



Centerpiece

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Newsletter of the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard University • Volume 18 • Number 3 • Fall 2004

FROM THE DIRECTOR

The Weatherhead Center for International Affairs supports a central mission of Harvard University—research—both directly and indirectly. It supports large-scale collaborative research endeavors through its Weatherhead Initiative grants as well as individual faculty research semesters and other means. It also constructs venues for the exchange of ideas, the refinement of concepts, and the diffusion of knowledge. That is why a key constitutive feature of this Center has been its program for conferences. Three of the conferences that the Center's steering committee has just voted to support illustrate the scope of the Center's mission. These examples cross the disciplines of the social sciences, and two of them exemplify efforts to leverage support from a variety of sources to advance an important research agenda.

In May 1997 the Weatherhead Center co-sponsored a conference to launch a large multi-author, multi-country project, the Cambridge Economic Survey of Africa, which is a study of Africa's growth performance in the second half of the twentieth century. The Africa Economic Research Consortium (AERC) has been the Survey's principal source of financial and administrative support. The Survey's leaders include Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Robert Bates, Paul Collier (Oxford), Charles Saludo (Director, Bank of Nigeria), and Benno Ndulu (Director of Research, World Bank). From the beginning, this joint work played an important role in the development of aspects of African studies at Harvard. Professor Bates formed a network to support the research of his students in Africa and identify promising young scholars who have visited or come to study at Harvard. In this way graduate student dissertations and undergraduate senior theses—many of which were also funded by the Weatherhead Center or the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies also housed at the



Photo: Amanda Flohr

The Weatherhead Center's annual open house for undergraduates attracts dozens of Harvard College students every fall. Here, student program coordinator Clare Putnam (center) provides information to a few new visitors.

Center—have flourished.

In 2005 the Weatherhead Center will join AERC to support another conference to present and discuss research findings and to help shape the final revisions for this project. Thus the Center will co-sponsor the close of an effort that it had helped to launch and bring to fruition. At this conference, we expect that scholars will contrast countries that suffered from experiences of predation and violence with those that were free from that syndrome. They will compare countries that have suffered from state breakdown, misuse of resource booms, or particularly harsh regimes as well as countries under different geographic circumstances (e.g., coastal or landlocked). They will assess synthetic works that explore the impact of ideas, redistributive schemes, and policy innovation or plunder. This conference will bring together principally political scientists and economists.

A second conference just approved for Center support focuses on the strategies that members of minority groups follow in order to reduce gaps of

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From the Director ...

disadvantage between themselves and dominant majority groups—gaps that stem from symbolic and social boundaries of variable permeability. Led by Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Michèle Lamont, the conference will examine the cases of Afro-Brazilians and Francophone Québécois, which are examples of relatively porous and flexible intergroup boundaries, as well as the cases of Northern Irish Catholics and Israeli Arabs that exemplify more rigid or impermeable group boundaries.

The Québécois were the most successful at destigmatizing their collective identity in the closing decades of the last century. They improved their economic status, claimed political autonomy, and at the same time affirmed the value of their cultural distinctiveness. The Afro-Brazilians, enveloped in official rhetoric of multiculturalism, experience a more permeable interracial sociability than is the case in other countries where the black/white distinction is prominent, but they suffer, nevertheless, from pervasive and at times severe race-based discrimination. Roman Catholics in Northern Ireland face impermeable group boundaries. Although their economic exclusion has declined, interpersonal relations remain tense and political circumstances are deeply problematic. Religious institutions assert and promote autonomy and separation. Finally, Israeli Arabs live in acute tension within the Jewish state. They enjoy civil rights as Israeli citizens but social and political boundaries are otherwise rigid. They are further strained through economic inequalities.

The conference on ethno-racism and the transformation of collective identity seeks to launch a new international collaborative project aspiring to obtain additional funding from other sources. Scholars engaged in the study of ethno-racism will interview and observe with care in each of the four pertinent settings, employing a common research agenda and purpose. Brazilian, Canadian, Irish, and Israeli schol-

ars, among others, will be involved in this project, anchored at Harvard, engaging members of our intellectual community as the research unfolds over the next several years. Sociologists and social anthropologists are at the core of this work.

A third conference authorized by the Center will focus on the new comparative economic history. Led by Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate John Coatsworth, this major conference will explore the accomplishments of this “new” history as it has evolved over the past several decades. In comparison to its predecessors, the new economic history is more self-consciously theoretical in conception, quantitative in methods, and rigorous in data collection. It asks questions pertinent not just to individual countries but situates economies in a broader comparative framework in order to understand how they function, and why and in what ways they differ in various parts of the world. It also has expanded the coverage of research in economic history beyond Western Europe and toward other parts of Europe as well as Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Recent research underscores variations in trade or financial regimes, democratization, mass migrations, and the losses from war. A key purpose of the conference is to engage scholars in interdisciplinary conversation. Led by historians and economists, the conference informs path-breaking thinking in the social sciences.


These three conferences, as well as others already authorized or in the process of coming to fruition, should enrich the world of scholarship, engage experts in these fields from all ranks of the faculty, bring to Harvard experts on these subjects from other institutions and many countries, connect Harvard students to the leading lights of these professions, and advance and improve the quality of effective research. These activities are at the core of the Weatherhead Center’s mission. 



Photo Martha Stewart

Jennifer Chan-Tiberghian, an advanced research fellow of the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations, and her husband, Yves Tiberghian, an Academy Scholar, attended the Center’s orientation in the Faculty Club on September 13, 2004.

contemporary BORDERS



Early last academic year, interest arose among the Fellows of the Weatherhead Center on the functions of contemporary borders. The class decided to convene a study group to meet approximately once a week, open to members of the Harvard community. The 2003-04 Fellows organized fourteen sessions in all during the spring term. Key contributors were Eva Åkerman-Börje, Mark Devlin, Caroline Dumas, María Cristina Fernández, Adrian Fortescue, Gerhard Kuentzle, Philippe Le Corre, Valerie Lofland, Masilo Mabeta, Pasi Patokallio, Stephen Pattison, Robert Rooks, Michael Small, and Fellows Program Director Kathleen Molony. Guests came from Harvard as well as from Brown University, the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, and Northeastern University.

A number of useful conclusions emerged from these sessions.

The general theme of borders is intellectually challenging to scholars from many disciplines:

- The study of borders invites robust comparative analysis. The case studies we discussed ranged from one extreme, Canada, which has only one land border, to China, which has no fewer than fourteen. The United States, which was the focus of one of our discussions, has two land borders. The contrasts and similarities between them readily invite comparative analysis.

- Every border and border region has its own specificity, which invites more detailed area analysis of the border itself and the border regions on each side. This became particularly apparent in a presentation given to the Fellows about the German-Polish border, as seen from the vantage point of the Viadrina University, which was re-established in the eastern German city of Frankfurt am Oder, under the motto “where borders meet.”

- All borders can be analyzed by the particular mix of political, economic, social and psychological functions they perform. The study of any border area usually involves an understanding of how that border is shaped by one or more other cross-border relationships, which in turn reflects national, regional or global flows.

- This means that the study of borders offers opportunities to examine where area studies and functional analyses intersect. For example, discus-

sions of the Canada–United States border presented a clear-cut case of the policy choices between enhancing security and promoting freer trade. Discussion of the Eastern European borders in the twentieth century generated many examples of how shifting borders after World War I and II defined and redefined national minorities, and how tensions over minority rights in their own state, and their relationship to their “national homeland,” were managed using human rights instruments as mechanisms of conflict prevention.

- Even when one takes a purely functional perspective of specific kinds of cross-border flows—such as refugee movements, or international child adoptions, or remittances—a consideration of these disparate “global trends” from the perspective of borders brings them together under a common frame. All borders create barriers or bottlenecks to these flows. But as a matter of policy choice, some borders are much freer to certain flows than others. The clearest example is in the movement of people. Barriers to the movement of people create a host of externalities, inviting a wide range of evasion strategies. These in turn generate complex policy problems across a range of fields—from the universal application of human rights norms, to national-vs.-regional security arrangements, to patterns of human capital formation and international development. States usually put in place one kind of border-control policy to deal with a specific problem, with little attention to the spillover effects this can create (both positive and negative) in other areas of policy interest.

Political scientists traditionally have studied borders as sources or zones of conflict. This remains true in some of the most volatile regions of the world, e.g. the contested border between Israelis and Palestinians, or the “cease-fire line” between India and Pakistan in Kashmir. However, these sessions revealed that just as the number of inter-state wars has declined radically in the late twentieth century, so have the number of cases of continuing, unresolved disputes between states over where they should draw their borders. Even when borders were completely arbitrarily drawn—as in Africa during the colonial era, or in Central Asia by Stalin—newly independent states have rapidly concluded that the costs of con-

In Memoriam

A Memorial Service to celebrate the life of Jinbao Qian was held on Tuesday, November 23. Those who were unable to attend but wish to convey their recollections and tributes, are invited to do so by e-mail to Shinju Fujihira (sfujihira@wcfia.harvard.edu). We will translate all messages and convey them to the family.

JINBAO QIAN

1966-2004



Jinbao Qian Memorial Fund
Jinbao came from a small village in Sheyang County, Jiangsu Province, and he leaves his parents who still reside there, as well as two brothers also living in China. Naturally, his sudden death at such a young age is a devastating loss to his family in China. Over the past weeks, we have heard from so many who have expressed a wish to do something to help Jinbao's family cope with this tragedy. We have established this fund in order to give friends, colleagues and others who knew Jinbao the opportunity to make a contribution, which will go in its entirety to Jinbao's family. If you would like to make a contribution to this fund, please send a check made out to the "Jinbao Qian Memorial Fund," c/o Clare Putnam, Weatherhead Center, 1033 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA, 02138, USA.

Jinbao Qian, a scholar of Chinese-Japanese relations, died suddenly on October 22, 2004, after collapsing while playing badminton with friends from Harvard and MIT. He was 37 years old. When Jinbao left his native China in 1994 to pursue doctoral studies at Harvard, he had already made his mark in the field of history. As an archivist at the Second Historical Archives of China in Nanjing, he had been part of a team that had painstakingly documented one of the most shattering events in China's turbulent wartime relations with Japan, the Rape of Nanking. He sought to deepen his expertise by studying abroad, embarking on a path that led ultimately to his receiving a Ph.D. in History and East Asian Languages from Harvard in June 2004, working under the supervision of William Kirby, a leading specialist on twentieth century Chinese history. Among Harvard scholars of Chinese studies, he was widely heralded for his encyclopedic and unparalleled knowledge of archival materials throughout China. His extensive ties among archivists in his home country gave him unprecedented access to research materials there, and he was generous in helping researchers from the United States and other nations gain access as well.

Jinbao was a highly valued Graduate Student Associate of the Weatherhead Center from 2000 through 2003. "He was not only hard working but always kind and full of great humor," said Clare Putnam, the coordinator of student programs. When the current academic year began in September, Jinbao stayed at Harvard to take up a postdoctoral fellowship with the Weatherhead Center's Program on U.S.-Japan Relations, where he intended to investigate the wartime negotiations between Japan and China from 1937 through 1945 and to publish his dissertation as a book. Well known among his friends for his athletic prowess, the Somerville resident left many colleagues and acquaintances greatly saddened by his sudden and unexpected death.

He is deeply mourned by his friends here and by his family members in Sheyang County, Jiangsu Province, China.

Eliot A. Cohen was awarded the first **Huntington Prize** on Monday (March 22) for his book *Supreme Command: Soldiers, Statesmen, and Leadership in Wartime* (New York: Free Press, 2002). The \$10,000 prize is awarded for the best book published each year in the field of national security studies. According to the Huntington Prize Committee, "Supreme Command" speaks to our time by laying forth the enduring dimensions of the interactions between great leaders of democracies and their senior military officers. Cohen is professor of strategic studies at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) at Johns Hopkins University. The Huntington Prize was established by the students and friends of Samuel P. Huntington, the Albert J. Weatherhead University Professor and former chairman of the Harvard Academy of International and Area Studies.

Dan Ziblatt, faculty associate, was selected by the American Political Science Association (APSA) for the Gabriel Almond Award for 2004 for the best dissertation in comparative politics written in 2003 or 2002. "Constructing a Federal State: Political Development, Path Dependence, and the Origins of Federalism, 1815-1871."

Jim Cooney, executive director of the Weatherhead Center, spent a week in early November in Germany explaining the U.S. presidential election on national television and radio and in panel discussions in Berlin, Cologne, and Munich. He was part of the official American delegation invited by the U.S. Embassy in Germany.

The Kennedy School of Government approved the promotion of Weatherhead Center faculty associate and John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies assistant director **Monica Duffy Toft** to the rank of associate professor of public policy.



Of
NOTE



Gender and Human Rights Politics in Japan: Global Norms and Domestic Networks

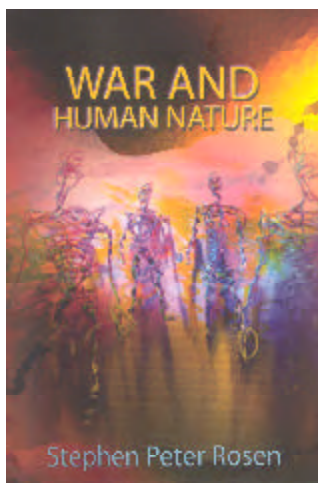
by
Jennifer Chan-Tiberghian

This book offers an up-to-date account of the changes in women's, children's, and minority rights in Japan in the past decade. Since the late 1990s, several legal and political changes took place in Japan including the revision of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law, the legalization of the pill, the first Basic Law on Gender Equality, the Child Prostitution and Pornography Prohibition Law, the Child Abuse Prevention Law, the Anti-Stalking Law, the Law to Promote Human Rights Education, and finally the Domestic Violence Prevention Law. Predominant conceptions of the Japanese state, focusing on bureaucratic dominance, party politics, and interest groups, fail to explain these extensive changes. This study ties the global to the local and examines how Japanese nongovernmental networks have been able to effect change through issue reframing, advocacy education, and leverage politics. It further provides a contrasting case of the limited advancement of minority rights for Burakumin, Ainu, Okinawans, Koreans, and migrant workers in Japan.

Jennifer Chan-Tiberghian is an advanced research fellow of the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations.

NEW BOOKS

This section presents recent publications by Weatherhead Center affiliates.



War and Human Nature

by
Stephen Peter Rosen

Why did President John F. Kennedy choose a strategy of confrontation during the Cuban missile crisis even though his secretary of defense stated that the presence of missiles in Cuba made no difference? Why did large numbers of Iraqi troops surrender during the Gulf War even though they had been ordered to fight and were capable of doing so? Why did Hitler declare war on the United States knowing full well the power of that country? *War and Human Nature* argues that new findings about the way humans are shaped by their inherited biology may help provide answers to such questions. This seminal work by former Defense Department official Stephen Peter Rosen contends that human evolutionary history has affected the way we process the information we use to make decisions. The result is that human choices and calculations may be very different from those predicted by standard models of rational behavior. Human emotional arousal affects how people learn the lessons of history. For example, stress and distress influence people's views of the future, and testosterone levels play a role in human social conflict.

Stephen Peter Rosen is director of the John M. Olin Institute of Strategic Studies and the Beton Michael Kaneb Professor of National Security and Military Affairs at Harvard University.



The Fellows Program; Adrian's, Ann's, and Pedro's colleagues; the Weatherhead Center; and the university community were deeply enriched by these Fellows' presence among us.

Fellows' Lives Lived

Adrian
Fortescue

Adrian Fortescue, a Fellow in 2003-2004, died unexpectedly on August 17, 2004, in London at the age of 63. Adrian had devoted his life to public service, having first served for 20 years as a British Foreign Service Officer, with diplomatic postings in Lebanon, Jordan, Paris, Brussels, Washington and Budapest. In 1985, he was seconded to the European Commission as *chef de cabinet* to the Commission's British vice president, Lord Cockfield, and he thus played a pivotal role in the creation of the Single Market. Adrian was invited in 1989 by the Commission's then-president, Jacques Delors, to oversee the project to remove frontier controls on people moving between EC countries. A decade later he became the first director general of the newly created directorate general for Justice and Home Affairs. In a recent tribute, Neil Kinnock, vice president of the European Commission, wrote that the directorate general "in developing an effective European area of justice and freedom will be a lasting testimony to [Adrian's] civilised convictions, his sense of vision, and his personal and professional dedication." In recognition of his many contributions as an international public servant, Adrian was knighted recently by HM the Queen. His colleagues at the Center, said Fellows Program director Kathleen Molony, remember Adrian for "his intelligence, charm, creativity, wit, friendship, humility, patience, and skill at negotiations. They have fondly recalled so much: from his good-humored 'thank you' to one of our hosts on the Fellows' study trip to Canada; to his expertise on European migration and border issues; to the moment when he donned high boots and witnessed an auction of the daily tuna catch in the Japanese fish market, *tsukij*; and finally to his expression of appreciation to the Program and Center at the farewell dinner in May." Adrian's deep convictions and his years of professional experience were reflected in all that he accomplished during his year as a Fellow. In a carefully crafted research paper submitted just weeks before his untimely death, he considered the effectiveness of the newly created U.S. Department of Homeland Security in ensuring the safety of Americans, examining what lessons the department's establishment might hold for the European Union. He is survived by his wife, Marie, and by his children, James and Geraldine.

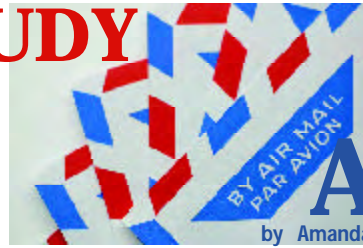
Pedro Pick

Pedro Pick, a Fellow in 1981-82, died at home in Vermont on October 4, 2004, after a valiant fight against cancer. He was 69 years old and passed away peacefully, surrounded by his wife, Barbara; their children; and his brother, Pablo. Born in Prague, Pedro was a Venezuelan citizen who was educated as an undergraduate at New York University. Before coming to the Center for International Affairs he served at CORIMON, C.A., a leading Venezuelan industrial group, through which he managed various chemical companies. During that time he was also president of the Venezuelan Chemical Association, president of the Venezuelan Foundation for the Advancement of Science, director of the Venezuelan Industrial Council, and was the founder and coordinator of the Santa Lucia Civic Group. Later he was a vice president of Arthur D. Little, International, Inc., based in Cambridge. In the mid-1990s Pedro moved to Prague where he served as chairman of Patria Management, chairman of Spolchemie, director of Prague Breweries, and consultant to A.T. Kearney. For many years Pedro was a member of this Center's Visiting Committee, and he was a co-founder and a decisive promoter of the Center's NOMOS Group, a seminar that brought together business, government, and academic leaders to examine key issues in Latin American economies and politics. For Harvard he also served as a member of the Dean's Council of the John F. Kennedy School of Government, and was vice president of the Harvard Club of Prague. In recent years Pedro was on the advisory board of IDE-Madrid and was director of the Lipa Civic Forum. In 1980, before becoming a Fellow, Pedro expressed an interest to then-director Ben Brown to dedicate the rest of his life to the simultaneous advancement of management science for financial profit and the cause of human welfare. His life is testament to the fact that these goals can, indeed, be achieved together.

Elizabeth Ann Swift Cronin

Elizabeth Ann Swift Cronin, a Fellow in 1981-82, died in a horseback riding accident in Rectortown, Virginia, on May 7, 2004, at the age of 63. A native of Washington, D.C., she graduated with a *cum laude* degree in history from Radcliffe College in 1962 and from Cornell University with a master's degree in Southeast Asian history. Joining the Foreign Service the following year, she served in the Philippines, Indonesia, and in Washington before she was assigned as deputy political counselor in the U.S. embassy in Tehran in 1979. Ann spent 444 days in Iran as a hostage, from 1979 to 1981, as one of two women among the 52 diplomats held by supporters of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. After returning to the U.S., Fellows director Benjamin Brown recruited her to spend a year as a Fellow, "as in some ways a homecoming in familiar surroundings among some familiar faces... to get her bearings after her long captivity." She ruled out one subject of study at Harvard, her experience as a hostage. "I want to put it behind me and study other areas," she said at the time (although she did write an account of her captivity and her conversations with student revolutionaries). After her year as a Fellow, Ann Swift continued to work for the State Department, moving into consular affairs and working in Athens, Kingston, and London. (It was suggested by a colleague in the Fellows Program during her year that she had come to feel that the State Department was misrepresenting its support of human rights abroad and that consular affairs would be a less compromising branch of service.) While in London she assisted the families of the victims of the bombing of Pan Am 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland. She retired from the Foreign Service in 1995. Paul D. Cronin, her husband of ten years, two stepsons, and a step-granddaughter survive her.

STUDY



ABROAD

by Amanda Pearson

"My name is Josh Stenberg; I am a June '04 graduate from Harvard College. Now that my time at Harvard is at an end,

I am writing to thank the Center for the support and opportunities it offered throughout my time in Cambridge.

My interaction with Weatherhead formed one of the highlights of my undergraduate studies."

There is no real substitute for time spent in another country. For more than three decades the Weatherhead Center has celebrated the importance of international education by providing summer travel grants to undergraduates who plan to conduct senior thesis research on topics related to the core interests of the Weatherhead Center. Study abroad provides the opportunity for undergraduates to make connections between what is studied in the classroom and what is experienced in the outside world. These observations are brought back to campus to further enrich a student's ongoing studies and worldview.

At the outset, most undergraduates who receive summer travel grants from the Weatherhead Center expect their research goals to be both straightforward and obtainable: to improve their foreign language skills; to conduct interviews and collect data; to develop new academic interests as a capstone to their undergraduate experience. Of the twenty grant recipients in 2004, nearly every student reported that they subsequently amended their senior thesis to reflect more closely their cultural observations, which differed from their preconceived notions about a topic that had been previously limited to lessons learned in the classroom.

For the past few years Harvard College has instituted an effort to encourage students to pursue an alternative cultural experience during their undergraduate careers. The Harvard College Curricular Review (HCCR) recently recommended that twenty-five percent of students—about 200 per class, per semester—should have a "significant" international experience during their undergraduate careers. But why celebrate the importance of international education? Dean William Kirby noted in his recent letter to members of the Harvard Community on November 10:

That the world has grown closer—through technology, political alliance, shared economic

structures, and the spread of both culture and disease—is undeniable. But we remain different societies, for all our interconnection. We can gain true mutual understanding, both through rigorous study and personal relationships built at home and abroad. All the world's students—our future leaders—and all of us involved in higher education have a stake in this effort.

Josh Stenberg's recent letter to the Weatherhead Center—selections of which appear in this article—attests to the importance of international experience. Highlighted here also are report excerpts from four Weatherhead Center Undergraduate Associates, who are in the process of writing their senior theses.

Susan Mathai

My experience in Cuba was both enlightening and frustrating. I did leave the island after two months with a multi-dimensional understanding of normal, everyday life for Cuban families and of the complicated social, political, and economic situation in which Cubans are trying to construct meaning

"I worked as research assistant to Dr. Drago Stambuk, a Fellow at the Weatherhead Center.

This summer, while visiting Croatia, I was able to see him again; he took me and my friends in a whirlwind

historical tour of Zagreb, introduced us to the academicians, poets, and presidential candidates who wandered past."

and hope for the future.

I had originally intended to focus my study on the national immunization programs in Cuba, primarily because they have been a source of pride for the island nation, having provided for many years nearly 100% of Cuban children with protection against approximately 13 different illnesses. The Cuban health system was, and still is, an example to me that the goals of comprehensive medical care (even from the primary care level) is possible in the developing world, especially in the context of a political commitment to "social justice" in health



Old buildings lining the streets in Habana Vieja, the tourist sector of the city. The Cuban government is slowly working to restore the facades of many of the old colonial style buildings that line the busy streets.

Photo Susan Mathai.



Left: During a capacity-building session, the instructor tries on a shirt made by one of the micro-entrepreneurs. The workshop for the day is presentation and quality of products. The women have braved a torrential rainstorm and a bus strike to attend training, even though they had to come on foot. Photo Mika Morse.

Protestors, the March Against Violence, Guatemala City, August 13, 2004. Photo Christina Givey.

and medicine. I lived in Havana for approximately two months, between June 10 and August 10, 2004. I was hosted by Dr. Jorge Pérez and Lic. Alicia Reyes from the Instituto de Medicina Tropical—Pedro Kourí (IPK), one of Cuba’s premiere medical institutions, which focuses on the study of infectious diseases, most notably HIV/AIDS.

Towards the end of my time in Cuba, I was able to spend my time accompanying physicians on rounds at the hospital at the IPK, which focuses on the care of HIV positive patients suffering from serious opportunistic infections. I was also able to accompany some neighborhood primary care physicians during their daily work. This included “terreno,” home visits, a particularly patient-centered aspect of the extensive primary-care system and one of the reasons that Cuba continues to be able to improve health statistics (e.g., infant mortality, maternal mortality) despite severe economic and political problems. This experience gave me a more three-dimensional vision of what health in Cuba entails, and also makes me more confident in my potential future writings on the subject. I have also made many friends and contacts at IPK and in Cuba, and I think that this will be invaluable in continuing to research and write about the island.

I learned innumerable lessons about how Cubans have been able to survive and make do in an idiosyncratic “planned” economy, how Cuba and *La Revolución* continues to be a potent political symbol for other Latinos, and how the U.S. continues to influence Latin American and Cuban politics in ways that most Americans (including myself) fail to recognize and continue to understand poorly.

Mika Morse

Thanks to the grant I received from WCFIA, I was able to travel to Nicaragua for six weeks to conduct research for my senior thesis on women’s experiences with micro-credit. The easiest part of my research was the degree of openness and accessibility that I encountered in the micro-credit sector. Women, organizations, and government representatives were

eager to share their experiences and were interested in my research. For example, one organization offered to take me along on trips to remote rural villages to talk to women who have received micro-credit. Some of the most insightful conversations occurred informally. We would talk for hours in the car as we waded through flooded dirt roads and climbed steep mountains to towns like Las Rivas and La Concha.

The observation aspect of my research was also incredibly valuable. Each organization that gives out small loans to women to help them maintain their informal business has a different philosophy and thus a different methodology. Some emphasized poverty alleviation while others were more concerned with women’s empowerment, while still others focused on national development. I found that organizations with a gender focus also integrate women’s empowerment, self-care, resolving domestic conflict, and self-esteem workshops into their training programs to improve gender relationships between wives and husbands.

In addition to researching whether training is in fact a useful component of micro-credit programs, I became interested in how it is used to accomplish the mission the organization subscribes to. In what ways does it empower women? How far does it go in alleviating poverty? Are businesses more successful and more productive because of it?

The experience of doing field work was entirely new to me, but my relationship with my thesis advisor, Professor William Fisher, made things easier. We were in touch about once or twice a week so I could tell him about my recent discoveries and ask how he recommended I proceed. I sent him samples of interview notes and field observations, and received back notes of my questions and suggestions for issues to focus on.

I am also in close contact with many of the people and organizations that helped me while I was

“I was very fortunate to receive a summer travel grant for my thesis project, which dealt with the society of Chinese migrants on the Russian side of the Amur River.

It was an eye-opening summer. “

Continued page 10

in Nicaragua. My field work component was the best experience I have had at Harvard and I look forward to my thesis as a final product of this incredible process of original research.

Christina Givey

Actually “being there,” as [Clifford] Geertz so famously put it, gave me much more “unofficial” and nuanced insights and enormously complicated the theories I knew about truth commissions, justice, and reconciliation. My research questions focused on the impact and perceptions of the CEH and REHMI processes: how they have affected different Guatemalans’ ideas about justice, healing, and reconciliation, and how the recommendations of the commissions have (or have not) been implemented. I spent eleven weeks in country; the first three I lived with a family in Guatemala City and the others I lived with a family in Chimaltenango.

It was not easy to talk about these issues; for example, upon meeting me for the first time, many people would tell me what they thought about their churches (Catholic or evangelical) or what they thought about immigration, since so many people I knew there had family in the United States. Furthermore, it was obvious that security threats were a very real part of the lives of the people I got to know who were involved in human rights work.

Besides people directly involved in human rights organizations, I brought up the themes of my project with others, although I was very cautious about who I talked to and only did this after I had known them for several weeks and had established that they were trusted and safe to talk to, and that it was safe for them to talk to me.

It was very interesting that most of these people had never heard of either of the truth commissions, and although they did remember when Gerardi was assassinated, they did not know why. All of the people who worked in human rights organizations in Guatemala City knew both commissions, and many had actually worked on them and given testimonies. They shared with me many opinions about the usefulness of the truth commission process. However, most other people in and around Chimaltenango, both indigenous and ladino, had never seen the reports and were not very interested in talking about them—this was both in areas hit very hard by the violence (San Juan Comalapa, Tecpan), and others that were not that affected (Patzia).

The divisions between evangelicals and Catholics were very clear, and sometimes this was delicate to navigate, as I was neither an evangelical nor a practicing Catholic. This is something that future students should be aware of. Also obvious were the

divisions and inequalities between ladinos and indigenous peoples, and rural and urban divides.

Peter McMurry

Sitting at Harvard, I had assumed that people would know the necessary academic terminology to discuss their own identity. But through interviews, I realized that many of the labels (Muslim, Bosnian, Bosniak, Serb) had completely different meaning for every individual, and some made no sense at all for them.

My thesis has started to move into a more strictly literary realm specifically because of those conversations. As I’ve looked back to those interviews, it became clear that I was undertrained to really sort through the litany of issues bundled up in the identity of Slavic Muslims (Bosniaks) in the area. I feel I barely began to elicit answers to many of the sociological and anthropological questions that surround my topic: on race, ethnicity, religiosity, religion-as-nation, language and nationality, etc. And yet, these interviews were not a waste of time; far from it, they opened my eyes to the rich blend of cultural forces at play in the folk literature of the area. They also challenged any attempts I might have made to address the region as being culturally static, which can be especially tempting in discussing folk art as though it came from “the Bosniak people” or

“Throughout the writing process I found the meetings and conferences with Weatherhead affiliates very useful.

That the thesis was well-received in the department and awarded the Hoopes Prize

is a testament to the generosity of Weatherhead’s staff and affiliates, without whose funding, support and advice my research, let alone my thesis-writing, would have been impossible.”

even “Bosniak singers in the Sandzak.”

So in short, these interviews have set a cultural backdrop of sorts for the literary work that I am now undertaking. And also, they have created a sort of theoretical “audience” in thinking about the performance and reception of these folk artforms. This interplay between social awareness and political thought, and the creation of traditional art is proving to be both problematic and challenging for the reasons I mentioned before, as well as very rewarding.

Of equal importance, I believe, was that I made a number of strong friendships that will survive over long distance. Aside from the purely academic engagement of field research, I believe it is very important that the community “studied” be a part of the entire process.



Christina Givey (right) and Magdalena in the office of the Gerardi Association, a human rights organization, Chimaltenango, Guatemala, August 2004.
Photo Christina Givey.



Contemporary Borders...

Today, the focus of border policing is on clandestine, transnational flows of people, drugs, and weapons. Conventional security forces are of minimal use in dealing with these threats, despite the disproportional resources spent on them compared to the services required to promote homeland security.




testing these borders is very high, and their strong preference is to build a coherent state within whatever borders they inherited. Thus the study of borders today is much less about the science of where to draw lines between nations. It is much more about where jurisdictions meet, overlap, and influence each other—and not just at the border, but also at the bilateral, regional or even global level.

The politics of border policing and border controls was a poorly studied subject prior to September 11, 2001. Despite the huge increase in policy attention to security of borders since that day, the subject is still in its infancy. Today, the focus of border policing is on clandestine, transnational flows of people, drugs, and weapons. Conventional security forces are of minimal use in dealing with these threats, despite the disproportional resources spent on them compared to the services required to promote homeland security. At the same time, there are disproportionate degrees of public tolerance for security failures in dealing with these different kinds of clandestine threats. The expectation and acceptance of failure to interdict smuggling of migrants is quite high, and of drugs somewhat lower; while tolerance for cross-border movements of terrorists is zero. Yet no border control can achieve a 100% success rate. Existing U.S. strategies to respond to a major cross-border terrorist event (e.g., plans to close all ports) would have catastrophic consequences for the global economy. Instead a risk management approach is required, which regards border controls as providing one of many layers of security, rather than an ultimate guarantee.

Achieving this goal requires changing public acceptance of the risks entailed by maintaining open borders and the costs of not doing so. It involves a greater burden sharing of the costs of border security between the public and private sectors. It can also involve widening zones of free movement of people between states, provided the public can be assured that equally secure alternative arrangements, usually involving a strengthened common external border, can be put in place. This has been shown by the strong, continuing public support within the European Union for the Schengen process of eliminating internal border controls, despite post-September 11 concerns. Alternative political models exist to ac-

commodate the basic human desire to be able to move more freely across borders with the public concern for greater protection against new transnational threats.

Nevertheless, increased post-September 11 international preoccupations with security have heightened an underlying trend, that as borders worldwide have become more transparent to the movement of goods and services, borders have become less transparent to the movement of people. The asymmetry between the right to leave one's own country and the lack of rights to travel to or settle in another country is at the core of this complex phenomenon. New and problematic patterns of migration challenge the existing legal and institutional arrangements for global governance, such as the surge in the trafficking of people, or the small but growing number of independent child migrants who have no fixed home. Human capital flows have now become a major driver of international development, for both the sending and receiving countries. And just as people will find a way to move to jobs across borders, jobs will find a way to move to people, as the current debate over outsourcing shows.

These sessions concluded that the much-heralded "borderless world" has not arrived and may never arrive. We live in a world in which the same old borders shape, constrain, and facilitate new kinds of flows across state boundaries. Studying the functions of contemporary borders remains a rich field for further academic inquiry and policy analysis. 

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