



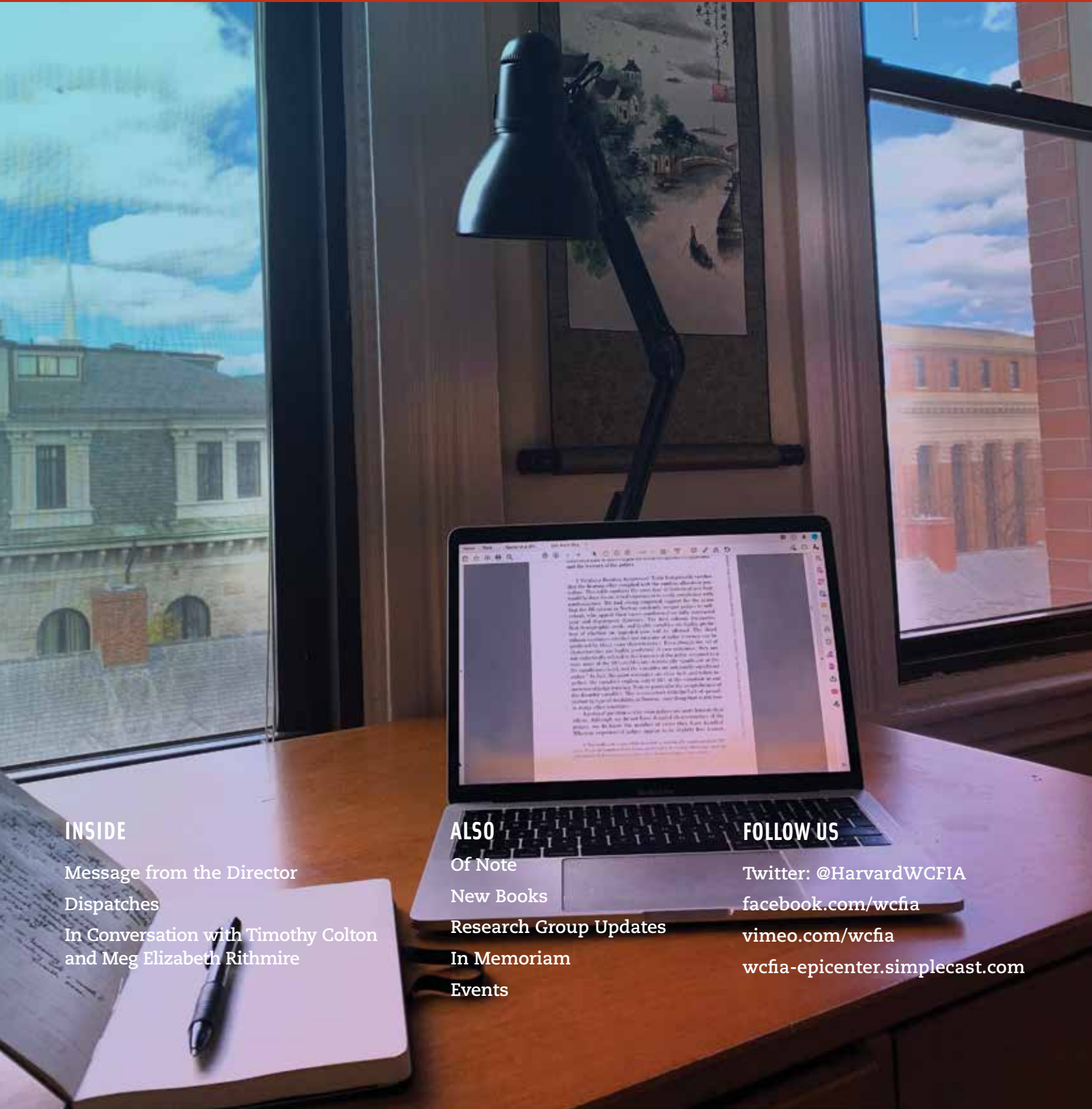
Weatherhead Center
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

CENTERPIECE

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NEWSLETTER OF THE WEATHERHEAD CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY



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Message from the Director

These have been trying months for sure. Between the pandemic and the many challenges presented by the recent US elections, many of us have felt disoriented and slightly out of whack. Nevertheless, rather than scale back Weatherhead Center activities, we have continued to forge ahead thanks to our amazing staff and to the dedicated members of our academic community.

The Weatherhead Scholars Program exemplifies such dedication, with twenty-five participants in virtual residence this term! Intellectual engagement remains high, and Scholars regularly share

their ongoing research in presentations and in writing. You will see their publications listed in *Epicenter*, along with their short research reports summarizing new work and integrating COVID-19 into their scholarly efforts. Several Scholars presented their research in the Weatherhead Forum in September, on a panel titled “Pandemics Past and Present: Assessing the Economic, Political, and Social Implications.”

As you may know, Kathleen Molony is the Weatherhead Scholars Program director. I am sad to share the news that Kathy is retiring at the end of December 2020. She has worked at the Weatherhead Center for twenty-one years, during which she has guided and advised hundreds of researchers from around the world. A historian of Japan, Kathy has mentored scholars in many disciplines. Her experience and wise counsel are irreplaceable for our intellectual community. We will miss her energy and look forward to keeping connected with her for years to come. Please see page four to read Kathy's goodbye letter to the WCFIA community.

The Scholars Program isn't the only group keeping busy. The Graduate Student Associates (GSA) Program, which includes twenty-four doctoral students from departments across the University, meets online every Friday to hear and offer constructive comments on their ongoing research. Erez Manela, Clare Putnam, and Ann Townes keep spirits high as they guide our GSAs toward completion of their degrees. Though they no longer enjoy in-person lunch together, this lively group has not slowed down during the pandemic. GSAs from the Sociology, History, and Government Departments presented a panel titled “The United States and China: Past, Present, Future” as part of the Weatherhead Forum this semester.

International studies thrive in many of our ongoing programs, projects, and research clusters as they continue to support research and hold events virtually. Since affiliates are now scattered across Boston and the globe, arranging convenient meeting times is a challenge—but we resist asking colleagues to Zoom in at unreasonable hours of the night. However, as one senior faculty participant pointed out, not traveling means one has more time to attend research presentations this semester. Being forced to slow down and work from home has increased participation in these research activities. In fact, interested researchers attend their preferred seminars and workshops with striking regularity, and attendance overall is higher than during a normal year.

We have seen similar upticks in attendance at several of our special events. New this year were several special sessions of our Weatherhead Forum, where we broadened our scope to include more pressing topics in the world today, such as the public health crisis of COVID-19, transnational LGBTQ solidarity, and the US presidential election. If you missed any, you can find the video recordings of all these special sessions on our Weatherhead Forum page. Additional video recordings, including our annual comedy night—this year, it was in the afternoon—are available on our WCFIA Vimeo page.

Thank you to the Weatherhead Center community for staying so engaged during this unprecedented time. I am routinely impressed at the resilience and intellectual energy consistently demonstrated by our community and have no doubt we will persevere and come out the other side even stronger.

Michèle Lamont
Weatherhead Center Director

Cover: Raphaëlle Soffe's view from her Fairfax dorm room at Harvard College over the summer.
Credit: Raphaëlle Soffe

This page: Center Director Michèle Lamont.
Credit: Dave Nelson

Alisha Holland Wins Seligson Prize

Faculty Associate **Alisha Holland**, associate professor of government at Harvard University, is the recipient of the 2020 Seligson Prize for her paper, "Diminished Expectations: Redistributive Preferences in Truncated Welfare States," published by *World Politics* in October 2018. According to the Princeton Institute of International and Regional Studies, the Seligson Prize is awarded annually to the best scholarship—paper, book, dissertation, or other scholarly work—using AmericasBarometer data from the Latin American Public Opinion Project.

Andrew Gordon Wins the 2nd International Award for Japanese Studies

Faculty Associate **Andrew Gordon**, Lee and Juliet Folger Fund Professor of History at Harvard University, is the recipient of the 2020 International Award for Japanese Studies. The award, presented by the National Institutes for the Humanities, gave the award to Gordon for his speciality in modern Japanese labor history research.

Tanushree Goyal Wins APSA Kauffman Foundation Award

Academy Scholar **Tanushree Goyal**, PhD candidate at Nuffield College, University of Oxford, is the winner of the 2020 Kauffman Award. The award is given by the American Political Science Association Section on Class and Inequality to the best paper on inclusion and entrepreneurship. Goyal won the award for her paper, "How Women Mobilize Women into Politics: A Natural Experiment in India."

Graduate Student Cresa Pugh Receives Derek C. Bok Award

Cresa Pugh, Graduate Student Associate and PhD candidate in the Department of Sociology at Harvard University and Program in Social Policy at Harvard Kennedy School, is one of five recipients of the 2020 Derek C. Bok Awards for Excellence in Graduate Student Teaching of Undergraduates. These awards, established in 2008, recognize the crucial role of graduate students in undergraduate education at Harvard College.

SAW Book Prize Goes to Ieva Jusionyte

Faculty Associate **Ieva Jusionyte**, John L. Loeb Associate Professor of the Social Sciences at Harvard University, is the recipient of the 2020 Society for the Anthropology of Work (SAW) Book Prize for her ethnography of emergency workers, *Threshold: Emergency Responders on the US-Mexico Border* (University of California Press, 2018). SAW recognizes Jusionyte's accomplishments as "some of the most rigorous, humane, and original fieldwork in the anthropology of work."

New Book by Vincent Brown Wins Multiple Awards

The new book by Faculty Associate **Vincent Brown**, Charles Warren Professor of American History and professor of African and African American studies at Harvard University, is called *Tacky's Revolt: The Story of an Atlantic Slave War* (Harvard University Press, 2020). Brown is the recipient of the 2020 Phillis Wheatley Book Award, given to books published within the last five years covering the topic of American slavery, in the nonfiction research category. *Tacky's Revolt* also put Brown on multiple shortlists, including the 2020 shortlist for the prestigious Cundhill History Prize as well as for the Maah Stone Book Award.

Two Former Academy Scholars Win APSA Book Award

The American Political Science Association's Section on Migration and Citizenship awarded two former Academy Scholars their 2020 Best Book prize: **Jeffrey S. Kahn**, assistant professor of anthropology at UC Davis, for *Islands of Sovereignty: Haitian Migration and the Borders of Empire* (University of Chicago Press, 2019), and **Noora Lori**, assistant professor of international relations at Boston University, for *Offshore Citizens: Permanent Temporary Status in the Gulf* (Cambridge University Press, 2019).

Amartya Sen Wins Peace Prize of the German Book Trade

The German Publishers and Booksellers Association awarded Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate **Amartya Sen**, Thomas W. Lamont University Professor at Harvard University, the 2020 Peace Prize of the German Book Trade. The board of trustees recognizes Sen for his pioneering work on global justice, including social inequality in education and healthcare.

Radcliffe Institute Welcomes Christina L. Davis and Torben Iversen As 2020–2021 Fellows

Two Weatherhead Center Faculty Associates join the 2020–2021 class of Radcliffe Institute Fellows, where they will spend the year focused on their own research projects. **Christina L. Davis**, Susan S. and Kenneth L. Wallach Professor at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study and professor of government at Harvard University, is working on a project called "Entry and Exit: How Membership in International Organizations Transforms International Cooperation." **Torben Iversen**, Harold Hitchings Burbank Professor of Political Economy at Harvard University, is working on a project called "The Data Revolution and the Transformation of Social Protection."

WWW

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Above: Kathleen Molony talks with Center affiliate at the Weatherhead Forum on April 24, 2019.
Credit: Lauren McLaughlin

Below (left): Group photo of the 2015 Fellows at the statue of John Harvard in Harvard Yard.
Credit: Kristin Caulfield

Below (right): Tom Murphy and Kathleen Molony at a Weatherhead Center staff outing in 2008.
Credit: Weatherhead Center

Page 5: Harvard University Professor of Economics Alberto Alesina inside Littauer Hall in 2007.
Credit: Justin Ide/Harvard News Office

As I sit in my dining room in Concord, Massachusetts, a room that has been my world since mid-March, I have time to think about the past nineteen-plus years at the Weatherhead Center. I still can't believe that I am about to "retire" from a job that I love and from a place where I have gained so much.

My first exposure to the Center was nearly thirty years ago, when I spent an academic year at the then-Center for International Affairs (CFIA) as an Advanced Research Fellow in the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations. I shared an office in Coolidge Hall—where the Knafel building now sits—with a military officer and a Canadian diplomat, both of whom were participants in the Fellows Program. I

could not have imagined a better "setup" to share conversation and experience.

I returned to Harvard eight years later to head the Fellows Program. During that first year running the program, Coolidge Hall would come down as we made way for construction of the new Center for Government and International Studies (CGIS) buildings, and the world would be marked by momentous events—notably the 9/11 attacks. The twenty or so practitioners in the program that year, many of them diplomats and military officers, partnered with faculty to answer the myriad questions that students and others were posing about the implications of 9/11 and its aftermath.

The Fellows Program, which was founded on the premise that scholars and practitioners could learn from one another, was, in my early years at the WCFIA, fulfilling this promise. In fact, I began one ambitious summer about ten years ago with a plan to write a book about global changes in the wake of 9/11, based on what I had learned from these early conversations and research. Those chapters are still on my laptop.

I presided over a major change to the Fellows Program itself just a few years ago, a decision that resulted in the transformation and expansion of the earlier program. Today, the Weatherhead Scholars Program brings together visiting scholars, postdoctoral researchers, and practitioners from around the world. It is a vibrant and vital community of people who share their work and ideas. The scholars and practitioners are often in their shared offices or in the 61 Kirkland reading room in spirited, but friendly, debate. And it is not uncommon for the practitioners and scholars to collaborate on articles and to participate together in panel discussions. A truly blended enterprise!

I will also miss terribly my wonderful colleagues at the Center. We have the most extraordinary staff anywhere. These colleagues are incredibly nice, bright, caring, patient, and humble people. Indeed, I don't intend to remain far from the Center, and I look forward to continuing to attend the many seminars from which I have benefitted so much over many years.

I wish everyone good health as we weather these challenging times together. We will get through this.

With deepest gratitude,
Kathleen (Kathy) Molony

WWW

For more information about our Research Groups visit: wcfia.harvard.edu/research-groups



IN MEMORIAM: ALBERTO ALESINA, 1957–2020



Alberto Alesina passed away last May, at the age of sixty-three. It will take me a long time to get over the shock and pain of his death, but I wanted to share some thoughts about this most intelligent of scholars and most generous of human beings.

I first met Alberto over thirty years ago. Guido Tabellini was then my colleague in economics (I was in political science) at UCLA, and he and Alberto were collaborating on their pathbreaking work on the political economy of macroeconomic policy. For a variety of reasons, Alberto was a frequent visitor to UCLA. We became friends almost immediately. We were young assistant professors then, on something of a crusade to establish political economy in both economics and political science. (There was a fine group of like-minded scholars in both departments at UCLA at the time, including David Dollar, Sebastian Edwards, Jack Hirshleifer, Ken Sokoloff, and Ed Leamer in economics; and Barbara Geddes, David Lake, Ron Rogowski, George Tsebelis, and Michael Wallerstein in political science.) The study of politics, especially in political science, had been dominated by what was called “behavioralism,” which focused on how cultural and psychological factors determined political behavior. In those early days of political economy, one of our principal goals was to show how this focus limited our understanding of politics, and how central economic interests were to political activity. It is paradoxical that in recent years Alberto and his many collaborators have worked hard to bring cultural and psychological factors back into political economy—a fact that demonstrates both his versatility and his willingness to entertain a vast array of factors in explaining our complex world.

Alberto had just gotten tenure, jointly in economics and government (political science), when I first visited Harvard for a semester. All of us saw this as a great victory for political economy. It was a recognition of Alberto's scholarly excellence, to be sure, but also of the fact that he had convinced skeptics in both disciplines of the importance of a field that he had played a major role in building.

During my first year at Harvard, Alberto was on leave. My wife and I sublet his beautiful

apartment on the first three floors of an 1867 townhouse on the first block of Commonwealth Avenue. When summer came and Alberto returned, there was still work being done on our new home and my wife was extremely pregnant. Alberto insisted we stay on, so we lived together for several months. Alberto lived on the first floor, we lived on the third floor, and we met for dinner in between. Alberto was going through a rough patch in his personal life then, and I think he enjoyed the company. I know he appreciated that we did all the cooking—I don't think he had ever turned on the oven in the apartment.

From that time onward, we were close colleagues. Alberto went full-time in economics after a while—he had had his fill of political science—but his passionate commitment to political economy and to interdisciplinary outreach never wavered. It may be hard for younger scholars to imagine the general lack of interest—and occasional hostility—that greeted much of the early work in political economy. But over time, as Alberto and his students and coauthors produced wave after wave of important research, the scholarly community gave him the personal and disciplinary recognition he deserved, and that he brought to the field of political economy more generally. Eventually the NBER created the Political Economy Program, which Alberto ran with his usual charm and intelligence. By now political economy is well established in both economics and political science, in no small measure due to the intellectual and personal influence of Alberto Alesina.

As a scholar, Alberto was a force of nature. He had a knack for finding important questions, figuring out how to ask them, and coming up with interesting answers. Whether it was how elections affect monetary policy, or why there is so often divided government in America, or why stabilizations are delayed, or why the welfare state looks so different in Europe and America, or how the plow changed the role of women in society, or dozens of other disparate and intriguing questions, Alberto trained his endless curiosity and boundless energy—and enormous following of younger scholars—on these topics and brought forth fascinating arguments and evidence. Not everyone agreed with him—I'm quite sure there were times that he didn't agree with himself—but nobody could ignore the work he and his followers did.

On a personal level, Alberto was a model scholar. He was generous with his time to everyone who approached him. His value as a teacher, mentor, and coauthor is made clear by the extraordinary number of former students and collaborators who today dominate the field

of political economy in economics. At the many seminars he attended—often ran—he could be counted upon to have some of the sharpest questions and comments, always presented with respect and good humor. Alberto's joy at hearing an interesting question or idea was obvious and infectious. I would occasionally send a graduate student interested in political economy to talk with him, and I could count on getting a happy phone call or email in return, expressing his enthusiasm for the person's promise as an academic and for the prospect of working together. Alberto was a scholar's scholar.

Alberto was a warm, kind, and gentle man. He was sincerely concerned for the well-being of his students, collaborators, and friends. He went out of his way to make people feel appreciated and respected, and never wavered in his support for deserving young scholars.

Perhaps what I will remember best and longest about Alberto is his laugh. We kidded each other pretty mercilessly, he for my love of baseball, me for his inability to appreciate that greatest of all games. It usually ended with Alberto throwing back his head and laughing. Sometimes he would punctuate the laugh with an expression I think of as quintessentially his: “Bloody ‘ell.” A completely British, somewhat archaic phrase, spoken by a brilliant American academic with a thick Italian accent. Only Alberto could make it sound appropriate.

It will be hard to run our joint political economy seminar, or attend the political economy lunch, or the NBER's Political Economy Program and Summer Institute, with Alberto's seat empty. Indeed, it is hard to imagine these things going on without Alberto to run them with his usual good humor, warmth, and intelligence. Nonetheless, the best tribute to Alberto's legacy is that he leaves an abundance of followers capable of picking up where he left us, much too suddenly and much too soon.

Alberto Alesina made an immense mark on political economy, and on economics. His impact will live on for many, many years, both in his work and in the scores of former students and collaborators who now dominate the field. But as a person, Alberto is irreplaceable. We will all miss him terribly. I miss him already, terribly.

Addio, Alberto. Ci mancherai moltissimo. Mi manchi già.

Jeffry A. Frieden

*Stanfield Professor of International Peace,
Department of Government, Harvard University*

Typically every spring, a select group of Harvard College students receive travel grants from the Weatherhead Center to support their thesis field research on topics related to international affairs. With the onset of the pandemic and accompanying travel restrictions, this past spring was different. Instead, we selected twenty exceptional undergraduates whose research we could still support in other ways, from helping revise research methods to plan projects that don't require travel. The Weatherhead Center has encouraged these Undergraduate Associates to take advantage of the Center's research community by connecting with graduate students, faculty, postdocs, and visiting scholars. Four Undergraduate Associates write of their experiences last summer:



Chihiro Ishikawa
 Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow; Departments of Sociology and East Asian Studies, Harvard College. *Research interests: Feminism; gender; contemporary East Asia; social media; social movements; and contemporary Japan.*

When I first learned that my research would have to be conducted online, I pictured myself cooped up in my room holding Zoom interviews with my participants. I imagined holding a cup of coffee in one hand and my iPhone in the other, recording voices of the faces I saw on screen, envisioning what this time must be like for them, disclosing their experiences to a stranger online. This would be vastly different from the summer I had envisioned, an ethnographic research experience at the heart of Seoul—connecting with local people, learning about the history and culture in living, breathing form, and involving myself closely with organizations I would work with. With the breakout of COVID-19 and the transition of all interviews to online, I worried about the emotional distance that would incur with the alienating medium of online socializing and linguistic barrier—I cannot speak Korean.

My intuitive fear of emotional disconnect was an ironic contrast to the hypothesis I make in my study, which explores the potential of anonymous online sites serving as “safe space” for feminists in conservative East Asian societies. In my thesis, I compare the tactical repertoires in social networking service usage and anonymity utilized by Japanese and Korean feminist NGOs for mobiliza-

tion under the #MeToo movement. I argue that for societies such as Japan and Korea, where issues of gender and noticeable antifeminist sentiment persist, feminists would prefer to mobilize anonymously on online platforms to protect their own and others' identities. Highly visible modes of civic engagement such as participating in protests may not be effective, as individuals may find anonymity more comforting than calls for action.

To the activist, high visibility can incur high risk. Therefore, online anonymity can be significant for targeted activists to protect their identities, especially under repressive regimes or totalitarian states. The case of physically and digitally anonymous Hong Kong protestors or the usage of the instant messaging app Telegram in Russia and Iran, for example, show how privacy and safety are linked to activism. In Korea and Japan, coming out as feminist can be especially dangerous. Anonymity can thus provide protection and be a crucial resource for feminists in conservative societies.

My fears of emotional disconnect with my own participants turned out to be unfounded. With the support of my kind translator, I have established a remarkable level of emotional intimacy over Zoom. Every time my participants raised their voices in joy, I felt a fuzzy rush of relief. I am realizing however, that my one-hour online interviews may be incomparable to the scale of advocacy strategies needed for activism, which demands solid forms of trust, long-lasting commitment, and effective modes of sharing feelings in safe and secure spaces with multiple people. As I continue to collect and analyze data, I hope to reflect upon my own experience navigating the online space. When I next conduct an interview, I will be aware that as much as this experience is theirs, it is also my own.



Tokyo, Japan. Credit: Liam Burnett-Blue, Unsplash



Andrew Mammel

Department of History, Harvard College. *Research interests: Native American studies; infrastructure and energy; twentieth-century United States; and Japanese language.*

Spending long days in the archives, traveling across borders, conducting live interviews: when I first conceptualized my thesis last year, these were the things I thought I'd be doing. When I flew back home to Montana in March, to find out days later that my summer internship in Washington, DC had been cancelled, I realized that my thesis research plans would likewise be upended.

My mom suggested I go work on the family farm for the summer. Realizing that I might not have the chance again, I decided to go. I packed up my bags and drove south to Powell, Wyoming. Although Powell technically occupies a desert, an early twentieth-century irrigation project there dammed the Shoshone River, and through a series of canals and ditches, turned Powell into a green oasis—at least in the summertime anyway.

My family comprises nearly a third of the town. Whenever there's a family reunion, it makes the front-page news in the *Powell Tribune*. My family owns shops and hair salons and construction companies, but at our core we are a farming family. We grow sugar beets, barley,



and beans, and occasionally we farm sunflowers, radish seed, and corn.

My job this summer was all about water. As if it were a ritual, every morning we would wake up at 6 a.m., walk down the field and "set" each row. Flanking the field on one side is a concrete ditch, and at each crop row sits one or two metal siphon tubes. To set it, we submersed the tube in the ditch with one hand, covered the hole with the other, and quickly yanked it onto its proper row. It's mesmerizing to watch the water flow from the ditch, up into the tubes, then cascade down the rows until it reaches the end ditch. For anyone in my family, this process is instinctual. My uncle likes to brag that he can set two at a time with just one hand—even after two months of daily practice, I still can't claim that feat.

The hot sun and cloudless skies, the ominous snake rattles (we've had our fair share of rattlesnake encounters), and the barren landscape didn't make for easy work, yet my daily physical demands made the cerebral efforts of my thesis research far easier to appreciate. At the heart of my research, like my summer job, is water. It's also about race.

The farm in Powell, my great-grandparents' homestead, was once occupied by the Newe tribe (Shoshone). The irrigation project that still feeds our fields is called the Shoshone project. Just as water can make crops flourish and turn a desert green, it can be a weapon of destruction. The use of water and irrigation projects to weaken Indigenous sovereignty was commonplace in the US and Canada throughout the twentieth century, and often still is today. A far less examined his-

tory is the resistance to that weapon. Native peoples have long understood the impacts of water projects and have strategically resisted or participated in them. My thesis focuses on the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes' resistance to hydro-development in northwest Montana and southern British Columbia.

Gone are my days of hard labor. This fall, I'm living with four other friends from Harvard in Red Lodge, Montana. Now I get to enjoy the beautiful mountain views while I Zoom into class. My time on the farm, however, has impressed upon me the importance of water and the beauty of the natural world. It has also left me with a newfound respect for labor, an element that will feature prominently in my research. Perhaps most importantly, as I continue to study the racist and paternalist history of this region, I hope to bring empathy to my research. The inequities wrought by that past are still with us today. I hope my research will highlight the paternalist history of environmental management in both the US and Canada, and showcase the long and impressive struggle Native American and First Nations people have waged for greater self-determination.

Above: Siphon tubes line the ditch on the family's sugar beet farm in Powell. Credit: Daniel Abdulah

Below: Andrew Mammel enjoys mountain views in the Shoshone National Forest. Credit: Daniel Abdulah

Photos: Fall 2020 Events



WHETHER AT THE CENTER OR AROUND THE GLOBE...

WCFLA events connect our community of scholars to the broader world. As the COVID-19 pandemic marches on, Center events this semester continued online via Zoom, despite the challenges and limitations of hosting such intellectually engaging events from afar.

It takes many people to orchestrate a successful virtual event. We are grateful to all our webinar contributors—panelists, moderators, hosts, staff, and attendees—for rising to the challenge with such cheer.

Why Nonviolent Resistance Has Succeeded in the Past

- Build large, diverse participation
- Sustain momentum
- Elicit loyalty shifts among pillars of support
- Maintain resilience despite escalation of repression
- Use a variety of nonviolent methods



In 1918, barriers were erected around soldiers' beds at a naval station in San Francisco to slow the spread of the.

U.S. NAVAL HISTORY AND HERITAGE COMMAND PHOTOGRAPH

Examples of major disease outbreaks

- 1918-1919 Influenza pandemic: 500 million deaths
- 1968 Hong Kong flu: 1 million deaths
- 1967-1969 Polio epidemic: 35,000 deaths
- 1918-1919 Spanish Flu: 50 million deaths

NOTICE: PREVENTION OF CHOLERA!

BE YOUNG TO LIVE! DARING & DANGEROUS

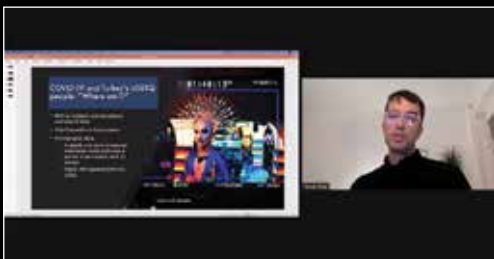




Page 8 (left to right in rows):

Staff and affiliates of the Center begin the 2020–2021 academic year with our online orientation held on August 31 & September 1, 2020.

Erica Chenoweth presents “The Case of Social Movements across the World” during the welcome panel discussion titled “Global, International, and Comparative Studies in Pursuit of Social Justice” for WCFIA orientation. The discussion continued with Ellis Monk on “The Case of Colorism in the US and Brazil” and Carleigh Beriont on “The Case of US Imperialism’s Involvement in Nuclear Testing and Climate Change.” Also pictured: Center Director Michèle Lamont and Center Executive Director Theodore J. Gilman.



Speakers Allan Brandt, Ann Mische, Vikram Patel, Arthur Kleinman, and Paul Farmer with event chair and Center Director Michèle Lamont speak at the September 9, 2020 Weatherhead Forum titled “Thinking the Future: New Perspectives on Globalization and Health under COVID-19.” Allan Brandt discusses comparisons with the 1918 Spanish Flu pandemic.



Mario Jimenez presents at the Weatherhead Forum held on September 23, 2020 featuring the Weatherhead Scholars Program and chaired by Director Kathleen Molony on “Pandemics Past and Present: Assessing the Economic, Political, and Social Implications.” The panel also featured program affiliates Ronald Rogowski, Benjamin Bradlow, and Ryan Garlow. Center Director Michèle Lamont moderates the discussion.

Page 9 (left, top to bottom):

The Weatherhead Forum held on October 7, 2020 and titled “Rethinking Resistance Politics in Troubling Times: Transnational Queer Solidarity during COVID-19” featured speakers Sa’ed Atshan, Nicole Doerr, George Paul Meiu, Jason Ferguson, Tunay Altay, and chaired by Center Director Michèle Lamont and Gökçe Yurdakul.

In the October 7, 2020 Weatherhead Forum, Tunay Altay speaks on the impact of COVID-19 on the Turkish LGBTQ+ community.



The Weatherhead Forum held on October 21, 2020 featured the Graduate Student Associates (GSA) Program and was titled “The United States and China: Past, Present, Future.” The pictured speakers are Ruodi Duan and Naima Green-Riley. The event was chaired by GSA Program Director Erez Manela.

The Weatherhead Forum held on November 4, 2020 and titled “US Election Results: Domestic and International Implications” featured speakers (counterclockwise) Danielle Allen, Theda Skocpol, and Stephen M. Walt, and was chaired by Center Director Michèle Lamont.

All images this section credit: Lauren McLaughlin



Right: On October 6, 2020, the Center kicked off Harvard’s Worldwide Week with our fourth annual International Comedy Night (in the Afternoon) with stand-up comedian Noam Shuster entertaining questions from members of the Harvard College Stand-Up Comic Society.





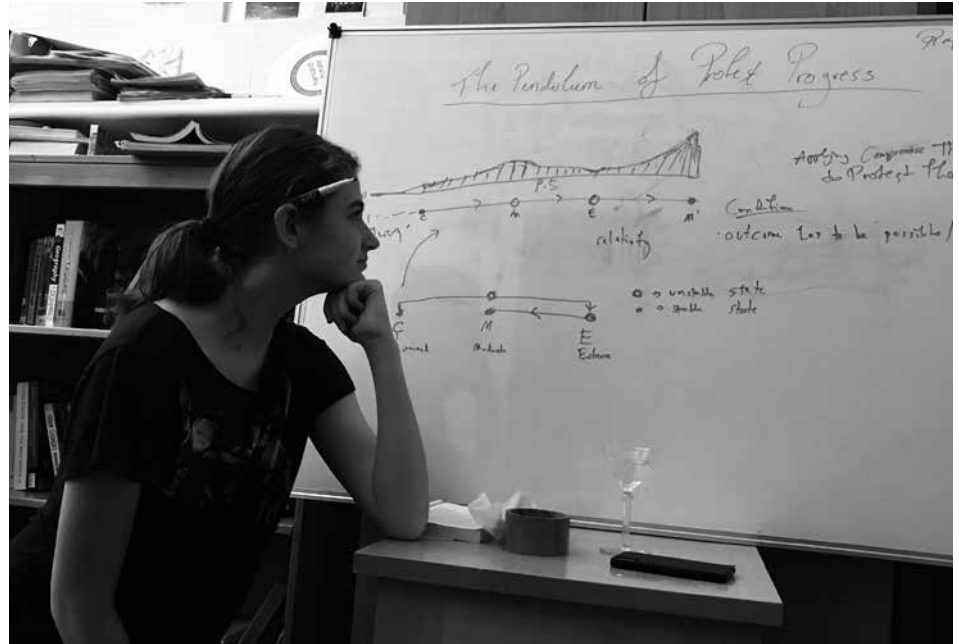
Raphaëlle Soffe

Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow; Committee on Degrees in Social Studies, Harvard College. *Research interests: The relationship between loss of public services in the UK and the Brexit referendum.*

Last fall, a friend asked me why my senior thesis topic motivated me. I replied that Brexit was one of the most serious social and economic crises to face the United Kingdom in over a decade. Clearly, foresight was not my strong suit.

Six months later and the COVID-19 virus raged across six continents, taking lives and destabilizing livelihoods. Brexit was a blip compared to the carnage of a global pandemic. It was difficult to focus on thesis work as ambulance sirens became routine and concerns for the health of loved ones only grew. Yet, in the midst of it all, I soon found purpose in the data scavenging, occasional meeting with my thesis advisor, and the mountain of literature I had to work my way through.

My senior thesis project investigates the role that austerity-induced local service cuts under the Cameron Conservative government, particularly in transport and education, played on the United Kingdom Independence Party's (UKIP) electoral support and on the Brexit vote. Literature already exists that shows welfare austerity as having a direct causal effect on far-right



support and I hope to expand this literature by asking whether an effect existed because of anything from state school funding cuts to potholes.

Initially I had intended to spend the summer of 2020 traveling across England, with Lincolnshire and Yorkshire as primary destinations, to interview local residents. I would then use these interviews to generate hypotheses and then run data analyses to see whether I could support them. This mix of qualitative and quantitative analyses soon became primarily the latter as COVID-19-related complications kept me stationed in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Based on models I had previously developed under Alberto Alesina, I designed and began to run regressions to test whether local service cuts had any kind of political effect—early results

suggest that not only did they have an effect, the effect was statistically significant.

However, the summer continued to be full of challenges. In a shocking and unexpected turn of events, my prospective thesis advisor Alberto Alesina passed away. His work was just at the cusp of the literature I so deeply sought to expand, and I struggled at first to find someone who could match his expertise on the topic of austerity. I will be forever appreciative of how other professors rallied around me and I quickly found a formal advisor and two informal advisors to support me. Yet what must be noted is that in many ways, Alesina continues to guide me, with his words of wisdom ringing in my head as I write this thesis and continue on the path of exploration.

Even though Brexit barely mustered a headline during the pandemic peak, the tools and insights I interacted with as I developed an expertise in my thesis topic broadened my understanding of the outside world. From shouting at the television when I heard the mischaracterization of data to observing how Brexit trickled back into the discourse through trade disputes related to COVID-19, I was suddenly equipped with a more quantitative-heavy mindset. However, I believe the most important lesson from this period of tremendous uncertainty is that no matter how complex, no regression can truly predict the challenges the next day will bring.



Above: Raphaëlle Soffe develops a theory on protest progress. Credit: Satish Wasti
Left: Soffe bikes on the Charles River in Cambridge. Credit: Satish Wasti



Francesco Rolando

Hartley Rogers Family Research Fellow; Committee on Degrees in Social Studies, Department of Molecular and Cellular Biology, Harvard College. *Research interests: Healthcare and migration in Europe; global inequalities and systems of movement; welfare and nation states; and medical anthropology.*

Every morning between May and August 2020, I rode an old bicycle past the buildings which crowd Turin's ample boulevards. I crossed neighborhoods as the early sun tinged the silent architecture of ages past with a golden hue, and then slalomed through marketgoers in Porta Palazzo, the largest open market in Europe and one of the beating hearts of Turin as an intercultural city. Now the main urban center in the Piedmont region, Turin was the first capital of the Kingdom of Italy and later one of the industrial poles during the Italian "economic miracle."

Turin's landscape and social texture have been shaped by internal migration first and international migration in the last few decades. This setting offered a perfect backdrop to investigate my research question: What is the role of healthcare in creating boundaries between citizens and noncitizens?

I grew up in the north of Piedmont, in the Italian Alps visible in the distance. Doing research so close by felt like a homecoming, dampened only by my participants' incredulity when I tried to explain that my weird accent was just an unintended consequence of my college years.

I spent most of my time at *Camminare Insieme* ("Walking Together"), a volunteer organization which offers free medical care to those who encounter barriers when trying to access the Italian national healthcare system. I joined the volunteers and employees trying to restart and reshape *Camminare Insieme's* operations after the COVID-19 pandemic forced them to shut their doors. From there, I explored the network of public and private charitable organizations attempting to guarantee the constitutional right to health to the foreigners residing in the city. I struggled



alongside my participants in making sense of the juridical and bureaucratic labyrinth that, like a Kafkian entity, seems to separate the noncitizen from what is theirs by right. My research allowed me to observe the role of healthcare in defining the "migrant" as a temporary presence even beyond the narratives of crisis produced at the southern borders of fortress Europe.

Moving beyond the political hyperbole of the "migration crisis" was always one of my goals. And yet, the summer was characterized by yet another crisis in the form of a public health emergency: the COVID-19 pandemic. Because public actors (including the national and regional governments) had to focus on the health of the public, the line between citizens and foreigners was renegotiated through multiple laws, regulations, and projects. This is what I hoped to record and analyze through my ethnography, and what I am now turning into a senior thesis.

Piazza Castello after a storm.

Used with permission from Francesco Rolando

In Conversation with Timothy Colton and Meg Elizabeth Rithmire

INTERVIEW BY SARAH FIGGE HUSSAIN



Cluster affiliates, top row, faculty (clockwise):

- Pol Antràs
Harvard University
- Tarek Masoud
Harvard Kennedy School
- Arne Westad
Yale University
- Tamar Herzog
Harvard University
- Zoe Marks
Harvard Kennedy School
- Kathryn Sikkink
Harvard Kennedy School;
Harvard University

Cluster affiliates, bottom row (clockwise):

- Meg Rithmire, Chair
Harvard Business School
- Cassandra Emmons
Postdoctoral Fellow,
Harvard University
- Timothy Colton, Chair
Harvard University
- Andrew Shi
Research Associate,
Harvard Business School

“What makes a region?” This seemingly simple question frames the work of the Weatherhead Research Cluster on Regions in a Multipolar World (informally called the regions cluster). Spearheaded by Faculty Associates Timothy Colton and Meg Elizabeth Rithmire, the research cluster seeks better understanding of what defines a region—by studying political and economic diffusion, perceptions of regional identification, regional ordering principles, and transnational cooperation.

Launched early 2018, the regions cluster is part of the Weatherhead Research Clusters, a pilot program that enables faculty-led groups to home in on key questions facing the social sciences and the world, complementing the Center’s traditional focus on supporting individual faculty and student research.

Centerpiece met up via Zoom with Colton and Rithmire to learn more about the cluster’s progress and goals for this unique academic year.

CENTERPIECE: What inspired you to propose a research cluster on “regions” in 2017, and how has your thinking evolved since then?

MER: The cluster really started with just Tim and me, and our thinking about regions—specifically about Chinese power, waning American influence, and novel forms of economic engagement that did not really exist when

the earlier literature on regions was written. Also in 2016–2017, there was a seismic shift in the way American global power was being exercised, perceived and interpreted. In our discipline (political science) and others, the literature didn’t really take into account new forms of economic engagement: like China’s growing economic reach—which is regional in nature but national in perspective—or how information is now being exchanged online. Plus in June 2016, you have Brexit, etc.

So we invited a range of people, many of whom we had never interacted with before to join us—Pol Antràs from the Economics Department, Kathryn Sikkink, who works on human rights, and Tarek Masoud from the Kennedy School. Once we brought everyone together, the real intellectual sparks began, especially during our 2018 seminar on “Regions in a Multipolar World” at the Radcliffe Institute.

During the seminar it became clear how different disciplines think about regions. For example, political scientists tend to think of regions in terms of regional cooperation or noncooperation, with gradations of cooperation—and if there is no cooperation, then it is not a “region!” Whereas historians and economists think very differently. They can cooperate economically and not at all politically, and you can have a region that’s really built on conflict, like you see in the Middle East or even in East Asia.

We realized how enriching and totally different these perspectives were from how political scientists tend to think, at least in the political science literature that Tim and I had read. It was all very interesting.

Now the cluster is thinking very deeply about this and collecting data as granularly as possible on a variety of things to enable us to try to answer: What is a region? How do you measure it? How do you think about regional interactions?

TC: Yes, another thing I learned was the importance of thinking about regions “in time.”

Regions, as we currently understand them, are pretty much a twentieth-century or early twenty-first-century concept. There are also many historical antecedents for spatial entities that may not have even had a name. For example, the Bay of Bengal—a body of water—is bounded by complex societies which have interacted very deeply and intensely over the centuries. Sunil Amrith, in his book *Crossing the Bay of Bengal: The Furies of Nature and the Fortunes of Migrants*, extracted from that sort of regularities of behavior and sentiment. These behaviors don’t have a lot to do with regional cooperation in the political science sense—there was never an organization or a single state, but there was a cluster of activity around the water.

Meg and I definitely share the sense that these examples can't all be equated with cooperation, including what the political science literature tends to focus on—institutional, organized cooperation through regional associations like the EU or the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

CENTERPIECE: How do you think having faculty from a variety of disciplines has guided and influenced the work?

MER: The questions we're asking are much broader than they would have been if we did not have people representing different disciplines. And when we meet, our inquiry proceeds on a couple of different levels—one is temporal and the other is spatial.

We are thinking about questions like: How over time has the concept of Southeast Asia changed? Can we locate the genesis of this term? For what purposes was it pedaled? Why do other regional terms catch on and other regional conceptualizations do not? We are then thinking about these questions over a long period of time, and factoring in forces like empire decolonization, the role of great powers in the world, and the role of economics.

On the spatial level, this is a bit tricky, since none of us has the dexterity or knowledge of all geographic areas. We have experts on different regions and some of our most interesting conversations have been when scholars of the same region, like Tamar and Kathryn, engage in productive scholarly disagreements about what does and does not constitute a region, or whether there is actually such a thing as Latin America.

We also have people within the same discipline—like political science—who have different dispositions and different substantive areas of expertise. So when we are thinking about diffusion of different kinds of things, like economic regimes, transitional justice practices, or human rights practices, the transmission of regime change and social protest movements, and those kinds of things—we have really interesting conversations.

TC: Some of the formative books published about this several years ago were written by very fine scholars who knew a lot about particular regions. Peter Katzenstein's book, *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium*, is probably the best example. He wrote about what he knew from his own scholarship in Europe and East Asia. He came to the conclusion that we are in the process of becoming "a world of regions," as opposed to "a world with regions"—which we definitely already have. He called them "porous regions," which suggests a softness.

In the contemporary world, the sense of region-hood, at least in my view, is really often quite soft. There are sometimes competing visions within the same country and within the same political group regarding regions.

And that might be what we're moving toward—a multiplicity of possibilities.

The United States is a good example of this, since it is a founding member of the Organization of American States, which thinks of itself in hemispheric terms, and is also an anchor member of NATO, which is in many ways a regional entity. Under President Trump, the US has been promoting something called the Indo-Pacific, which stretches from the tip of the Indian subcontinent to San Diego. So you can see there's no exclusivity here in terms of belonging to one region. India is an even better example—what region India is part of depends who you ask and what it's being used for.

I don't think these regional players and regional identities are exclusive. Rather, it's about where they fit in a field that is already pretty crowded. This understanding has really been driven home to me as our cluster conversations have unfolded.

CENTERPIECE: What is the regions cluster working on now?

MER: Right now, we have four research focus areas, or subclusters.

One is a massive data collection project—imagine a big map—where we are using different arenas of human life and behavior to construct, from the ground up, a region.

The other projects are driven by our members' individual research agendas and the questions that each of us have been asking, so it's very collective and collaborative. Since last summer we have been working with our amazing postdoc Cassandra Emmons, to do this. Cassie's dissertation, which she finished at Princeton last spring, focused on these issues.

TC: One of the subclusters is about ordering principles—a core area of concern for political science—and I was eager to look at how great powers are involved in this and if there is anything new going on. I had a series of conversations with local experts in Southeast Asia during 2017, 2018, and 2019, and while there was no uniform point of view espoused, they did advise us to look at what the "big boys on the outside" [China and the US] were doing because it was those actors who were going to determine the fate of this region.

There was a school of thought in the 1990s, which said that after the Cold War—with two armed-to-the-teeth superpowers and their proxies (who had their own regional interests and constellations)—supposedly all of this was being put behind us. What would replace the Cold War configuration of the world would be sort of subportions of the globe—regions—with greater autonomy from the great powers, which could lead to more cooperation and integration or more conflict.

That was twenty-five years ago, and now the world has changed again. The question facing us now is: Are we go-

WHAT WOULD REPLACE THE COLD WAR CONFIGURATION OF THE WORLD WOULD BE SORT OF SUBPORTIONS OF THE GLOBE—REGIONS—WITH GREATER AUTONOMY FROM THE GREAT POWERS, WHICH COULD LEAD TO MORE COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION OR MORE CONFLICT.

—TIMOTHY COLTON

NOW THE CLUSTER IS THINKING VERY DEEPLY ABOUT THIS AND COLLECTING DATA AS GRANULARLY AS POSSIBLE ON A VARIETY OF THINGS TO ENABLE US TO TRY TO ANSWER: WHAT IS A REGION? HOW DO YOU MEASURE IT? HOW DO YOU THINK ABOUT REGIONAL INTERACTIONS?
— MEG ELIZABETH RITHMIRE

ing around in a circle or are we entering a period when the defining factor is the confrontation or competition between the United States and China? Or are we being short sighted, only thinking about the past?

Just look at the Middle East, where American power is still really strong and China is getting more involved. There are also new kinds of regional players with a lot of resources that weren't really a factor earlier.

And there are countries like India, Indonesia, and Brazil, which are all very large players in a regional context. Are they going to really return to a service subordination to some kind of bipolar confrontation between the two giants? I doubt it.

So these are wonderful questions to which I don't have the answer, and this is how you proceed in scholarship. Start with a question.

CENTERPIECE: *Do you feel the COVID pandemic and/or the resurgence of various social movements (#MeToo, Black Lives Matter) has significantly impacted yours and/or the cluster's thinking?*

TC: One thing you can probably take from the COVID experience is that there is a trend toward a renewed focus on national governments and a moving away from global thinking in certain regards even though the pandemic itself is global in nature. The response and impact of responses have been more at the national level.

So where does this leave regions and how far is it going to go in terms of global institutions, with the United States now boycotting the WHO. Does that mean that the

US is going to nationalize everything in terms of a certain policy or are they going to be more neighborhood-level substitutes for global thinking?

This perspective has come up in our conversations, and while you can't help but think about it, we're not in a position to really draw major conclusions just yet.

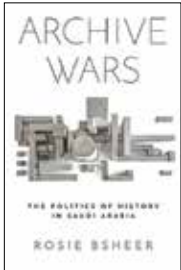
MER: In our meetings now we have had discussions about the pandemic—talking about how problems (like air pollution) cross immediate borders before they cross big borders, noting that whether your countries cooperate or not, people cross borders and can spread disease.

These behaviors give us a set of data points about the spread of the virus and about regional efforts to cooperate and contain it. We've also been mindful that not everyone's research should pivot to be about the pandemic.

In terms of the impact of social movements, it was really interesting this summer to see people in Europe joining in the George Floyd protests and this prompted us to ask questions about the proliferation of social movements. What kinds of societies feel enough affinity with one another to actually get in the streets and protest when something happens because of social and political legacies that you haven't experienced, but you feel enough affinity to be part of it. In a strange way, people may have more in common with certain social strata across regions and across national boundaries.

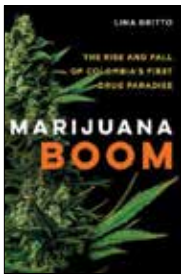
This interview has been edited for clarity and length.

RESEARCH WORKING GROUPS	
NAME	DESCRIPTION
Diffusion	How do political, economic, human rights, and transitional justice practices diffuse across regions?
Identity & Boundaries	How do historical identities of boundaries hold power and come into being? What precipitates changes in these perceptions?
Regional Ordering Principles & Great Powers	Are regions defined by conflict or cooperation? Are they hierarchical or defined by "sovereign equality"? How do/don't urban centers and entrepots fit these expectations?
Mapping Regions	If we let the data "speak," what do regions look like? How do behaviors drive/contribute to the way regions are defined and determined, beyond traditional borders?



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By *Rosie Bsheer*

Stanford University Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Rosie Bsheer is an assistant professor of history at Harvard University.



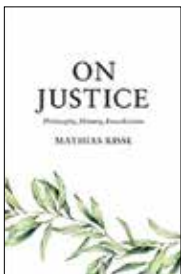
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University of California Press | Former Academy Scholar Lina Britto is an associate professor of history at the Weinberg College of Arts & Sciences, Northwestern University.



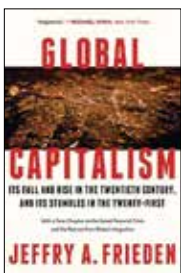
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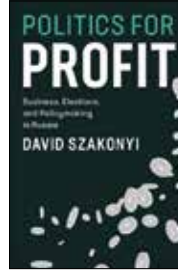
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Cambridge University Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Mathias Risse is the Lucius N. Littauer Professor of Philosophy and Public Administration at Harvard Kennedy School.



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Cambridge University Press | Former Academy Scholar David Szakonyi is an assistant professor of political science at the Columbia College of Arts and Sciences, The George Washington University.



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Oxford University Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate William C. Kirby is the T. M. Chang Professor of China Studies and Spangler Family Professor of Business Administration at Harvard Business School.



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Edited by *Fernando M. Reimers*

Springer | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Fernando M. Reimers is the Ford Foundation Professor of International Education at Harvard Graduate School of Education.



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Jacqueline Patel, a senior concentrating in applied mathematics and economics with a secondary concentration in education, is conducting thesis research on the maternal effects of New York City's implementation of its universal prekindergarten program.

Nidhi Patel, a junior concentrating in government, is studying the efficacy of psychosocial interventions for domestic violence that have been implemented by non-profit organizations in refugee camps in South Asia.

Pawel Rybacki, a senior concentrating in economics, is conducting thesis research on the effects of the nineteenth-century partitions of Poland among Austria, Prussia, and Russia on contemporary socio-economic and cultural outcomes and regional disparities.

The Weatherhead Center is pleased to announce its 2020–2021 class of Juster Fellows. Now in its tenth year, this grant initiative is made possible by the generosity of the Honorable Kenneth I. Juster, former chair of the Center's Advisory Committee, and current United States Ambassador to India. Ambassador Juster has devoted much of his education, professional activities, public service, and nonprofit endeavors to international affairs and is deeply engaged in promoting international understanding and advancing international relations. The Center's Juster grants support undergraduates whose projects may be related to thesis research but may have broader experiential components as well. The newly named Juster Fellows are:

Raphaëlle Soffe, a senior concentrating in social studies, is completing her thesis research which analyzes the effect of austerity-induced local service cuts in the UK on political and social correlates of far-right support.

Swathi Srinivasan, a senior concentrating in social studies, is finishing her research that evaluates today's failures in COVID-19 responses through the lens of changing policy, leadership, and systemic inequality in São Paulo, Brazil.

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