



**Weatherhead Center**  
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

# CENTERPIECE

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HARVARD UNIVERSITY



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The cherry blossoms in full bloom in front of our offices at 61 Kirkland Street which house the Weatherhead Scholars Program and Program on U.S.-Japan Relations. Photo credit: Kristin Caulfield

## Message from the Director



As we close out another semester, I would like to share a few of our accomplishments from the past few months.

Our executive committee just approved the creation of two new Weatherhead Research Clusters: *Religion in Public Life in Africa* will be co-chaired by Jacob Olupona (AAAS and Divinity School) and Marla Frederik (AAAS and Committee for the Study of Religion), and *Regions and Structure of a Multipolar World* will be headed by Timothy Colton (Government) and Arne Westad (Kennedy School). These new clusters, along with *Diplomacy, Interstate Crises, and Nuclear Instability*—approved by the executive committee fall of 2017 and headed by Alastair Iain Johnston (Government), Joshua Kertzer (Government), and Stephen Rosen (Government)—are all slated to launch in the fall of 2018.

In addition, we merged the existing cluster on *Global Populism* with a new proposal focused on threats to democracy. This new cluster will be co-chaired by Bart Bonikowski (Sociology), Steve Levitsky (Government), and Daniel Ziblatt (Government).

These new clusters, in addition to the two existing clusters on *Global Transformations (WIGH)* as well as *Comparative Inequality and Inclusion*, round out a total of six research clusters that resulted from the 2016 external review of the Center. All are at the foundation of the intellectual life of our community that brings together our faculty, visitors, and graduate students.

We also recently selected a new cohort of Weatherhead Scholars, who will arrive in September. Visitors include post-doctoral fellows Talia Shiff, who studies how states—such as the US, Canada, and Australia—shape immigration policy; Çetin Çelik, who analyzes ethnic boundaries with Syrian refugees; and José Fernández Alonso, who studies recovery from sovereign debt crises in Argentina, Greece, and Puerto Rico. Visiting Scholar Mohamed-Ali Adraoui joins us from National University of Singapore to research jihadist thought and networks. We are thrilled to welcome them—along with the rest of our new affiliates—to join the Center for this upcoming year.

### Other highlights from the semester include:

- Together with the members of the advisory committee who visited us in March, the executive committee reflected on the broad purposes behind the work of the Center as we aim to lead in the international, comparative, transnational, and global studies in the decades ahead.
- Over twenty-five Faculty Associates and senior staff helped evaluate proposals submitted by postdoctoral scholars, graduate students, and undergraduate students. Altogether, the WCFIA will disburse nearly \$1 million this academic year in research support for these groups.
- On March 21, we hosted a successful Jodidi Lecture on “Insidious Threats to Academic Freedom in the US and Abroad,” delivered by Michael Ignatieff, president of the Central European University, and Craig Calhoun, president of the Berggruen Institute.

Against this background of abundant intellectual activities, the Center faced an important challenge following the publication in the *Chronicle of Higher Education's* distressing allegations of sexual harassment by Professor Jorge I. Domínguez, former Weatherhead Center director, and until recently, chair of The Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies. We responded by promptly posting a statement on our policy and practice of zero tolerance of sexual harassment or gendered disparity of treatment. We also created an inclusion action committee, which brings together faculty, staff, and graduate students to gather data and make recommendations concerning how to strengthen an inclusive climate in which the dignity of all members is respected—and where all are empowered to do their best work possible.

We are fully committed to making the Weatherhead Center as inclusive as possible, and we welcome WCFIA community participation in this process. Please do not hesitate to contact me or Executive Director Ted Gilman if you would like to join us in this effort.

Michèle Lamont  
Weatherhead Center Director

### Peter Hall Wins 2018 Guggenheim Fellowship

Faculty Associate **Peter A. Hall**, Krupp Foundation Professor of European Studies, received a 2018 Guggenheim Fellowship in political science. The John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation awarded the fellowship—chosen from almost 3,000 applicants—to 173 scholars, artists, and scientists. Awards are given on the basis of “prior achievement and exceptional promise.” This is the Foundation’s ninety-fourth competition.

### Emmanuel Akyeampong Receives Honorary Doctorate

Faculty Associate **Emmanuel Akyeampong**, professor of history and of African and African American studies, was conferred an honorary doctorate degree at the University of Ghana during their seventieth-anniversary celebrations. The award came at the end of the university’s 2018 Aggrey-Fraser-Guggisberg Memorial Lectures, where the theme was “Nkrumah and the Making of the Ghanaian Nation-State.”

### Eve Blau Named 2018 SAH Fellow

Faculty Associate **Eve Blau**, adjunct professor of the history of urban form at the Harvard Graduate School of Design, was one of four people named a 2018 Society of Architectural Historian Fellow. SAH Fellows are “individuals who have distinguished themselves by a lifetime of significant contributions to the field of architectural history, which may include scholarship, service to SAH or stewardship of the built environment.” Blau’s research interests include modern architecture and urbanism; postindustrial and postsocialist urban transitions; Central and Eastern Europe; and urban design and planning. Her forthcoming book, titled *Baku: Oil and Urbanism*, will be released in spring 2018.

### Michael Ignatieff Wins Zócalo Book Prize

Advisory Committee Member **Michael Ignatieff**, president and rector of Central European University in Budapest, won the eighth annual Zócalo Book Prize for his 2017 book, *The Ordinary Virtues: Moral Order in a Divided World*. The prize is awarded to a

nonfiction book that “most enhances our understanding of community, human connectedness, and social cohesion.” Ignatieff will deliver a lecture and accept the prize, which includes \$5,000, on May 22 in Los Angeles, California.

### Three Faculty Associates Elected into the American Academy of Arts and Sciences

Three Faculty Associates were elected as 2018 Fellows of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences: **Jeffry Frieden**, Stanfield Professor of International Peace, Harvard University; **Pippa Norris**, Paul F. McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics, Harvard Kennedy School; and **Gita Gopinath**, John Zwaanstra Professor of International Studies and of Economics, Harvard University. These faculty members join a class of 177 Fellows across a wide range of disciplines awarded for their exceptional ability in sharing knowledge and addressing challenges facing the world.

### Honorary Doctorate Awarded to Panagiotis Roilos

Faculty Associate **Panagiotis Roilos**, George Seferis Professor of Modern Greek Studies, was presented with an honorary doctorate from Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences. Panteion is one of the most prestigious universities devoted to social and political sciences in Europe, and has awarded around sixty honorary degrees in its almost one-century history. Roilos, presented with the award on January 22, 2018, is one of the youngest honorees so far.

### Serhii Plokhii Wins Prestigious Shevchenko National Prize

Faculty Associate **Serhii Plokhii**, Mykhailo Hrushevsky Professor of Ukrainian History, is one of five winners of the 2018 Shevchenko National Prize for his 2015 book, *The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine*. The prize is named after poet and artist Taras Shevchenko and is Ukraine’s highest state award—and thus one of the most prestigious distinctions a work of writing or art can receive in Ukraine.

### Sheila Jasanoff Wins 2017 Reimer Lüst Award

Faculty Associate **Sheila Jasanoff**, Pforzheimer Professor of Science and Technology Studies at Harvard Kennedy School, received the 2017 Reimar Lüst Award. Jasanoff, who has pioneered international science and technology studies, is one of two humanities scholars to win the award. The award, granted by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation and the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, is given to humanities scholars who have “shaped academic and cultural relations between Germany and their own countries.”

### Yukiko Koga Wins Two Book Prizes

Former Academy Scholar **Yukiko Koga**, now professor of anthropology at Hunter College, the City University of New York, won two book awards for her book, *Inheritance of Loss: The Political Economy of Redemption after Empire*. She received the Francis L. K. Hsu Book Prize for the most significant contribution to the field, and the Anthony Leeds Prize for an outstanding book in urban, national, and/or transnational anthropology. Both prizes were awarded by the American Anthropological Association.

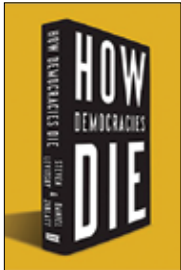
### GSA Justin Stern Selected As Harvard Horizon Scholar

Graduate Student Associate **Justin Stern** was selected as one of the 2018 Harvard Horizons Scholars. Every year, eight creative and innovative PhD candidates are chosen to receive “in-depth, personalized mentoring and coaching designed to enhance their presentation skills.” At the end of the program, each scholar presents their research in Sanders Theatre in a free and open-to-the-public forum. Stern’s talk is titled, “Global Outsourcing, Local Transformations: Business Process Outsourcing and Urban Restructuring in the Philippines.”

WWW

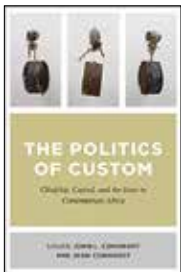
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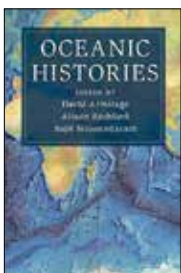
### How Democracies Die By Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt

Penguin Random House | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Steven Levitsky is a professor of government and Harvard College Professor at Harvard University. Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Daniel Ziblatt is a professor of government at Harvard University.



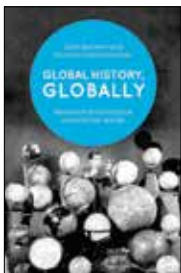
### The Politics of Custom: Chiefship, Capital, and the State in Contemporary Africa Edited by John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff

University of Chicago Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Jean Comaroff is the Alfred North Whitehead Professor of African and African American Studies and of Anthropology at Harvard University. Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate John L. Comaroff is the Hugh K. Foster Professor of African and African American Studies and of Anthropology at Harvard University.



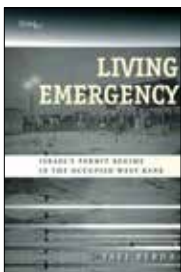
### Oceanic Histories Edited by David Armitage, Alison Bashford, and Sujit Sivasundaram

Cambridge University Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate David Armitage is the Lloyd C. Blankfein Professor of History at Harvard University.



### Global History, Globally By Sven Beckert and Dominic Sachsenmaier

Bloomsbury Academic Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Sven Beckert is the Laird Bell Professor of History at the Department of History at Harvard University.



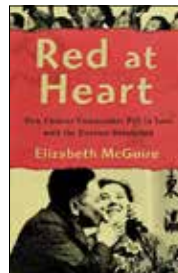
### Living Emergency: Israel's Permit Regime in the Occupied West Bank By Yael Berda

Stanford University Press | Academy Scholar Yael Berda is an assistant professor of sociology and anthropology at Hebrew University in Israel.



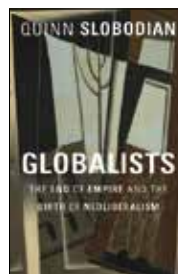
### The Cuban Economy in a New Era: An Agenda for Change toward Durable Development Edited by Jorge I. Domínguez, Omar Everleny Pérez Villanueva, and Lorena Barbería

Harvard University Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate (on administrative leave) Jorge I. Domínguez is the Antonio Madero Professor for the Study of Mexico at the Department of Government at Harvard University.



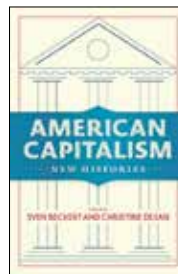
### Red at Heart: How Chinese Communists Fell in Love with the Russian Revolution By Elizabeth McGuire

Oxford University Press | Former Academy Scholar Elizabeth McGuire is an assistant professor of history at California State University, East Bay.



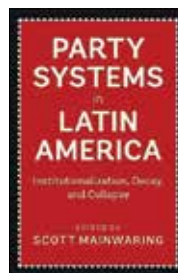
### Globalists: The End of Empire and the Birth of Neoliberalism By Quinn Slobodian

Harvard University Press | Quinn Slobodian is a visiting fellow for the Weatherhead Research Cluster on Global Transformations (WIGH). He is an associate professor of history at Wellesley College.



### American Capitalism Edited by Sven Beckert and Christine Desan

Columbia University Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Sven Beckert is the Laird Bell Professor of History at the Department of History at Harvard University.

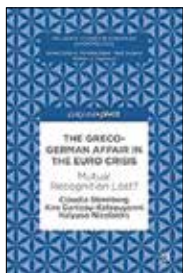


### Party Systems in Latin America: Institutionalization, Decay, and Collapse Edited by Scott Mainwaring

Cambridge University Press | Faculty Associate Scott Mainwaring is the Jorge Paulo Lemann Professor for Brazil Studies at the Harvard Kennedy School.



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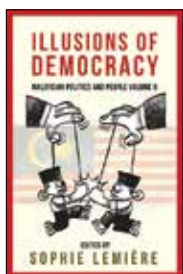
**The Greco-German Affair in the Euro Crisis: Mutual Recognition Lost?**  
By Claudia Sternberg, Kira Gartzou-Katsouyanni, and Kalypso Nicolaïdis

Palgrave Macmillan | Weatherhead Center advisory committee member Kalypso Nicolaïdis is a professor of international relations at the University of Oxford, UK.



**Bernardo de Gálvez: Spanish Hero of the American Revolution**  
By Gonzalo M. Quintero Saravia

University of North Carolina Press | Former Weatherhead Center Fellow Gonzalo M. Quintero Saravia is the author of several books on eighteenth-century Spanish American history.



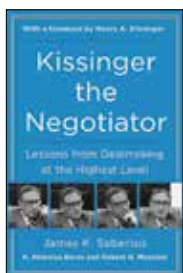
**Illusions of Democracy: Malaysian Politics and People Volume II**  
Edited by Sophie Lemièrè

Gerakbudaya | Sophie Lemièrè is a postdoctoral fellow with the Weatherhead Scholars Program. She is a Max Weber Postdoctoral Fellow at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute.



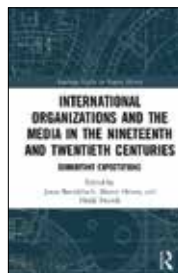
**Managing Universities: Policy and Organizational Change from a Western European Comparative Perspective**  
Edited by Ivar Bleiklie, Jürgen Enders, and Benedetto Lepori

Palgrave Macmillan | Ivar Bleiklie is a visiting scholar with the SCANCOR-Weatherhead Partnership. He is a professor of social science at the University of Bergen, Norway.



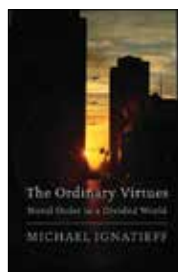
**Kissinger the Negotiator: Lessons from Dealmaking at the Highest Level**  
By James K. Sebenius, R. Nicholas Burns, Robert H. Mnookin

Harper Collins | Faculty Associate R. Nicholas Burns is the Roy and Barbara Goodman Family Professor of the Practice of Diplomacy and International Relations at Harvard Kennedy School.



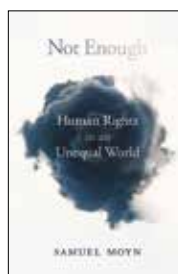
**International Organizations and the Media in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Exorbitant Expectations**  
Edited by Jonas Brendebach, Martin Herzer, and Heidi J.S. Tworek

Routledge | Heidi J.S. Tworek is a visiting fellow with the Center for History and Economics. She is also an assistant professor of history at the University of British Columbia.



**The Ordinary Virtues: Moral Order in a Divided World**  
By Michael Ignatieff

Harvard University Press | Advisory committee member Michael Ignatieff is the president of Central European University in Hungary.



**Not Enough: Human Rights in an Unequal World**  
By Samuel Moyn

Harvard University Press | Weatherhead Center alum Samuel Moyn is now a professor of law and history at Yale University.

## BEST BOOKS OF 2017

Many of our faculty published books that garnered top spots in various 'best book' lists of 2017. Here are a few:

**Graham Allison, *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap?***

New York Times's 100 Notable Books of 2017; Financial Times's Best Politics Books of 2017; The Times (of London) Books of the Year

**Odd Arne Westad, *The Cold War: A World History***  
Financial Times's Best History Books of 2017

**Gareth Doherty, *Paradoxes of Green: Landscapes of a City-State***  
American Society of Landscape Architects' Best Books of 2017

**Maya Jasanoff, *The Dawn Watch: Joseph Conrad in a Global World***  
New York Times's 100 Notable Books of 2017; The Economist's Books of the Year

## In Conversation with Joshua D. Kertzer

BY MICHELLE NICHOLASEN



Joshua D. Kertzer  
Faculty Associate;  
Co-chair, Weatherhead  
Research Cluster on  
Diplomacy, Interstate Crises,  
and Nuclear Instability.  
Assistant Professor,  
Department of Government,  
Harvard University.  
*Research interests: International  
security; US foreign policy;  
political psychology; and public  
opinion about foreign affairs.*

Assistant Professor of Government **Joshua D. Kertzer** studies what might be called the gray matter of international security—what lies behind the decisions of leaders, and the foreign policy attitudes of the public. His work takes place at the intersection of psychology and international relations, and it endeavors to go beyond obvious motivations to reveal the human dispositions that direct political behavior.

Kertzer has won numerous awards for his published works, which always ask intriguing questions like: How do leaders assess resolve in disputes? What are the moral values of “hawks” and “doves” in foreign policy? What leads the public to label an attack as terrorism? Who has greater influence on public opinion, political elites or peers? What might account for shifts in the public’s foreign policy “moods”? To better understand why leaders go to war, or why people have different stances on international security issues, his work uses quantitative and experimental methods to study the interplay of deep-seated traits and situational stakes.

His research, including his 2016 book, *Resolve in International Politics*, has received high acclaim, numerous awards, and even a few mentions on late night television.

As co-chair of the new Weatherhead Research Cluster on Diplomacy, Interstate Crises, and Nuclear Instability—along with Alastair Iain Johnston and Stephen Peter Rosen—Kertzer is spearheading an initiative to generate pathbreaking scholarship on new dimensions affecting international security.

Centerpiece spoke to him about what’s behind his passion for the field of political psychology and about goals for the new research cluster.

**CP: What inspired your early interest in political psychology?**

JK: As an undergrad I took a class in American foreign policy and became really interested in what’s called “strategic culture”: the idea that decisions in foreign policy aren’t purely driven by the material world—that there is some sort of belief system, symbols, cultures, or operational codes that dictate how leaders and states interpret information and make sense of the world around them. I realized I was interested in the parts of international relations that take place in between people’s ears. So that was my gateway drug.

**CP: Did your background contribute to these interests?**

JK: Coming from Canada, where we are so heavily affected by American foreign policy, I always felt like an outsider, interested in how insiders think about things. I also went to college when the Iraq War loomed very large in so many ways, so I was fascinated by how leaders decide when to go to war. That’s also what made me interested in public opinion, because we saw these very stark divisions in the public at that time. Now I teach American foreign policy to undergraduates, some of whom were only two years old when the war began, and who think of it as ancient history. For them, not only was invading Iraq an obvious mistake, but they’ve never known a time when anyone thought it wasn’t. Yet this certainly wasn’t the case at the time.

**CP: You have done a great deal of experimental, opinion-based research both on the general public and some selected leaders. What connections can you draw from the two different groups?**

JK: For a long time, people subscribed to these so-called “great men” theories of leaders in international relations, who were supposed to be systematically different than the citizens they governed. Partially, though, these conclusions were a function of methodological choices: if you’re studying leaders with memoirs or biographies, and you are studying ordinary citizens in the mass public with surveys, it makes it hard to directly compare the two. So one of the interesting opportunities for us is being able to use the same tools to study both groups.

**CP: What are some of your findings?**

JK: We’ve found that differences that we see among ordinary citizens also manifest themselves among leaders too. So for example, colleagues and I have been fielding experiments on members of the Knesset in Israel. We’re interested in how democratic leaders make decisions about war and peace. These are leaders for whom conflicts are highly salient issues right now. One of the things we’re finding is that in many ways these high-level cabinet ministers and officials think about foreign policy decisions surprisingly similarly to “convenience samples” of members of the mass public in the United States.



For example, one of the things we've found is that there's a large amount of variation of how leaders interpret what IR scholars call "costly signals," like public threats or troop mobilizations. We can't attribute this variation to their experiences as elites, but rather, to the same psychological orientations we know explain variation in public opinion about foreign policy.

So, in that sense, our work has been undermining the arguments about elite exceptionalism. If elites are these automatons who think like computers, then there's no room for psychology there. But if elite decision makers are human beings just like us, then it's worth understanding in what domains this is the case.

**CP: What was the rationale behind creating a research cluster on international security issues such as diplomacy, interstate crises, and nuclear instability?**

JK: When the Cold War ended, there was a sense that international security didn't matter anymore. We were at the end of history, and were told we should all be studying trade and integration and economic cooperation. These things are all crucially important to study. But if the past couple years have taught us anything, it's that great power competition hasn't gone away. It's back with a vengeance.

We see the new research cluster as an opportunity to better understand three of the most crucial dynamics of the next decade. The first is about the psychology of diplomacy, understanding how leaders make decisions in an era where it seems that leaders are increasingly important. The second is about cybersecurity, and what the rapid diffusion of information means for the escalation of international crises. The third involves nuclear weapons in an era of multipolarity. Much of the history of the nuclear revolution is inextricably tied to bipolarity, where international order is dominated by two great powers. We're not in a bipolar world anymore—whether we're fully multipolar or not depends on who you talk to and how you measure polarity—but the extent to which this development changes things is the third ingredient in that mix.

**CP: Do you have a current research project that links to the cluster?**

JK: One of the things that a graduate student in the Department of Government, Harry Oppenheimer, and I are working on involves public opinion in response to cyberattacks. Does the public respond to cyber events like they respond to kinetic events? Often in American politics we talk about what's called "the rally around the flag effect"—the idea that when outsiders attack, the public rallies behind political institutions like the president, increases support for the president's foreign policy, and so on. One of the interesting things with cyber is we don't really see that, necessarily. If anything, the argument that you'll see made in the media during debates about Russian in-

terference in the 2016 US presidential election (but also recent elections in Western and Eastern Europe), is that Russia is taking advantage of democracies' weaknesses, turning the American system against itself. Rather than these attacks causing the polity to rally and cohere, it's causing it to fragment and divide. We're interested in understanding whether empirically this is the case and why.

**CP: You spearheaded a new conference on international security recently. What was the outcome?**

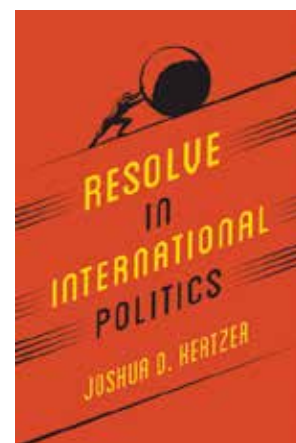
JK: We held a "new faces in international security" conference last fall where we brought in PhD students who were near completion of their dissertations and were about to go out on the academic job market. We paired them with faculty discussants to provide feedback on their research. After we circulated our call for papers, we received about 435 applications from around the world for only ten or twelve spots. It showed us the extent to which there's a critical mass of people doing work in international security. There's such a diversity of scholarship within international security right now—the subject means a lot of different things to different people, which I think is for the better. We'd like to try to make the conference a recurring event, potentially collaborating with other schools.

**CP: On a lighter note, can you tell us something about yourself that might not be widely known in academic circles?**

JK: One of my advisers in graduate school told us that all good dissertation topics are autobiographical, in the sense that you're going to be intrinsically drawn into certain topics over others because of something about you. My dissertation, which then became a book, *Resolve in International Politics*, was about resolve: why some actors display considerable persistence in war while others want to cut and run, a question I investigated both at the leader level and the public level. In the project, I was interested in connecting work on the psychology of willpower and self-control from social psychology and behavioral economics, to see if they could tell us something about dynamics in international politics at all. When I was younger, I used to run track and field, but I wasn't particularly good. Everyone else was stronger and faster, but I always tried really hard. So maybe my interest in whether resolve can overcome a lack of capabilities was spurred on by all of the races I've lost.

**CP: Do you think it's true? Can resolve overcome limitations?**

JK: I think a lot of what we do as scholars requires resolve. Research is about sitting at your desk and banging your head against the wall until the world starts to make sense. As I tell my grad students, grit and perseverance matter an awful lot.



**"IF ELITES ARE THESE AUTOMATONS WHO THINK LIKE COMPUTERS, THEN THERE'S NO ROOM FOR PSYCHOLOGY THERE. BUT IF ELITE DECISION MAKERS ARE HUMAN BEINGS JUST LIKE US, THEN IT'S WORTH UNDERSTANDING IN WHAT DOMAINS THIS IS THE CASE."**

**— JOSHUA D. KERTZER**

# Photos: Spring 2018 Events

## 2018 UNDERGRADUATE THESIS CONFERENCE

The Weatherhead Center Undergraduate Thesis Conference was held on February 1–2, 2018, and featured a series of panels chaired by Faculty Associates and other Center affiliates. Clustered by regional or disciplinary themes, each student's presentation was followed by questions, commentary, and feedback for the enhancement of their thesis work in its final stages. *Photo credit: Lauren McLaughlin and Kristin Caulfield*



Top: Student Programs Coordinator Clare Putnam (second from left) with Undergraduate Associates Margot Mai, Angela Leocata, and Maria Amanda Flores (left to right).

Bottom: Cengiz Gemaloglu presented “Capitalist Ethics of the Halal Economy: Islamic Banking in Malaysia” during a session entitled “Islamic Economics, Education, and Health.” Seated on the panel, from left to right, are fellow Undergraduate Associates Iman Masmoudi, Junius Williams, Kamran Jamil, and Graduate Student Associate Rabiat Akande, who chaired the panel.

## WWW

Watch Weatherhead Forum events on our Facebook page: [facebook.com/wcfia](https://facebook.com/wcfia)

## GENDER EQUALITY: IT'S ABOUT TIME

“Gender Equality: It’s About Time” was a two-day conference held on April 19–20, 2018, in the Belfer Case Study Room in CGIS South. Sponsored by the Weatherhead Initiative on Gender Inequality, the conference focused on recent and novel research on time use and policies that affect the lives of working parents and children. These included: firm policies and work organization; state or national policies on parental leave; subsidized daycare; after school programs; school hours; and parental time inputs in child education.



## BOOK ROUND TABLE FOR THE COLD WAR: A WORLD HISTORY

The Weatherhead Research Cluster on Global Transformations (WIGH) sponsored a book round table on February 13, 2018, for Faculty Associate Odd Arne Westad’s new book, *The Cold War: A World History*. Westad’s book offers an expanded definition and time period of the Cold War, including reverberations felt across the globe even today.

A video recording of the round table was recorded live on the Weatherhead Center Facebook page.



Top: Melinda Mills, Nuffield Professor of Sociology, University of Oxford, presented her research. *Photo credit: Lauren McLaughlin*

Bottom: Faculty Associate Sven Beckert welcomes the audience to the round table. *Photo credit: Kristin Caulfield*



## THE WEATHERHEAD FORUM

The Weatherhead Forum showcases the research of the various units that are associated with the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. In spring 2018, the forum continued to bring together the diverse constituencies of the Center so all affiliates may learn about and discuss emerging academic research from our community.



Images from Spring 2018 Weatherhead Forums (clockwise from top): Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, "How Democracies Die," featuring the Weatherhead Research Cluster on Global Populism; Lulie El-Ashry, "Crossing Continents: The Role and Place of a Muslim Convert Community in Europe," featuring the Graduate Student Associates Program; Silvia Rief, "Consumption, Political Philosophy, and Theories of Democracy," featuring the Weatherhead Scholars Program. *Photo credit: Lauren McLaughlin*



## RETIREMENT SYMPOSIUM FOR ROBERT D. PUTNAM

On April 20, 2018, Harvard hosted a retirement symposium for Professor Robert D. Putnam. The event featured five panels that focused on the most important work of Putnam's career—his "Two-Level Games" essay, and the books *Making Democracy Work*, *Bowling Alone*, *American Grace*, and *Our Kids*. At Harvard, in addition to serving as director of the Weatherhead Center from 1993 to 1996, Putnam served as dean of the Harvard Kennedy School and co-founded the Saguro Seminar, bringing together leading thinkers and practitioners to develop actionable ideas for civic renewal. As professor emeritus, Putnam will continue to devote his time to research and writing and is now completing a study of twentieth-century economic, social, political, and cultural trends. *Photo credit: Russ Campbell Photography*



## THE HARVARD ACADEMY FOR INTERNATIONAL AND AREA STUDIES CELEBRATION

On April 25, 2018, The Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies held its 2017–2018 farewell reception at Loeb House and gave certificates to its departing second-year Scholars. *Photo credit: Bruce Jackan*



On March 21, 2018, the Samuel L. and Elizabeth Jodidi Lecture was delivered by advisory committee members Michael Ignatieff, president of Central European University and Craig Calhoun, president of the Berggruen Institute.

*This transcript has been edited for length and clarity. A full transcript can be found on the online version of this issue of Centerpiece or watch the lecture on our Vimeo channel. Photo credit this feature: Martha Stewart*

### Academic Freedom and Authoritarian Populism: Lessons from the Front Line *Delivered by Michael Ignatieff, President, Central European University*

In the division of labor that Craig Calhoun and I agreed upon, he's going to deal with the insidious threats, the subtler ones, the ones that are perhaps characteristic of American or North Atlantic academic life, and I'm going to deal with the straight on, in your face, "boom boom" threats that have arisen where I am in Hungary.

I'm going to tell you a little narrative about what's happened to Central European University (CEU), and then I'd like to talk about a characterization of these kinds of societies.

The relationship between a place like Hungary and a place like here is complex. There is a collusive relationship, a disturbingly collusive relationship between liberal democratic societies, which enjoy full academic freedom, and societies which do not. And it's that collusive relationship that I think we need to think about. That will be my headline.

Most of you will know that CEU is a graduate institution offering masters and PhDs, accredited in New York state and by Middle States. We offer degrees that are accredited also by the Hungarian administration. So we're a kind of European-American institution. We're one of almost thirty institutions of higher learning around the world that have no domestic US campus.

But note, this is the geostrategic implication: these institutions are now implanted all over the world in authoritarian societies where their capacity to operate freely is very much in question. So my story about Hun-

gary is not just a story about Hungary. It's potentially a story about Egypt, about Russia, about Abu Dhabi—about all the places where American norms of academic freedom are suddenly under challenge because of the emergence of these kinds of regimes.

Our problems erupted exactly a year ago when, without warning, the Orbán government introduced a law that quickly came to be known as "Lex CEU," which said you can't operate in this country unless you have a new bilateral agreement between the government of Hungary and the originating state that you're from.

The new legislation said we couldn't have a dual Hungarian-American identity, and we had to have a US campus. All of this makes it really tough to function if you have to pass all those barriers.

We stood up and said basically, hell no. This is an absolutely unacceptable infringement on our institutional autonomy. We are not an NGO. We're not an opposition party. We are not trying to bring down your government. We're actually, for God's sake, a university, so please respect the specificity of us as an institution.

And we then had a global outpouring of support, which included this university and about 500 other universities. That was an important thing to notice. Universities are among the most globalized and networked institutions in the world; this is their key raw political power.

Everybody who's ever done a conference with anybody else stood up and we rallied a global network. We had 80,000 people in the streets of Hungary, marching to Parliament, chanting, "Free universities in a free country." They saw our struggle as their struggle.

Let me now shift and try and characterize this regime and characterize the other regimes where this is happen-

**WWW**

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[vimeo.com/wcfia](https://vimeo.com/wcfia)

ing. And let me just add, because there may be Turkish students in the audience, I think it would be lachrymose and self-pitying of me to describe the Hungarian situation as uniquely awful. It's much tougher in Turkey. It's really tough in Russia. It's very, very tough in China.

But what I want to say about these places is that to set up a contrast between an open society and a closed society gives a kind of unseen alibi to open societies. The really interesting thing about a place like Hungary is that if you go to Budapest, there's a free press. The people can leave and come back.

These are societies that depend on domestic stabilization for exit rights. 500,000 Hungarians are living and working in the European Union. This is a stabilization for the regime in two ways. Remittances flow back into the Hungarian economy, and the discontented can get the hell out. Same thing in other places.

So the idea that these are brittle, single-party tyrannies that are going to fall because they suppress the needs and wants of their population rather miss the facility with which they afford exit, the facility with which they afford limited voice, and the rather relaxed way in which they compel loyalty. You can be a perfectly happy internal exile in Hungary. You're not being compelled to march in the May Day parade. If you don't like Orbán, you can lump it.

So the loyalty demands that these regimes make because they're post-ideological, all of this looseness, it seems to me, is a guarantee that these regimes are going to be around for a long time. Are we looking at authoritarian, populist, single-party, mafia states as being durable political formations?

Closed societies are going to be around for a long time because we are collusive in their stabilization. Unwillingly collusive. I'm not suggesting anything other.

So that's, I hope, a way of understanding these regimes. It's certainly why being in Hungary has been so unflinchingly interesting, because I feel I'm looking not at some little poor, backward, provincial, Eastern European, uninteresting little thing that only area specialists look at. I think I'm looking at the future.

I think I'm looking at a new regime form, one of whose features—and this directly impinged upon me—is a relentless, consistent hostility to countermajoritarian institutions of any kind. They remain legitimized as the voice of the people. Mr. Orbán's legitimation is that, "I got elected. I won an election. I am the voice of the people." He's created a people that he is the faithful voice of, and my university is the enemy of that kind of people.

But the attack on CEU is not just an attack on one university. It's an attack on a genuinely pluralist, civil society sphere. It's an attack on a fully independent judiciary. It's an attack on all of the countermajoritarian institutions that were created after 1989 to guide these societies from communism to what we hoped would be a free society.

And so Hungary is interesting for this other reason, that this was supposed to be a narrative of transition,

and it's gone to an absolutely unexpected, new kind of regime formation that is countermajoritarian, single-party, rent-seeking, mafia state that is systematically destructive of all the countermajoritarian counterbalances to the rule of the single party.

And just to put the spin on the European dimensions of this, when I said that open societies are collusive in the maintenance of these regimes, you see it very clearly in Europe. The Hungarian regime receives four billion euros in structural transfers from the European Union. That is a lot of their budget. It allows them to siphon off some of that into the very profitable business of being a single-party state. It stabilizes the regime.

It also means when I look for help to defend a free institution, I'm not getting much help from Europe. I've had lots of authoritative statements from European leaders, but when it comes to it, I don't look to Europe to protect me.

We've had good support from the State Department of the United States, God bless them. But the full weight and force of the American administration in defense of academic freedom just isn't there. I'm trying to give you a sense of what cards are in my hand. And I don't have a US card in my hand, to be blunt.

What does the CEU case teach us about academic freedom? My experience has been that universities need to understand two things about themselves.

One of them is that they are part of the constitutional fabric of liberal democracies in a way that we don't often think. They are countermajoritarian institutions. You know, the courts are there to define what the law is. The media are there to define and shape the public debate on opinion. Our job is to curate, save, preserve, contest, and question the knowledge upon which liberal democracy depends. And so our role is simply trying to say: this is what the real world actually is, like it or not. This is our best guess after falsification, peer review, and trial and error, and all the experimentation that's at the core of the social sciences.

They really are going after that. And we have to understand that we're on the front line of a battle to actually defend the capacity of a society to see what is real.

And the second conclusion I draw is that as long as universities defend academic freedom tacitly as the privilege of a skilled elite, they're done for. The only way we can turn this thing, both in societies like Hungary and societies like this—and now I stray into Craig's territory—is to make the simple case that when we fight for academic freedom, we are defending countermajoritarian institutions, and we are fighting for you.

We have not been able to convince our fellow citizens that the battle we're fighting is not a battle simply to defend our own privileges and prerogatives and our long summers and tenure, and all the things that we are represented for. We're fighting for you. We're fighting for the very capacity of a society to see itself truly. And so it's a battle we've got to win. Thank you.

**"CLOSED SOCIETIES ARE GOING TO BE AROUND FOR A LONG TIME BECAUSE WE ARE COLLUSIVE IN THEIR STABILIZATION. UNWILLINGLY COLLUSIVE."**

**— MICHAEL IGNATIEFF**



**“BUT MY POINT IS, WE ARE CAUGHT UP IN A MISSION OF PURSUING HIGH STATUS, OF PURSUING HIGHER RANKINGS, OF PURSUING THE POSITIONAL GOOD AND OFTEN FORGETTING THE PURPOSE BEHIND IT, WHICH IS, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE KIND OF THINGS THAT ACADEMIC FREEDOM IS FOR.”**  
— CRAIG CALHOUN

(Left to right) Advisory committee members **Michael Ignatieff**, president, Central European University; **Julia P. Adams**, professor, sociology and international & area studies and Head of College, Grace Hopper College, Yale University; **Robert R. Bowie, Jr.**, founder, Bowie & Jensen, LLC; **Michèle Lamont**, Center director; **Craig Calhoun**, president, Berggruen Institute; and **Adele S. Simmons**, president, Global Philanthropy Partnership, participated in the 2018 Jodidi Lecture during a visit to the WCPIA offices this spring.

## Insidious Threats to Academic Freedom *Delivered by Craig Calhoun, President, Berggruen Institute*

Academic freedom is a responsibility. In a sense, Michael ended with that note as well, and he ended by telling us that we have to explain something that we also have to make sure is true: that our claims to academic freedom are deployed in support of a system of higher education and individual universities that really does deliver something important for society as a whole. And being sure that is true is an important part of being able to make the case for it, and one that is sometimes forgotten.

It's important for universities to have academic freedom in academic intellectual terms, as well as in broader public terms. We need it in order to do the intellectual work we're charged with doing. And it is lost, moreover, if there is a tyranny of one point of view on a question of scientific knowledge, as well as if there is a repression of freedom in relation to the larger society. In that regard, it's important to recognize that academic freedom is distinct from general rights to free speech.

What I want to stress simply is that academic freedom is a kind of public good that we need to keep working to produce, to provide for our societies. It's not just a right we defend in that sense. Like other public goods, free inquiry depends on institutional support systems. And we live in an era in this country and more widely in which there has been a great deal of erosion in our general valuing of and commitment to the provision of public goods.

It's not unique to universities. It's true in a range of areas that we have become less good at both valuing and providing many sorts of public goods, and we suffer for it.

We have gone through some forty years of learning to value the public less, to think that the public is an inefficient, unglamorous, unsexy sort of institution that is clearly second rate compared to the private, the individual.

This erosion of the institutional provision of public goods is widespread, but universities face it in particular. And it is accompanied by another factor, which is a large-scale sort of transformation.

And here a transformation of institutions affects us, but isn't unique to us. We've seen shakeouts in media and journalism, for example, but also in many professional fields.

Harvard isn't some sort of tiny, fly-by-night institution. It's big and complex and has challenges to run, and it's just a part of a very large higher education system, which is expensive and complex. And so there are pressures that may lead to a kind of institutional shakeout.

It is something that reflects a larger systemic transformation. As a whole, not just at Harvard, academics are busy being professionals in their special areas more than they are engaged in determining the future of the institutions in which they work.

That's not shocking, but it's a problem. If we want strong versions of academic freedom, we need to be engaged in our institutions in some stronger ways.

I've essentially hinted that academic freedom is bound up with the overall character of societies and their public spheres and their institutions. Michael made much the same point.

This has shifted with globalization. It's shifted with new technologies. It's shifted perhaps most crucially with the scale of complexity of these societies. And it's shifted during the last forty-some years with neoliberal capitalism, or whatever we're going to call it, with a world that has been remade with a set of largely winner-take-all economies that have produced Google and Apple and other giant corporations.

Academic freedom then needs to be thought about as a freedom of individuals, of institutions, and of systems. It's not just the freedom of individual academics. It's not called professorial freedom, and there's a reason for that.

I will use CEU as an example. The politics there really don't have a lot to do with individual academics or particular people. They have to do with the institution and what the institution means to its enemies and to its friends in the world. The institution needs a certain level of freedom and protection.

The institution is also—and this is something Michael stressed—part of a larger system of higher education. He talked about the complicity of the rest of the world in thinking about what's an open and closed society.

In the background to this is the transformation of universities and higher education systems—the very scale of them. At the beginning of the twentieth century, 3 percent of Americans went to college or university. It's now, something like three quarters. And there is a huge diversification of what counts as colleges and universities, and there's a huge hierarchy. You can get in, but the price of getting in is not just the tuition. It is that you get in at some point in a hierarchy.

Student loans helping to pay for this now exceed the value of automobile loans in the United States. This is a huge investment in finance. And a story that could be told is of the financialization of our society and the way the education system gets into it, and how that affects academic freedom—



including what the students choose to study.

So let me just use an LSE story as Michael used CEU. The LSE styles itself a social science university. During the last forty years, the fields of accountancy, management, finance, and economics have grown to be the majority of the LSE. If you add in a very large law department, 65 percent of the LSE is in these career paths.

Now that's not something totally different from Harvard. This is a trend in US higher education generally. But that changes what the academy is, what academic freedom means, and it's a result of and it presses students for choices about what they're going to do. It doesn't mean that any of these are not honorable things. But it means that we are unfree in ways that are not just the open oppression of political leaders, but the more insidious paths that I think we sometimes inflict on ourselves.

But my point is, we are caught up in a mission of pursuing high status, of pursuing higher rankings, of pursuing the positional good and often forgetting the purpose behind it, which is, among other things, the kind of things that academic freedom is for.

Now the London School of Economics—a place where George Soros was educated and a model for the Central European University—is not so irrelevant to today's discussion. But also not irrelevant because it's really not very much like Harvard.

What it's like is the flagship state universities in the US. What it's like is the Chapel Hills and Virginias and Michigans and Wisconsin and Berkeleys and UCLAs. Not in scale, but in its funding structure, in its relationship. And like them, it has suffered a transformation. In 1979, when Margaret Thatcher was elected, the LSE received a little over 80 percent of its funding from the British government—78 percent of it in a single block grant, which it could distribute as it wanted. The figure is now below 10 percent.

What's happened? High student fees, a need to tell faculty members constantly to seek grants, and a reliance on private philanthropy. Those aren't all bad. My predecessors were brilliant in doing this. But they created a system in which academic freedom is challenged in many ways by the way the system works.

Let me revert to listing some threats to academic freedom that are insidious.

Career pressures: In the academic job market, in the transformation of our careers, productivism, the need to be doing certain kinds of things to make your career is at odds sometimes with doing things that directly speak to the public good in various ways.



Katharina Fellnhof, visiting scholar, SCANCOR-Weatherhead Partnership, asks a question during the 2018 Jodidi Lecture. Manja Klemencic, lecturer in sociology (of higher education), Harvard University, is seated to her left.

And along with that, tenure is a form of age discrimination increasingly in universities. It is something that people with gray hair and gray beards can enjoy, and something that very few of our PhD students will ever enjoy at any institution. That affects academic freedom.

Professional specialization also affects it. The rise of research, too. Ideas of academic freedom were developed in an era when research was a much smaller part of what universities did. And it has become a very costly part of what universities do.

And we have to ask how that fits into academic freedom. If freedom should be bringing innovation and different ideas and new thinking, isn't there a certain amount of suppression of this freedom by the almost monolithic model of what a university is and should be?

Now as it happens, I think that's breaking up in problematic ways, and we should be thinking about this. It's breaking up because of things like Apple and Microsoft deciding that they're going to go into the higher education business and be competitors. These models then also are exported to China, to South Africa, to Hungary in various ways. And there are questions about the international production of what it means to be a university.

People with money have exercised their power in universities for a long time, sometimes much more brutally than is common now. So we shouldn't think that this is a new thing. We should think it's an issue, though. And the issue is not just meddling from donors, but what it means if faculty members are always chasing grants. If that becomes a central part—not just teaching, research, and service, but grants getting—of faculty life, and what it means for stu-

dents and their families to be financing as much of higher education as they are, and as much on credit as they are in this system.

Finally, there is a declining respect for knowledge in society at large, alluded to already. With regard to Donald Trump as an example, there are others. It is, for example, leaving most of the senior positions in the US State Department vacant. The kind of positions Harvard used to train people to take, by the way, when the US State Department was hiring people to take those positions.

And it's not just the State Department. Throughout the government, there is a choice not to have the experts who would bring knowledge of different key domains, whether it's the environment or it is foreign policy or it is health care. That kind of choice is fundamentally at odds with the respect for knowledge, which the country needs, and which is central to the institution of universities. And it is something that we need to confront directly.

So I will close. We need to persuade our fellow citizens that what we do is really for them. We need to be sure that what we do is really for them. By which I don't mean that it simply has short-term payoffs rather than having long-term endurance. And I would ask, have we really done very much yet to confront the changing place of knowledge in our society? Because I think that is at the root of much that's going wrong.

### NEW UNDERGRADUATE ASSOCIATES

The following students have been appointed Undergraduate Student Associates for the 2018–2019 academic year and have received grants to support travel in connection with their senior thesis research on international affairs.

**Michelle Borbon** (Social Studies with secondary in History), *Deconstructing corruption discourses in Mexico City.*

**Sunaina Danziger** (History), *Nazis in America and the secret CIA programs that shaped the new global order.*

**Luca-Slavomir Istodor-Berceanu** (Women, Gender & Sexuality), *LGBT activism and the decriminalization of homosexuality in Guyana.*

**Isabel Lapuerta** (joint concentration in Music and Anthropology), *Cuban identity among musicians working in the tourism industry.*

**Molly Leavens** (Environmental Science & Public Policy), *Corporate responsibility in the Indonesian cacao market.*

**Raquel Leslie** (joint concentration in Government and East Asian Studies), *Elite surveys of African officials' attitudes toward the "China Model" in relation to the Washington consensus.*

**Michelle Liang** (joint concentration in History & Literature and Women, Gender & Sexuality), *Transnational comparative analysis of queer rights activism in Jordan and Switzerland.*

**Sierra Nota** (joint concentration in History and Slavic Languages and Literatures), *City development and the Trans-Siberian Railway.*

**Christina Qiu** (Applied Mathematics), *The effectiveness of job counseling for Roma settlement residents in the Île-de-France region.*

**Ziqi Qiu** (joint concentration in History and Mathematics), *Publishing industry in Qing, China, and a microhistorical research on the 1832 voyage of Lord Amherst.*

**Arthur Schott Lopes** (History with secondary in Classical Civilizations), *Colonial imperialism: Gilberto Freyre and the Luso-Brazilian Confederation from 1915–1965.*

**Rohan Shah** (Social Studies), *The disruptive effect of "water ATMs" on informal water vending in settlements in Nairobi.*

**Alexandra Shpitalnik** (Government and Slavic Literatures & Cultures), *Repression of NGOs in Russia from 2012 to the present day.*

**Wonik Son** (History), *The perception of disability in the global imagination, informed by the images of postwar UN humanitarian photography.*

**Elsie Tellier** (Sociology), *The impact of the gap in treatment for Indigenous Canadian children with fetal alcohol spectrum disorders in the child welfare system.*

**Richard Yarrow** (joint concentration in History and Philosophy), *Nationalism and politicization of World War I-era European scientists.*



2017–2018 Graduate Student Associates.

Photo credit: Michelle Nicholasen

### 2018 THOMAS TEMPLE HOOPES PRIZE WINNERS

The Weatherhead Center congratulates the following Undergraduate Associates who were awarded 2018 Thomas Temple Hoopes Prizes on the basis of their outstanding scholarly work.

**Benjamin David Grimm**, "Being Muslim, Becoming Swedish: Swedish-Muslim identity and the challenge to secular nationalism."

**Margot Sabina Mai**, "Street Hurt: Injury and Care in Nigerian Sex Work Migration."

**Iman Aysha Masmoudi**, "The Broken Chain: Understanding the Modern Crisis of Islam through the Rupture of Traditional Education."

**Theo Serlin**, "Poverty and Un-British MPs: Transnational Politics and Economic Thought in Britain and India, 1886–1936."

**Jennifer Aliza Shore**, "Employees of the Refugees: The Improvement of Services and Governance through Refugee Protest in Zaatari Camp."

**Kate Sohyun Yoon**, "Culture and Agency in Kant's Plan for Perpetual Peace."



## SCANCOR-WEATHERHEAD PARTNERSHIP

Nearly two years ago, the Scandinavian Consortium for Organizational Research (SCANCOR) opened a second location at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, the first of which started at Stanford University thirty years ago. The SCANCOR-Weatherhead Partnership was launched on October 19, 2016, with an inaugural lecture by John Meyer, professor emeritus of sociology at Stanford, and an opening gala, during which our first cohort of visiting scholars introduced themselves and their respective research projects. Since then, we have welcomed three additional cohorts of visiting scholars, altogether hosting nineteen visitors from Finland, Sweden, Norway, Austria, and Denmark for a semester or for a full year. Scholars conduct research on a wide range of topics related to the SCANCOR-Weatherhead Partnership's theme of international organizational studies.

At the beginning of each semester, we meet with the new scholars to set the course for the semester and beyond. Every group has expressed an interest in scheduling an internal seminar during which each scholar has an opportunity to present his or her work. They have also identified local scholars in the area with similar research interests and invited them to present their work. Visitors have included Ezra Zuckerman from MIT, Julie Battilana from Harvard Business School, Mary Ann Glynn from Boston College, and Chris Marquis, a Cornell faculty member visiting the Kennedy School.

At the suggestion of the inaugural cohort, we concluded 2016 with a conference including all of the scholars from the first year. Likewise, we just concluded our second annual conference on April 26 and 27, 2018, with thirteen scholars in attendance—including representatives from all four cohorts. The annual conference serves several important purposes for SCANCOR-Weatherhead, including providing ongoing opportunities to collaborate on research projects, strengthening ties to the Weatherhead Center, and continuing to develop a shared sense of community.



Participants in the annual SCANCOR-Weatherhead Partnership conference held on April 26–27, 2018. Photo credit: Michelle Nicholassen

## NEW FACULTY ASSOCIATES

The following Harvard faculty accepted invitations to be WCFAIA Faculty Associates during the 2017–2018 academic year:

**Sidney Chalhoub**, Professor of History and of African and African American Studies, Departments of History and African and African American Studies, Harvard University. *The social history of Brazil in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with emphasis on the history of slavery, race, public health, and the literature of Machado de Assis.*

**Christie McDonald**, Smith Research Professor of French Language and Literature, Department of Romance Languages and Literatures and Research Professor of Comparative Literature, Department of Comparative Literature, Harvard University. *The dialogue of literature and criticism with philosophy, political theory, anthropology, and the arts as a global venture.*

**Vikram Patel**, The Pershing Square Professor of Global Health and Wellcome Trust Principal Research Fellow, Department of Global Health and Social Medicine, Harvard Medical School; Professor, Department of Global Health and Population, Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health. *Mental health in the context of sustainable de-*

*velopment: generating knowledge, addressing the issue, and promoting its wide adoption in communities, countries, and globally.*

**Derek Penslar**, William Lee Frost Professor of Jewish History, Department of History, Harvard University. *Modern Jewish history; politics and society of Israel/Palestine; national movements; and nationality theory.*

**Pia J. Raffler**, Assistant Professor, Department of Government, Harvard University. *The political economy of local governance, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa.*

**Eugene Richardson**, Assistant Professor of Global Health and Social Medicine, Department of Global Health and Social Medicine, Harvard Medical School. *Biosocial approaches to epidemic disease in Africa and Asia.*

**James Sidanius**, John Lindsley Professor of Psychology in memory of William James, Department of Psychology; Professor of African and African American Studies, Department of

African and African American Studies, Harvard University. *The psychology of gender and the evolutionary psychology of intergroup conflict.*

**Elizabeth S. Spelke**, Marshall L. Berkman Professor of Psychology, Department of Psychology, Harvard University. *Infant/toddler social and cognitive development with an emphasis on the link between perception and knowledge; and education and poverty alleviation in India and Ghana.*

**Victor Seow**, Assistant Professor, Department of the History of Science, Harvard University. *Technology, industry, energy, and the environment in China and Japan over the long twentieth century.*

# In Memoriam



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The Weatherhead Center for International Affairs recently mourned the loss of **Gene Sharp**, a political scientist and former associate of the Center. Sharp, who died in his Boston home shortly after his ninetieth birthday, founded the Center's former Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense (PNS).

The rationale behind PNS was based on the simple premise about the nature of political power—that it is rooted in and continually dependent upon cooperation and obedience, and that either can be withdrawn. In 1983, Sharp founded the program along with the Albert Einstein Institution, which focuses "not on pacifism, not on any mahatma nonsense, but on pragmatic nonviolent struggle."

Under Sharp's direction, the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions was devoted to research and policy studies on the nature and dynamics of nonviolent sanctions, and the possible development and refinement of social, economic, psychological, and political sanctions for use in the resolution of future international and domestic conflicts.

After Sharp's tenure as founding director, PNS continued in the spirit of its founder and subsequently merged with a human rights organization at Harvard called Cultural Survival in 1995. According to David Maybury-Lewis, founder of Cultural Survival and director of the combined program—newly minted as the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival (PONSACS)—this program was ideally situated to address nonviolent alternatives for the preservation of all peoples and their cultures. PONSACS flourished for ten years at the Center, and eventually closed in 2005.

Gene Sharp's no-nonsense attitude toward nonviolent struggle spurred him to author many books and articles, including the notable booklet, *From Dictatorship to Democracy: A Conceptual Framework for Liberation*. This "ninety-three-page guide to toppling autocrats" became essential reading for orchestrators of nonviolent revolts.

Many people linked luminaries such as Gandhi, Thoreau, and Martin Luther King, Jr. to Sharp's work, though Sharp took a more pragmatic and less moral approach to keeping the peace. Regardless, his decades of work in the pursuit of nonviolent struggle—translated in scores of languages all over the world—leave an indelible mark on our society, and he will be missed.



**Mary Steedly**, professor of anthropology at Harvard University, passed away on January 4, 2018, at age 71. Steedly was a Faculty Associate since 2007 and former Harvard Academy Senior Scholar from 2005–2014. To read more about Mary Steedly and her love of writing and dogs, read her obituary in the *Harvard Crimson*, "Mary Steedly, Cornerstone of Anthropology Department, Dies at 71." *Photo credit: Tony Rinaldo*



**Calestous Juma**, professor of the practice of international development at Harvard Kennedy School, passed away on December 15, 2017, at age 64. Juma was a Faculty Associate since 2012. To read more about Calestous Juma and his contributions, modesty, and good humor, read "The Human Element: Remembering Calestous Juma," in the *Harvard Kennedy School Magazine*. *Photo credit: Martha Stewart*

## EPICENTER: AT THE HEART OF RESEARCH AND IDEAS

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