s many publications include the multi-volume explorations La technique et le temps, De la misère symbolique, Mécréance et discrédit, and Constituer l’Europe.

Etienne Wasmer is a professor of economics at Sciences Po. He received his Ph.D. from the London School of Economics. His interests include labor economics, macroeconomics and the economics of discrimination. Wasmer developed search and matching models of the labor market and studied temporary employment and the rising returns to education. His research has been published in the American Economic Review, Labour Economics, the Journal of Urban Economics, and others. He is a consultant for the European Commission and is an economic advisor to the French Prime Minister. ♦
New Publications from Buffett Center Affiliates

We are proud to announce new publications by our affiliates. If you have a recent publication we should know about, contact Krzysztof Kozubski at kozubski@northwestern.edu.

Narratives of Catastrophe: Boris Diop, ben Jelloun, Khatibi

by Nasrin Qader, Department of French & Italian (Fordham University Press, 2009)

Narratives of Catastrophe tells the story of the relationship between catastrophe, in the senses of “down turn” and “break,” and narration as “recounting” in the senses suggested by the French term récit in selected texts by three leading writers from Africa. Qader’s book begins by exploring the political implications of narrating catastrophic historical events. Through careful readings of singular literary texts on the genocide in Rwanda and on Tazmamart, a secret prison in Morocco under the reign of Hassan II, Qader shows how historical catastrophes enter language and how this language is marked by the catastrophe it recounts. This book shows the contributions of African literatures in elucidating theoretical problems for literary studies in general, such as storytelling’s relationship to temporality, subjectivity, and thought. Moreover, it addresses the issue of storytelling, which is of central concern in the context of African literatures but largely remains limited to the distinction between the oral and the written. The final chapters examine catastrophic turns within the philosophical traditions of the West and in Islamic thought.

Global TV: New Media and the Cold War, 1946-69

by James Schwoch, Communication Studies & NU Qatar (University of Illinois Press, 2009)

Schwoch presents a unique retelling of the Cold War period by examining the relationship of global television, diplomacy, and new electronic communications media. Beginning with the Allied occupation of Germany in 1946 and ending with the 1969 Apollo moon landing, he explores major developments in global media, including the postwar absorption of the International Telecommunications Union into the United Nations and its impact on television and international policy; the rise of psychological warfare and its relations to new electronic media of the 1950s; and the role of the Ford Foundation in shaping global communication research concepts. Drawing on work in media studies, diplomatic history, and science and technology studies, Schwoch analyzes the way in which global media has been characterized, emphasizing a discursive shift away from a framework of East-West security and, by the 1960s, toward a framework of world citizenship and globalization. The global growth of television and other new electronic media occurred in conjunction with the ongoing tensions of the Cold War, as superpowers searched for ways to extend their influence beyond traditional borders of nation-states and into the extraterritorialities of planet Earth.
Conceptual frameworks by which humans construct identities constitute the central focus of the *TriQuarterly* journal’s special issue, “The Other” (131: 2008). *TriQuarterly*, which is published at Northwestern and edited by Susan Firestone Hahn, is an internationally-oriented journal that unites creative and scholarly works in a spirit of “cultural inquiry.” University President Henry S. Bienen conceptualized and guest edited this issue, bringing together works representing a variety of regions and institutions. Although the *TriQuarterly* is not directly affiliated with the Buffett Center, a number of the Northwestern faculty and visitors who contributed to this special issue are.

As Bienen, a political scientist, explains in his introductory essay, a confluence of domestic and world events, along with his long-time interest in problems of foreignness and identifications, oriented him toward the topic of Others. As Bienen puts it, the conflict that has alternately been described as a “War on Terror” and a “clash of civilizations” turns on issues of identity and othering, as do flows of refugees and immigrants the world over. All of these things lead to the central question of why and how people identify themselves “in opposition to, or solidarity with, other individuals and groups.” The interdisciplinary nature of the *TriQuarterly* provides a unique opportunity to investigate the political and cultural significance of othering from diverse perspectives.

Elie Rekhess of Tel Aviv University, who is currently visiting Northwestern as a professor of Jewish studies and history, contributes an essay, “In the Shadow of National Conflict: Inter-Group Attitudes and Images of Arab and Jews in Israel.” Surveying the history and “changing nature of mutual images of Arabs and Jews,” Rekhess finds a “clear correspondence between the level of tension in Jewish-Arab relations in Israel…and the extremism of attitudes toward the Arab Other.” Rekhess will elaborate on his work to the Buffett Center’s Faculty & Fellows Colloquium on April 24.

Richard Sobel, a political scientist at Harvard and Buffett Center visiting scholar, builds on similar themes in his analysis of “Citizenship as Foundation,” which recapitulates the evolution and meanings of citizenship within the United States over the past two centuries. Sobel explores the disjuncture that results from the fact that “one may be part of the American community without being a citizen” and suggests that “citizenship rests on an organic connection that constitutes the sinews of the body politic.” Sobel further argues that certain constitutional rights, currently under threat, must be preserved in order to protect the integrity of citizenship itself.

In “The Other is Dead: Mourning, Justice and the Politics of Burial,” political theorist Bonnie Honig uses very different methods to move beyond what she considers the usual approach to othering as “the problem of the foreigner, the immigrant, the refugee, perhaps the problem of sexual difference.” Honig surveys two dramatic texts in order to discover how societies “relate to those others who are no longer around to make claims that need to be adjudicated, to those killed in the process of settlement or colonization, to the victims of civil wars, conflicts or genocide.” Drawing on Sophocles’ Antigone, Honig writes that this tragedy illuminates the ways the “incommensurable” conflict between two key cultural principles: “the dead must be mourned; justice must be done.” From this foundation, Honig explores the operations of mourning and justice in the context of modern democratic societies.

The journal’s interdisciplinary tradition also allows for fictional interpretations of the theme of othering. “Bait,” by the English department’s Stuart Dybek, tells the story of the loss and retrieval of a favorite screwdriver in an old Chicago neighborhood. At first glance, this seems an odd fit with the issue’s central theme. On more thorough reading, however, it becomes apparent that underlying this plot is a concern with how childhood experiences develop into memories that shape adult identities, and how values—in
this case, the value of a tool of manual labor—are transmitted across generations.

"Island," a fiction piece by English professor Reginald Gibbons, more directly addresses the themes of self and other—this time by way of an unnamed character from an unnamed island described as "so small and so poor, and so much just a little too far from the mainland." This background establishes him as an outsider in the United States, even as his cosmopolitan experience, American education and occupation as a writer differentiate him from the family and community to which he returns.

"Stranger Blues: Otherness, Pedagogy, and a Sense of 'Home,'" a meditative personal essay by E. Patrick Johnson of Performance Studies, also examines the concepts of identity and home. In the piece, Johnson deploys his own life experience as a vehicle for developing "three figurations of home—ritual return, state of mind, and site of resistance—as meta-critical tools to rethink our notion of the Other." Johnson describes a path similar to that of Gibbons' anonymous character, traveling from places of belonging to places of exclusion geographically, culturally and within an evolving self.

The volume closes with Andrew Wachtel’s "The New Balkan 'Other,'" likewise addressing cultural crossings. In this piece, the Graduate School dean and former Buffett Center director identifies a group of popular Balkan novels that "satirically portray the actions and motives of European helpers" who represent the European Union and West European NGOs. This new thematic in Slavic literature, he says, targets a readership that presumably "feels colonialized by these outsiders." Wachtel argues that these works express a "covert nationalism" that has developed in response to another literary trope: the new internationalism, in which narrators who have journeyed from the Balkans to the West and back again build "a personal, provisional and hence inherently unstable" cultural synthesis.

In the best tradition of interdisciplinary cross-pollination, this collection of complementary and contradictory explorations answers some central questions about the cultural and political importance of "The Other" in the modern world and highlights problems for further debate. The volume includes additional essays by professor of Middle East Studies Fouad Ajami, political scientist Jeffrey Herbst, lawyer-poet-novelist Lawrence Joseph, and Gender and African American Studies scholar Dwight McBride. Artistic contributions include stories by Samantha Chang and Joyce Carol Oates; poetry by Jana Harris, Paul Muldoon and Alicia Ostriker; and a photographic essay by Fazal Sheikh. ♦
Worldwide, there are as many as 29 million sex slaves—individuals held against their will, exploited to earn profits for their captors. Global sex trafficking as an industry generated an estimated 35.7 billion dollars in pure profit in 2007.

Siddharth Kara, author of *Sex Trafficking: Inside the Business of Modern Slavery*, addressed this topic before a packed room at the Buffett Center in January. Kara is a former investment banker and business executive with an MBA from Columbia University, who uses this background in finance and economics to provide an analysis of sex trafficking from a business perspective. While considering the industry in terms of the law of supply and demand, he speaks passionately against the atrocities faced by victims of sex trafficking, and makes it clear no price can be put on human suffering.

According to Kara, “The enormity and pervasiveness of the global sex trafficking industry is driven by the ability to generate immense profits at almost no real risk.” The profit margin for sex traffickers is incredibly high because sex slaves have no cost of labor and the female body can be consumed repeatedly. Unfortunately, the risk associated with being caught for enslaving women and sexually exploiting them does not begin to threaten these profits. For example, in India the average profit per slave per year is $12,900—approximately three times the country’s per capita income. In comparison with these huge profits, the risk for being caught is abysmally low. The fine for being caught owning a brothel, which can house hundreds of sex slaves, is $44; the fine does not begin to touch the profits of sexual slavery. Incarceration for such offenses is short, and can often be further shortened through the payment of bribes. This example is repeated across the globe. Clearly, those profiting from sex trafficking and sexual slavery have little incentive to avoid the industry.

To fight the global epidemic of sex trafficking, Kara proposes an assault on the profitability of the industry and on the demand side of the business. To attack the profitability of the industry, aggressive measures should be taken to elevate the risk of being caught keeping slaves. Fines associated with sexual slavery should be as high, or higher, than the profits slave traders and keepers are able to make. Consumer demand for illegal commercial sex should be attacked by pricing buyers out of the market. Kara argues that by raising fines and sentences for crimes associated with sexual slavery, market prices will rise due to elevated risk, thereby lowering consumer demand.

One member of the audience asked about the possibility of disrupting the supply side of sex trafficking, by starting programs to educate and increase job opportunities for women, that could reduce their vulnerability to be deceived, seduced, or sold into forced prostitution. Kara agreed work in this area is immensely important, but does not see this as a feasible short term solution due to its high cost. He argued many non-governmental organizations (NGO) currently work on these issues, and the cost of increasing worldwide intervention programs would be very high. Instead, focusing on the reduction of consumer demand for sex, could create greater effects in the short term, in addition to the work already being done by NGOs.

When asked what effect legalizing prostitu-
tion would have on Kara’s economic model of the sex trafficking industry, he spoke about what happened after legalization in the Netherlands, specifically the red light district in Amsterdam. When prostitution was legalized in 2000, he said, it was hoped sex workers, as they are called there, would receive labor protections under the law, including benefits, labor standards, and other protections. In actuality, Kara argues legalization provided a veneer behind which deeper exploitation could occur. Foreign women trafficked into the red light district were terrorized to keep the atrocities they lived through secret if questioned by police, and they did not receive the benefits legalization was intended to bring. At present, Dutch authorities, including the Mayor of Amsterdam, are talking of reversing the legalization.

Professor Christina Lombardi-Diop, Department of French and Italian, discussed the cultural variations of the sex trafficking industry, noting many Nigerian women are trafficked to Italy and then exploited. Kara responded that Igbo women of Nigeria who are sold into slavery are held captive according to a specific pattern. In Nigeria, some Juju priests perform black magic rituals on women and tell them they have separated part of her spirit from her body. In this ritual, samples of women’s hair and blood are placed in small sacks. When the women are sold into slavery, the slave owner is purchasing not the woman herself, but control of her spirit, in the form of this sack. The women are then told they must go with their captors and work secretly and silently. Terrorized by the spiritual repercussions, many women remain enslaved, and do not testify against traffickers or try to escape.

Kara ended his presentation with a call to action, that we might all work together to eradicate sexual slavery, especially by working to elevate the risk for sex traffickers and reducing the demand for consumer sex. “Slavery,” he said, “is a stain on humankind that must be buried alongside our ugliest demons.”

A video of Siddarth Kara’s January 20 presentation at the Buffett Center is available online: www.bcics.northwestern.edu.

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**Buffett Center Launches Event Webcasts**

As part of an ongoing effort to reach a wider audience and increase the accessibility of its programming, the Buffett Center is now publishing streaming video recordings of selected talks. These webcasts are produced by the Buffett Center in collaboration with Academic & Research Technologies (NUIT-ART) through the cooperation of the individual speakers. Additional events will be added in future quarters; three talks are already available on the Buffett Center website at www.bcics.northwestern.edu.

**Afghanistan and Pakistan: From Great Game to Great Bargain**

On October 28, Barnett Rubin, director of the program on the Reconstruction of Afghanistan at New York University, offered a sobering assessment of Afghanistan’s economic and political situation, its history of violent foreign interference, its relationship with neighbor Pakistan, the United States presence, and the prospects for Afghanistan’s future.

**Translating Turkey**

On November 20, as part of the Keyman Modern Turkish Studies series, Maureen Freely discussed the challenges of her work as a novelist, non-fiction writer, and the translator of novels by Nobel laureate Orhan Pamuk. She has written numerous articles in the British press on Turkish culture, politics, and the battle for free expression. Over the years, she has confronted the problems of how to correct historical misperceptions and cultural prejudices without succumbing to didactic anger; how to negotiate subjects marked taboo; and how to convey the Turkey she loves to an Anglophone audience.

**Sex Trafficking: Inside the Business of Modern Slavery**

On January 20, Siddharth Kara discussed the mechanics of the global sex trafficking business across four continents, taking stock of its devastating human toll and suggesting avenues for future action (see article on page 23).
Remembering Tiananmen: A 20th Anniversary Symposium

In 1989, the Chinese Communist regime mobilized over 300,000 troops to decisively crush hundreds of thousands of demonstrators who congregated in the center of the capital city Beijing, Tiananmen Square. Estimates of casualties range between a few hundred to a few thousand. Additional hundreds were put into labor camps for participating in the event. Political leaders who supported the student demonstrators were removed from power and placed under house arrest. In the official discourse in China, however, this traumatic event is rarely mentioned. Even when it is, it is obliquely mentioned as the “Tiananmen event” or “disturbance in 1989.” Few college students in China today know concretely what took place in Beijing in 1989.

On the 20th anniversary of the incident, the Buffett Center will hold a symposium at Northwestern University, which aims at exploring two main issues. First, how have memories of the Tiananmen Square demonstrations evolved over time both inside and outside of China? Even when the official Chinese media have “forgotten” this event, it continues to exert an enormous psychological impact on people who attended university at that time. The massacre continues to be a symbol of a tragically missed democratic path. It also remains an important frame for the Sino-U.S. relationship and for discussions on human rights and institutional reform in China. At the symposium, panelists will explore how various actors continue to perceive the event and the consequences of these perceptions on the framing of contemporary issues. Second, the symposium will explore how the massacre impacted policy trajectories in China. Without doubt, the regime saw the demonstrations as a major challenge to its rule and drastically changed policies in multiple arenas in response. The symposium will explore how these policy changes affected development in contemporary China.

This symposium will take place on June 1, 2009. There are three confirmed outside speakers thus far: Wang Dan, Edward Friedman, and Dingxing Zhao. Wang Dan was the most influential student leader in Tiananmen Square in 1989. Unlike other student leaders, Wang Dan did not leave the country after 1989 and was quickly arrested by Chinese security forces. He was imprisoned for over ten years before being released. He will share with us his memory of the event and also his views on the impact of the Tiananmen Square demonstrations. Edward Friedman and Dingxing Zhao are both academics who have conducted extensive research on both the event itself and on democratic reform in China. Dingxing Zhao, a sociologist at the University of Chicago, wrote the seminal work on the social networks that structured the student demonstrations. Edward Friedman has written widely on human rights and political reform in China’s countryside.

In addition to these outside speakers, several Northwestern scholars will share their understandings and, in some cases, personal experiences of this event. Peter Carroll of the Department of History was an undergraduate in Beijing. Victor Shih from the Department of Political Science has conducted research on Chinese policy responses to the massacre. Stefan Henning of the Department of Sociology has written extensively on Chinese Muslims’ reaction to the demonstrations. In addition, Sarah Fraser in the Department of Art History will share her insights on the demonstrations. The event is sponsored by the Program of Asian and Middle East Studies (AMES), the Center for Historical Studies, and the Roberta Buffett Center for International and Comparative Studies.
Spring Events Calendar

APRIL

The Accidental Guerrilla: Fighting Small Wars in the Midst of a Big One
David Kilcullen, advisor to General Petraeus in Iraq
Wednesday, April 8 at 4pm - Hardin Hall, Rebecca Crown Center, 633 Clark St., Evanston

Faculty & Fellows Colloquium » Climate Shocks and Economic Growth: Evidence from the Last Half Century
Benjamin F. Jones, Kellogg
Friday, April 10 at 12pm - Buffett Center Conference Rm.

Global Energy Series » The Political Economy of Resource Nationalism and Energy Security in Latin America
David Mares, University of California at San Diego
Monday, April 13 at 4pm - Buffett Center Conference Rm.

Adina Hoffman reads from My Happiness Bears No Relation to Happiness: A Poet's Life in the Palestinian Century
Co-sponsored with the Center for the Writing Arts
Tuesday, April 14 at 5:15pm - John Evans Alumni Center, 1800 Sheridan Rd., Evanston

India: Elections in the World’s Largest Democracy
Bala Balachandran, Kellogg, Dilip Gaonkar, Communication, and Jock McLane, History
Co-sponsored with the International Student Association (ISA)
Tuesday, April 14 at 7pm - location TBA

The Democracy Deficit and the Middle East
John Waterbury, former president, American University of Beirut
Wednesday, April 15 at 4pm - McCormick Tribune Center, 1870 Campus Rd., Evanston

Documentary » Returned: Child Soldiers of Nepal's Maoist Army
Followed by discussion with director Robert Koenig
Wednesday, April 15 at 7pm - McCormick Tribune Center, 1870 Campus Rd., Evanston

Faculty & Fellows Colloquium
Friday, April 17 at 12pm - Buffett Center Conference Rm.

The Financial Crisis in Europe: Contrasts and Comparisons with the U.S.
Etienne Wasmer, Sciences Po
Monday, April 20 at 4pm - Buffett Center Conference Rm.

Global Energy Series » Kremlin Inc. — Oil and Power in Putin's Russia
Greg Walters, journalist
Tuesday, April 21 at 4pm - Buffett Center Conference Rm.

Faculty & Fellows Colloquium » The Arab Minority in Israel and the “One-State Solution”
Elie Rekhess, History and Jewish Studies
Friday, April 24 at 12pm - Buffett Center Conference Rm.

Islam and Politics in the Horn of Africa
Éloi Ficquet, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales
Monday, April 27 at 4pm - Buffett Center Conference Rm.

Islam and Constitutional Law & Politics Workshop / 2009 Keyman Conference on State Management of Islam
April 30 – May 2

MAY

Faculty & Fellows Colloquium » "History of the Soul": A Chinese Writer, Nietzsche, and Tiananmen 1989
Stefan Henning, Sociology
Friday, May 1 at 12pm - Buffett Center Conference Rm.

A Necessary Engagement: Reinventing America’s Relations with the Muslim World
Emile Nakhleh, former intelligence officer and director at the CIA
Monday, May 4 at 4pm – Buffett Center Conference Rm.

Enacting Artistic Identities: An Inquiry into Ottoman and Orientalist Self-Portraiture
Mary Roberts, University of Sydney
Tuesday, May 5 at 5pm – Kresge 3-430, 1880 Campus Dr., Evanston

Faculty & Fellows Colloquium » Fragments in Conflict: Internal Divisions and External Violence in the Palestinian National Movement, 1918-2008
Wendy Pearlman, Political Science
Friday, May 8 at 12pm - Buffett Center Conference Rm.

State Capacity in Africa and Global Health
Jean-Pierre de Sardan, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales
Monday, May 11 at 4pm - Buffett Center Conference Rm.

Medieval Anatolian Cities
Scott Redford, Koç University and Georgetown University
Co-sponsored with the Department of Art History
Tuesday, May 12 at 5pm – Buffett Center Conference Rm.

The European Union as Global Power
Zaki Laidi, Sciences Po
Thursday, May 14 at 4pm - Buffett Center Conference Rm.

Faculty & Fellows Colloquium » Digital Intifada: Representation of Islam and the Middle East in Video Games
Vit Sisler, Visiting Fulbright Scholar
Friday, May 15 at 12pm - Buffett Center Conference Rm.

The Buffett Center is located at 1902 Sheridan Road in Evanston. All events are free and open to the public. For additional information visit www.bcics.northwestern.edu or call 847-467-2770.
The Buffett Center is currently developing a new speaker series that touches on the growing demand and the consequences of the use of inanimate energy. While the current economic crisis has diminished the salience of energy-related issues in the public eye, the problems surrounding our reliance on and use of energy have hardly gone away. Global demand has grown at a rapid pace, particularly with the development of China and India. Lessons from the 1970s, when the world first witnessed a dramatic (twenty-fold) increase in the price of oil within one decade, were swiftly forgotten. The steep price increases in oil and other energy resources during 2008 once again demonstrated our continued reliance on fossil fuels, as well as the vulnerability of even the most advanced economies to oil and gas shocks. At the same time as developed countries see themselves confronted with growing demand and scarce supply, some less developed countries continue to lack even rudimentary sources of energy, such as charcoal. Raising the stakes, the use of fossil fuels has been clearly linked to serious environmental degradation, making it imperative that countries fundamentally alter their policies if we are to avoid irreversible damage to the world’s biosphere.

Consequently, the Center is developing a cross-disciplinary perspective to discuss some of these issues. In so doing, it dovetails with Northwestern’s Initiative for Sustainability and Energy (ISEN) which particularly intends to draw attention to the natural scientific aspects of the energy problematique. The Center from its side will aim to highlight the political, social, and historical aspects of energy related issues, and will be working with our colleagues at ISEN as we move forward.

The speaker series kicked off in March, with a presentation by Dr. Rachel Bronson, from the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, on the geopolitics of energy in the Middle East. In the spring, Greg Walters, who has covered energy politics for Bloomberg media, will present on the politics of energy in Russia. David Mares, from the University of California San Diego, will lead a discussion on energy-related issues in Latin America. We are currently working on bringing additional speakers to campus to discuss other thematic and geographic aspects, and will continue to do so in the future. The goal is to enhance discussions and research on energy related issues throughout the Northwestern community, both at the instructional and research level.

Faculty or graduate students interested in global energy should feel free to contact Center Director Hendrik Spruyt (h-spruyt@northwestern.edu) or Assistant Director Krzysztof Kozubski (kozubski@northwestern.edu).
Two concurrent interdisciplinary events this spring quarter (April 30-May 2) are bringing together scholars from around the globe to address the broader themes of Islam and the state.

Islam and Constitutional Law & Politics Workshop

The one-day workshop gathers together scholars working on topics related to the incorporation of Islam in constitutions and the political, legal, social, and economic debates this incorporation generates. The workshop, organized by Professor Kristen Stilt (Legal Studies) is part of a larger project funded by the Carnegie Corporation and the Middle East Center, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington.

The 2009 Keyman Family Conference on the State Management of Islam

The conference will be held April 30-May 2. The three-day event will examine comparative patterns of state/Islam relations and distinctive modes of religious pluralism. Topics will include state apparatuses and means for promoting or controlling religion and contemporary debates on religion, secularism, and democracy. The conference will include four panels: Conceptual and Theoretical Discussions; The Case of Turkey: Centralized Control over Religion?; Federated States; and Muslims as a Minority.

Complete listings for both events are available online at www.bcics.northwestern.edu/events.