



Weatherhead Center
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Celebrating 60 years
1958–2018

Volume 33
Number 1
Fall 2018

CENTERPIECE

NEWSLETTER OF THE WEATHERHEAD CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS



CONTENTS

Message from the Director

2

Of Note

3

New Books

4

Dispatches:
Undergraduate
Researchers in the Field

6

Photos: Events

10

Jodidi Lecture:
“Democracy’s Crisis:
On the Political
Contradictions of
Financialized Capitalism”

By Nancy Fraser

12

Research Groups

16

Cover image (clockwise): Samuel P. Huntington and Kofi Annan (1997) • J. Bryan Hehir and Thomas C. Schelling (2006) • Robert R. Bowie • Neil Rudenstine and Celia and Al Weatherhead (1998) • Michèle Lamont and His Highness the Aga Khan (2015) • Raymond Vernon and Lee Kuan Yew (1975) • CFIA class of 1979–1980 • WCFIA class of 2018–2019 • 2017–2018 Graduate Student Associates • Beth A. Simmons and The Most Reverend Dr. Desmond Tutu (2007) • First CFIA class 1958–1959 • Henry Kissinger (1968). Detailed photo information available on the web version of this issue of *Centerpiece*. Illustration credit: Kristin Caulfield



Message from the Director

A Moment to Celebrate: 60 Years at WCFIA

The Weatherhead Center has played a capital role in the development of the social sciences at Harvard and nationally at various historical periods. The leadership of those who have preceded me has left its indelible mark on the research agenda in international relations early on, as detailed in the book, *In Theory and In Practice: Harvard’s Center for International Affairs 1958–1983*. Three years into my term as director of the Weatherhead Center (with a half-year as acting director in 2014), I take the opportunity of this anniversary edition of

Centerpiece to take stock and discuss possible paths for the future.

I have discussed many of our most recent innovations in past issues of *Centerpiece*. The most significant are the creation of six Weatherhead Research Clusters over the past two years; a dynamic Weatherhead Scholars Program which is now in its second year of hosting twenty-one annual visitors; and a well-attended biweekly Weatherhead Forum, where we learn about the research being conducted across programs, initiatives, and clusters.

These changes are the result of an external review held in 2016–2017 which resulted in better connection between the activities of the Center and the interests of the faculty. Equally important is the intensification of collective research efforts conducted *intra muros*, which contribute to making WCFIA a lively and dynamic place for multidisciplinary intellectual exploration and systematic empirical inquiry. Additionally, our communications team plays a vital role in highlighting our research and promoting it to various media.

These activities complement our five existing programs and projects (Canada Program, Program on U.S.–Japan Relations, The Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, Center for History and Economics, and the pilot SCANCOR–Weatherhead Partnership) and the three initiatives created in 2015 and 2016, with a respective focus on climate engineering, gender inequality, and Afro–Latin American studies.

The long-term expansion of our Faculty Associates (now numbering 236 across nine of Harvard’s thirteen schools) strengthens our ties with professional schools as we continue to engage the main social science departments in FAS. As a result, one-third of our current graduate students hail from Harvard schools outside of FAS. In this sense, WCFIA is now operating on a larger scale than it did in the past.

We have made substantial efforts to increase the ownership of Faculty Associates of the Weatherhead Center, who now have full responsibility for peer review. Indeed, over twenty-five faculty grantees contribute every year to the evaluation of proposals by undergraduate and graduate students, faculty, and visitors. Evaluation committees set a high bar when it comes to funding conferences, research projects, and faculty leaves—encouraging original and theoretically and socially significant research.

Of course, none of this could have been accomplished without the financial support of the Weatherhead endowment and other donors, the dedication of faculty serving our Executive and Steering Committees, the support of members of our Advisory Committee, and the work of our amazingly competent and good-humored staff. I express my profound gratitude to everyone for their generous contribution to the vibrancy of our intellectual community.

What about the future? Much of our task for the years ahead is to consolidate the various activities that we created in the recent past. Some of the research clusters are starting their activities only this fall and it will take time before they are operating in full force as research communities.

The longer-range objectives will be to further promote the research orientation of the WCFIA and to ensure its continued vibrancy as an intellectual community. The Center is above all an intellectual project that plays a crucial role in animating and invigorating the social sciences at Harvard, including in applied fields such as sustainability, education, and health.

In order to better perform this role, we need to consolidate financially the Weatherhead Scholars Program and research clusters and increase graduate student funding, so as to make international research even more attractive to the abundant talents that converge at Harvard. This is in line with the objective set by Harvard President Larry Bacow to better show how Harvard contributes to improving the world. The themes of our research clusters—inequality, social inclusion, security, regionalism, global transformation, threats to democracy, and more—are global concerns. We must convene scholars from every continent, including the Global South, to address the issues that concern us immediately and in the long term.

The measure of our success will be our ability to foster global conversation and innovative research. So far, the track record is amazing, but there is certainly more ahead! —**Michèle Lamont, Weatherhead Center Director**

Gita Gopinath Appointed Chief Economist at the International Monetary Fund



Faculty Associate **Gita Gopinath**, John Zwaanstra Professor of International Studies and Economics at Harvard University, was appointed chief economist at the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Gopinath is the first woman to hold the position, and will take a two-year leave from Harvard in January 2019 to serve her appointment. At the IMF, "Gopinath will lead a team of more than 1,000 researchers while also serving as the most influential policy adviser to the managing director."

Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt Book Selected in TIME's Ten Best Nonfiction Books of 2018

Faculty Associates **Steven Levitsky**, David Rockefeller Professor of Latin American Studies at Harvard University, and **Daniel Ziblatt**, Eaton Professor of the Science of Government at Harvard University, are the authors of the book, *How Democracies Die* (Penguin Random House). The book is included in *TIME* magazine's top ten list of best nonfiction books of 2018 for the authors' ability to contextualize democracy in the face of authoritarianism, both in the US and around the world.

King of Spain Gives Asturias Award to Michael Sandel

Faculty Associate **Michael Sandel**, Anne T. and Robert M. Bass Professor of Government at Harvard University is the recipient of the 2018 Princess of Asturias Award for Social Sciences. The Princess of Asturias Foundation gives the prestigious award every year in Oviedo, Spain, to recognize outstanding achievement in eight categories including social sciences, research, literature, arts, and more. Sandel was recognized for his enormous contributions in promoting "dialogue and public debate [about] justice and the common good," and to make these questions part of "people's daily life."

Rohini Pande Wins 2018 Carolyn Shaw Bell Award

Faculty Associate **Rohini Pande**, Rafik Hari Professor of International Political Economy at the Harvard Kennedy School, is the recipient of the 2018 Carolyn Shaw Bell Award. The American Economic Association's Committee on the Status of Women in the Economics Profession has given out the award every year since 1998 to honor an "individual who has furthered the status of women in the economics profession through example, achievements, increasing our understanding of how women can advance in the economics profession or mentoring others."

Seven Faculty Associates Win Harvard Global Institute Grants

The Harvard Global Institute awarded grants to seven projects this year that feature interdisciplinary, cross-collaborative research, and seven Faculty Associates are among the recipients: **Rema Hanna** will study improving access to state goods and services in India; **Arthur Kleinman** will develop a program to improve elderly care in China; **Chi-Man "Winnie" Yip** et al. will work to help eliminate malaria in China; and **Meg Rithmire**, **Timothy Colton**, **Tarek Masoud**, and **Odd Arne Westad** will study global neighborhoods in the context of a multipolar international power system.

Former Academy Scholars Win APSA Awards

Two 2017–2018 Academy Scholars have won awards from the American Political Science Association. **David Szakonyi**'s dissertation, "Renting Elected Office: Why Businesspeople Become Politicians in Russia," has received the American Political Science Association's 2018 Gabriel A. Almond Award for Best Dissertation in Comparative Politics. **Mariano Sánchez-Talanquer**'s dissertation, "States Divided: History, Conflict, and State Formation in Mexico and Colombia," has received the American Political Science Association's 2018 William Anderson Award for the best dissertation in the general field of federalism or intergovernmental relations, state and local politics.

Lawrence Bobo Named Dean of Social Science

Faculty Associate **Lawrence Bobo**, W.E.B. Du Bois Professor of the Social Sciences and professor of African and African American studies, was appointed dean of social science at the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Harvard University. Bobo, who studies race, ethnicity, politics, and social inequality, helped previous Dean of Social Science Claudine Gay found the FAS Inequality in America Initiative last year.

George Paul Meiu Receives 2018 Ruth Benedict Prize

Faculty Associate **George Paul Meiu**, John and Ruth Hazel Associate Professor of the Social Sciences at Harvard University, is the recipient of the 2018 Ruth Benedict Prize in the category of Outstanding Single-Author Monograph for his book, *Ethno-erotic Economies: Sexuality, Money, and Belonging in Kenya* (University of Chicago Press, 2017). The prize, awarded annually by the Association for Queer Anthropology (AQA), a section of the American Anthropological Association, is for "outstanding scholarship on a lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender topic."

Jacob Olupona Wins Martin E. Marty Public Understanding of Religion Award

Faculty Associate **Jacob Olupona**, professor of African religious traditions at Harvard Divinity School and professor of African and African American studies at Harvard University, is the recipient of the 2018 Martin E. Marty Public Understanding of Religion Award. The award, given by the American Academy of Religion, "recognizes extraordinary contributions to the public understanding of religion" and is given to individuals at any stage of their career.

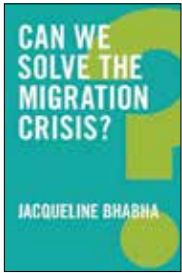
WWW

Get the latest Center news:
wcfia.harvard.edu/news



Political Sociology and the People's Health
By Jason Beckfield

Oxford University Press, 2018 | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Jason Beckfield is a professor of sociology and chair of the Department of Sociology at Harvard University.



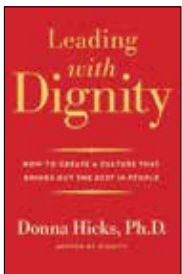
Can We Solve the Migration Crisis?
By Jacqueline Bhabha

Wiley, 2018 | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Jacqueline Bhabha is the Professor of the Practice of Health and Human Rights and director of research at François-Xavier Bagnoud Center for Health and Human Rights at Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health. She is also the Jeremiah Smith Jr. Lecturer on Law at Harvard Law School.



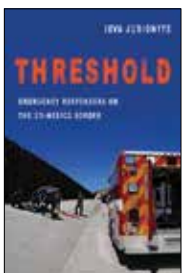
Baku: Oil and Urbanism
By Eve Blau

Park Books, 2018 | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Eve Blau is an adjunct professor of the history of urban form at Harvard Graduate School of Design.



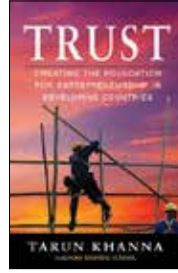
Leading with Dignity: How to Create a Culture That Brings Out the Best in People
By Donna Hicks

Yale University Press, 2018 | Donna Hicks is an associate at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard University.



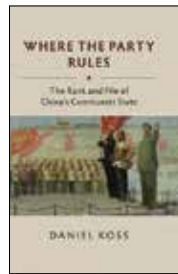
Threshold: Emergency Responders on the US-Mexico Border
By Ieva Jusionyte

University of California Press, 2018 | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Ieva Jusionyte is an assistant professor of anthropology and of social studies at Harvard University.



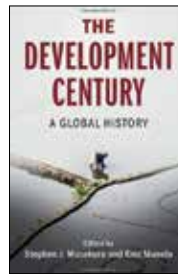
Trust: Creating the Foundation for Entrepreneurship in Developing Countries
By Tarun Khanna

Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 2018 | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Tarun Khanna is the Jorge Paulo Lemann Professor at Harvard Business School.



Where the Party Rules: The Rank and File of China's Communist State
By Daniel Koss

Cambridge University Press, 2018 | Harvard Academy Scholar Daniel Koss is an assistant research fellow at the Institute of Political Science, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan.



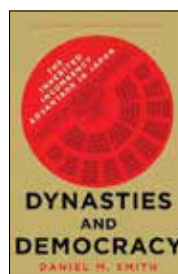
The Development Century: A Global History
Edited by Erez Manela and Stephen J. Macekura

Cambridge University Press, 2018 | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Erez Manela is a professor of history at Harvard University.



Piety and Patienthood in Medieval Islam
By Ahmed Ragab

Routledge, 2018 | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Ahmed Ragab is the Richard T. Watson Assistant Professor of Science and Religion at Harvard Divinity School.

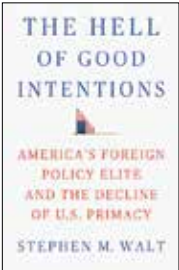


Dynasties and Democracy: The Inherited Incumbency Advantage in Japan
By Daniel M. Smith

Stanford University Press, 2018 | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Daniel M. Smith is an associate professor of government at Harvard University.

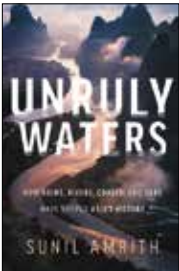


Get the latest research news by following us on Twitter: @HarvardWCFIA or read our blog, Epicenter: epicenter.wcfia.harvard.edu



**The Hell of Good Intentions:
America's Foreign Policy Elite
and the Decline of U.S. Primacy**
By *Stephen M. Walt*

Macmillan, 2018 | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Stephen M. Walt is the Robert and Renee Belfer Professor of International Affairs and faculty chair of the International Security Program at Harvard Kennedy School.



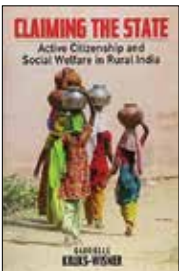
**Unruly Waters: How Rains, Rivers,
Coasts, and Seas Have Shaped
Asia's History**
By *Sunil Amrith*

Basic Books, 2018 | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Sunil Amrith is the Mehra Family Professor of South Asian Studies and chair of the Department of South Asian Studies at Harvard University.



**Improvisational Islam: Indonesian
Youth in a Time of Possibility**
By *Nur Amali Ibrahim*

Cornell University Press, 2018 | Nur Amali Ibrahim, former Harvard Academy Scholar, is an assistant professor of religion and international studies at Indiana University.



**Claiming the State:
Active Citizenship and Social
Welfare in Rural India**
By *Gabrielle Kruks-Wisner*

Cambridge University Press, 2018 | Gabrielle Kruks-Wisner, former Harvard Academy Scholar, is an assistant professor of politics and global studies at the University of Virginia.



**Opium's Long Shadow: From Asian
Revolt to Global Drug Control**
By *Steffen Rimner*

Harvard University Press, 2018 | Steffen Rimner, former Graduate Student Associate, is an assistant professor of the history of international relations at Utrecht University in the Netherlands.

Melissa Dell Wins Elaine Bennett Prize

Faculty Associate **Melissa Dell**, assistant professor of economics at Harvard University, won the 2018 Elaine Bennett Research Prize. The award is given every other year by the American Economic Association, and recognizes outstanding contributions by a young woman in any field of economics. The prize is given in memory of Elaine Bennett, "who made significant contributions to economic theory and experimental economics during her short professional career, and who mentored many women economists at the start of their careers."

**Matteo Maggiori Wins Two Awards
for Economics Research**

Faculty Associate **Matteo Maggiori**, associate professor of economics at Harvard University, is the recipient of two awards. First is the Excellence Award in Global Economic Affairs, given by the Kiel Institute for the World Economy and awarded to young economists who have published papers in the area of global economic affairs. Second is the AQR Insight Award, which Maggiori and his coauthors received for their working paper, "International Currencies and Capital Allocation." The AQR Insight Award recognizes outstanding academic working papers that offer "original, intelligent approaches to practical issues in the investment world."

**Dustin Tingley Wins Society for Political
Methodology Statistical Software Award**

Faculty Associate **Dustin Tingley**, professor of government at Harvard University, is the recipient—along with colleagues Molly Roberts and Brandon Stewart—of the 2018 Society for Political Methodology Statistical Software Award for their *stm* package, "An R Package for the Structural Topic Model." The award, distributed by Cambridge University Press's Society for Political Methodology, recognizes individuals for developing statistical software that makes a significant research contribution.

**Books by Robert D. Putnam and David Armitage
Nominated Most Influential of Past Twenty Years**

The *Chronicle of Higher Education* solicited scholars from across the academy to nominate their most influential academic book published over the past twenty years. Two Faculty Associates received nominations: **Robert D. Putnam**, former WCFIA director and Peter and Isabel Malkin Professor of Public Policy, Emeritus, at Harvard University, was nominated for his book *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. **David Armitage**, Lloyd C. Blankfein Professor of History at Harvard University, was nominated for the book he cowrote with Jo Guldi, *The History Manifesto*.

Maya Jasanoff Wins Cundill History Prize

Faculty Associate **Maya Jasanoff**, professor of history at Harvard University, won the 2018 Cundill History Prize for her book, *The Dawn Watch: Joseph Conrad in a Global World*. The Cundill Prize is awarded by McGill University and recognizes the best history writing in English, regardless of historical subject or period. It is given out every year "to the book that embodies historical scholarship, originality, literary quality and broad appeal."

Last spring, sixteen Harvard College students received travel grants from the Weatherhead Center to support their thesis field research on topics related to international affairs. Since their return in September, 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. Early in the spring semester on February 7–8, 2019, the students will present their research in a conference that is open to the Harvard community. Four Undergraduate Associates write of their experiences in the field last summer:



Molly Leavens

Rogers Family Research Fellow. Concentration in Environmental Science and Public Policy, Harvard College. *Research interests: Global food systems; smallholder agricultural systems; and the cacao/chocolate industry.*

The farmer shimmied her body under the barbed-wire fence, but when I went to follow, the fence slashed a gaping hole through the back pockets of my pants and into my skin. Without saying a word, the farmer ran to a nearby plant, chewed the leaves, and vigorously rubbed her now-green saliva into my fresh wound before dropping to her knees and beginning to pray. The jungle rain turned to a downpour and as my pants slowly became soaked with rain, blood, and green saliva, I wondered how on earth my thesis research had led me here.

I spent six weeks in Indonesia this summer studying different models of private-sector sustainability in the chocolate supply chain. The industry’s most pressing social concerns are desperately low wages, poor working conditions, and child labor for smallholder cacao farmers. Environmentally, cacao is a leading cause of tropical deforestation while paradoxically having the potential to promote conservation.

I am interested in how chocolate companies—both the huge multinational corporations and tiny craft makers—are working to address these social and environmental issues. There is academic literature on the effectiveness of some certification schemes, but private companies are conducting most of the research on their own sustainability projects, which inherently

threatens objectivity. Additionally, there is not currently a framework for when a large or small company might be better suited to intervene.

I interviewed stakeholders throughout the Indonesian cacao supply chain, from small chocolate companies to agronomic research centers to NGOs, but the highlight of my trip was staying with a farmer in a rural cooperative. It was here that I was helping with the cacao harvest and encountered the barbed-wire fence. I was one of the first foreigners to visit the community so I experienced unbelievable hospitality and got an incredibly intimate perspective on the daily lives of farmers from pruning and weeding to family meals and frequent prayers (Indonesia is a predominantly Muslim country).

I visited a group of Rainforest Alliance Certified farms, which means they should have been intercropping their cacao with other trees. I was confused then why I did not see this process happening. When I asked a few farmers, they responded that they did indeed intercrop. I pointed at the field directly in front of us, which had rows of only cacao trees in direct sunlight and was a far cry from any ecologist’s definition of intercropping, and inquired, “What about there?”

“Yes, that is intercropping,” responded the farmers. More confused than ever, I replied, “But I only see cacao trees?” They then proudly showed me two small banana and papaya trees on the edge of the plot. And one scraggly tree—no wider than a decimeter—in the middle without any leaves and probably dead? That was an “intercrop” too.

This example is not to argue against certification schemes, a nuanced analysis of which will likely fill an entire thesis chapter, but rather demonstrate the value of visiting a location and speaking directly with the subjects of a research project.

I encountered challenges, which is expected from any off-the-beaten path adventure. My time in Indonesia was met with a visa renewal debacle, the worst flight and transportation delays I have ever experienced, food poisoning, and even a week in the hospital caring for the sick mother of the only woman in the village

who spoke English. And my humbleness for life has hit hardest since returning to the US—within a period of two months, each of the four islands I visited have been struck by a natural disaster (a tsunami, an earthquake, and several volcanic eruptions), which together have killed thousands of residents.

When I stood in the pouring jungle rain and my pants slowly became soaked with rain, blood, and green saliva....I wondered how I had gotten myself there, but I had no idea it was really just the beginning. My thesis research thus far has been intellectually fascinating and ruthlessly demanding and I cannot wait to see what else it has in store.



Helping a farmer with the cacao harvest in South Sulawesi. Photo credit: Used with permission from Molly Leavens



Sierra Nota

Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. Department of History and the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Harvard College. Research interests: Late imperial and early Soviet Russian history; cartography and borders; digital history; urban planning history; transit and railway history; Siberia; and Ukraine in the Soviet period.

This last summer, I went to Siberia. More specifically, I journeyed up from China, through Mongolia, over to Vladivostok by Korea, and then traversed the length of Russia all the way to Saint Petersburg to conduct independent archival research. I returned with invaluable research experience and the beginnings of a fascinating case study for my senior thesis. After nearly two months traveling Russia by railway and collecting material in archives, I am pleased to be home with a wealth of great material to use for my project.

This investigation was several years in the making. My fascination with Siberian urban development began as a research assistant, when I was studying administrative maps of eighteenth-

century towns. I gradually became intrigued by the idea of remote Russian cities—in the late seventeenth century, people had to travel several days, even weeks, just to get to the adjacent town 300–400 miles away. These places were beautiful, culturally rich, fully functioning cities before electricity or railways came to them. My summer was planned as an archival study of Siberian urban planning surrounding the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway, case studying its main Siberian hub, Irkutsk, comparatively.

My investigation began at this city, and the state archive of the Irkutsk Oblast became my new home. I was in the archive in Irkutsk for around a month, and overall it went very well. The archivists were friendly and willing to explain if there was any issue, and the whole process of working there went smoothly. This was a pleasant surprise because I was warned that this archive was in disrepair by a historian who worked there a decade ago, and I found none of the horrors which he described. I collected a little over half of my primary source archival documents there.

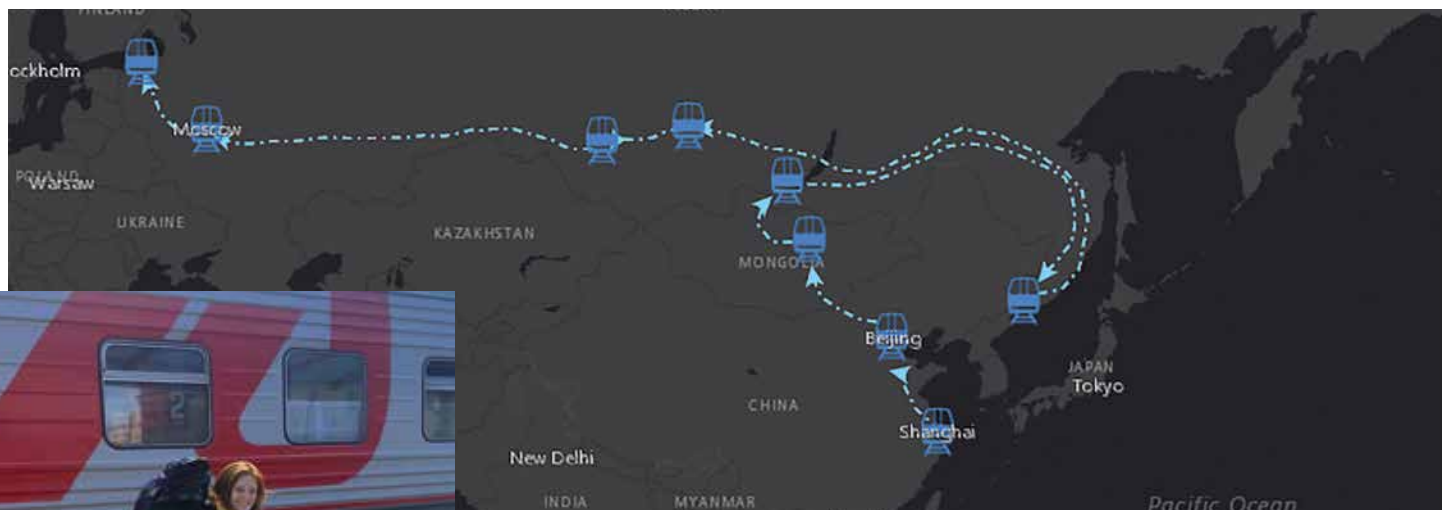
While in Irkutsk, I also visited Olkhon Island on Lake Baikal—the world’s oldest and largest lake and a place of great cultural and literary significance for Russians. Despite a bout of food poisoning and being completely cut off from Internet and cell phone, I had several amazing conversations about the particularly fascinating

internationalism of Siberian Russia. One couple I made friends with, for example, were Finnish-born residents of Mongolia who often conducted business in Russia. We piled in old military jeeps together and waded in the pure—but horrifically freezing—water of the storied lake. These types of interactions continued as I left Irkutsk.

Next, I had short stays with long train rides through Vladivostok, Krasnoyarsk, and Novosibirsk. In these cities, I visited only libraries and museums, and collected broad sources on city planning and local history that I could use as comparative points to Irkutsk. I wish I could have done archival research in these places, as I had originally intended, but I was severely time constrained. In between each of these cities, I often had to stay on a train for four whole days as I cut across the Russian countryside, which put a severe damper on my time.

Finally, I spent the last two weeks of my trip at the GARF archive in Moscow, a massive government archive with a ton of sources collected from throughout the former Soviet Union and Russian Empire. I was incredibly busy here, as there were way too many interesting documents given my short time period, but I collected as many as I reasonably could.

Overall, I had an amazing and intense trip, and I am more excited about the prospects of original historical research than I was when I began.



Above: Sierra Nota’s train route across Asia, from China to Russia. Left: Getting ready to board a twenty-four-hour train ride from Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia to Irkutsk, Russia with all her possessions in a backpack. Photo credit: Used with permission from Sierra Nota



Rohan Shah

Rogers Family Research Fellow. Committee on Degrees in Social Studies, Harvard College. *Research interests: Development economics; urbanism in the Global South; postcolonialism; and economic theory.*

This past summer, I visited the informal settlement of Mathare in Nairobi, Kenya, to study the impact of prepaid water dispensers, or “water ATMs,” on the informal water vending market in Nairobi. Ostensibly, water ATMs solve the problem of high water prices and unregulated water quality by cutting out the middlemen of informal water vendors. Users have a card that can be pre-loaded with cash. A swipe of this card at the water ATM releases water into the user’s container. The per-liter price of water from the water ATM was reported to be 100 times cheaper than the price from informal vendors, who are pejoratively referred to as “water cartels.” Furthermore, since users pay electronically at the point of use, the public utility company Nairobi Water hopes this will reduce the amount of non-revenue water used.

The ATM technology was presented in the popular media as a cause for optimism, demonstrating the power of technological innovation to improve the lives of the most vulnerable. It was this potential for meaningful impact that drew me to the site. Were the ATMs having their desired impact on water prices in Mathare? To that end, I ran a household survey about water use. By collaborating with a local team, I was able to collect 650 responses from residents who lived close to the ATMs. Whilst it was certainly a challenge acquiring such a large sample size, it has allowed me to confidently argue that the ATMs have reduced water prices in some neighborhoods of Mathare.

But this is not true everywhere that the ATMs were set up. In many parts of Mathare, people continue paying the same price of water as they did before the ATMs were installed. Paradoxically, many respondents reported using the ATMs and still paying the original price! To better understand this phenomenon, I had to dive deeper. I needed fine-grained, qualitative data to understand how the original prices persisted and why. I began conducting numerous open-ended visits to Mathare, interviewing local leaders and water bureaucrats, and shadowed an employee of Nairobi Water. What has begun to emerge is a nuanced story of the complexities of policy implementation and the adaptability of local stakeholders.



At present, I’m trying to synthesize the stories of this fascinating community into insights that can speak to the rich academic discourse on technology and development, and the politics of water provision. This process of consolidation and reflection has been difficult but rewarding. However, I anticipate still bigger challenges ahead. Namely, I think that integrating the quantitative and qualitative methods will be difficult because writing in the social sciences tends to exclusively use one or the other. I hope my thesis will challenge this tendency by demonstrating that mixed methods can shed unique insight on social phenomena.

Conducting research in Kenya was an incredible experience. Like everywhere else in the world, the city has its own rhythms, bureaucratic morasses, and idiosyncrasies. But the people of the city navigate this with staggering patience and savvy, and without losing their warmth, entrepreneurialism, and optimism.

When I finish writing, I hope to share my findings with some of the Kenyan philanthropists and stakeholders I had the opportunity to meet, in hopes that my research can improve future implantation and innovation in the provision of water to Nairobi’s poorest.



Top: One of the water ATMs. Bottom: One of the surveyors, Thuo ‘Biggie’, asks a resident questions about water use. Photo credit: Rohan Shah



Wonik Son

Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. Department of History, Harvard College. *Research interests: Postwar transnational and economic history; visibility, gaze, and disability; international organizations; and history of images.*

This summer, I undertook a six-week research trip to the World Health Organization (WHO) and UN/League of Nations archives in Geneva, Switzerland, to study the perception of disability in the global imagination, informed by the images of postwar UN humanitarian images. I focused on the WHO's vast files on collaborating photographers and public relations, which revealed an archival record of the UN system's coordination with local organizations and (sometimes mildly unscrupulous) third parties in disseminating, drafting, and producing official information for the UN.

My thesis explores the United Nations and World Health Organization's enormous archives of photographs, films, posters, and other visual sources, disseminated to the public, to help contextualize the postwar construction of "the disabled" as a distinct category in need of special global attention.

How did—and does—the UN perpetuate or problematize the same images of the disabled as objects of pity? Who populates the "disabled" world of the UN's images? Where are they from and what types of people and ethnicities are presented as the "faces" of this question? The United Nations' visual legacy as the world's most prominent arbiter of the narratives of global humanitarian crises merits greater analysis.

Last year, through the History Department's digital history course, I explored the UN's and WHO's online photo libraries on disability, scraping archival data on where archived photographs were taken, the names of photographers, and dates photographs were taken. The resulting visualizations were published in the Joint Center for History and Economics UN History Project, as part of a new section on "Images of Disability" I created. They showcase a "disabled world" focused almost exclusively on South and



School for Handicapped, Washington, DC, January 1, 1979, Photo # 64719. Credit: UN Photo

Southeast Asia or Latin America. At the WHO archives this summer, I looked at reference binders with photographs of the "handicapped"—from children in rehab hospitals to victims of polio—a pool from which the WHO could take as needed to accompany articles in its own *World Health* magazine. The archival files reaffirmed that there is a larger history to tell about the roles of individual photographers, contracted by the UN and WHO, in creating the organization's narratives of marginalized communities. These photographers were often not official UN employees—many were contracted by the UN, and are still active in independent projects, from fashion to street photography.

While I went to the archives intending to look primarily at photographers, I discovered an interesting trove of materials on the WHO's relationship with a US public relations firm. This came by virtue of a quirk in the WHO archives in Geneva—they have no centralized catalog available for public access, and all requests for files or search terms must be sent to the archivists by email. This creates a highly curated experience, where the archive often plays a large role in determining the narratives one can see.

The PR firm's conflicting visions with the WHO seem to have brought significant tension. The firm handles PR for the WHO much as it would do for a corporation, where exclusivity serves as the

goal of publicity: to present a "company" as the sole authority in a specific market category. There seems to be an internal debate on the role of the UN system within the larger global web of political entities and interests in the 1990s. Is the WHO the definitive authority on global health matters? Does it have a monopoly on the creation of images and perception of humanitarian needs?

My research over the summer allowed me the opportunity to think more conceptually about the thesis project, especially the topic's position within existing scholarship and schools in transnational global history. Between searching the depths of the WHO's card catalog system and nearly being locked in the WHO archive overnight—when the librarian failed to check the researchers' desks prior to heading home—my experience in Geneva was eventful, exciting, and eye opening.

WCFIA by the Numbers

NUMBER OF

Faculty Associates 1958: 4
Faculty Associates 2018: 236

Graduate students in 1958: 0
Graduate students in 2018: 91

Undergraduates in 1958: 0
Undergraduates in 2018: 25

PERCENTAGE OF

Female Faculty Associates in 1958: 0%
Female Faculty Associates in 2018: 30%

DOLLARS SPENT

On research grants in 1958: \$29,500
On research grants in 2018: \$1.1M

WELCOMING OUR 2018-2019 AFFILIATES

On August 27–28, 2018 the Weatherhead Center welcomed new and returning affiliates during orientation. The two-day event included formal introductions (top), faculty-led panel discussions on current international topics (center), and wrapped up with a casual BBQ for affiliates and their families (bottom).



Photos: Fall 2018 Events

WORLDWIDE WEEK AT HARVARD

Worldwide Week at Harvard was held October 20–27, 2018 and showcased the remarkable breadth and depth of Harvard's global engagement. During Worldwide Week, the Center hosted several seminars and special events with global or international themes, including an International Book Blitz and our second International Comedy Night featuring Hari Kondabolu.



Top: Pippa Norris (Harvard Kennedy School) presented her book in the International Book Blitz on October 24. Each Faculty Associate gave an eight-minute “speed talk” featuring their global research. Left to right: Robert H. Bates (Government and AAAS); Jason Beckfield (Sociology); Sugata Bose (History); Ieva Jusionyte (Anthropology); George Paul Meiu (AAAS and Anthropology); Pippa Norris (HKS); and Daniel M. Smith (Government). Bottom: Members of the Harvard College Stand-Up Comic Society with comedian Hari Kondabolu, front, at International Comedy Night on October 25. *Worldwide week photo credits: Lauren McLaughlin and Kristin Caulfield; orientation photo credits: Martha Stewart (top); Lauren McLaughlin (middle and bottom)*

WWW

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

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY CONVERSATION

On October 4, 2018 a panel marked the publication of *The Development Century: A Global History*, edited by Stephen J. Macekura and Faculty Associate Erez Manela. Panelists (left to right) included Erez Manela (History); Melani Cammett (Government and Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health); Dani Rodrik (Harvard Kennedy School); David Engerman (Yale University); and Stephen J. Macekura (Indiana University). *Photo credit: Lauren McLaughlin*



PANEL DISCUSSION FEATURING THE HOME PROJECT

On September 26, 2018 Melani Cammett (Government and Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health); Jacqueline Bhabha (Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health and Harvard Law School); Vidur Chopra (Harvard Graduate School of Education); and Sofia Kouvelaki (The Home Project) participated in a panel discussion titled, "Accompanying Unaccompanied Child Refugees: The Challenges Facing Advocates and Activists." *Photo credit: Lauren McLaughlin*



THE WEATHERHEAD FORUM

The Weatherhead Forum showcases the research of the various units that are associated with the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. In fall 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. Videos of most of our forum talks are available on our WCFA Facebook page.



Images from Fall 2018 Weatherhead Forums (clockwise from top): Charlotte Lloyd, Aseem Mahajan, and Justin D. Stern (featuring the Graduate Student Associates Program); Susan J. Pharr and Yeonju Lee (featuring the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations); Steven Levitsky and Lilliana Mason (featuring the Weatherhead Research Cluster on Global Populism/Challenges to Democracy); Ronald Niezen and Hilary Holbrow (featuring the Canada Program); Daniel Koss (featuring The Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies). *Photo credit: Lauren McLaughlin*



Democracy's Crisis: On the Political Contradictions of Financialized Capitalism

BY NANCY FRASER



On November 5, 2018, the Samuel L. and Elizabeth Jodidi Lecture was delivered by Nancy Fraser at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. Nancy Fraser is the Henry A. & Louise Loeb Professor of Philosophy and Politics at the New School for Social Research. Her essay will be one of several published as part of a book titled *What's Wrong with Democracy? A Debate between Klaus Dörre, Nancy Fraser, Stephan Lessenich and Hartmut Rosa* (Suhrkamp Press), edited by Hanna Ketterer and Karina Becker, forthcoming in 2019. Photo credit this feature: Martha Stewart

We are currently facing a crisis of democracy. That much is beyond dispute. What is less well understood, however, is that this crisis is not freestanding, and its sources do not lie exclusively in the political realm. *Contra biensensant* commonsense, it cannot be solved by restoring civility, cultivating bipartisanship, opposing tribalism, or defending truth-oriented, fact-based discourse. Nor, *contra* recent democratic theory, can our political crisis be resolved by reforming the political realm—not by strengthening “the democratic ethos,” reactivating “the constituent power,” unleashing the force of “agonism” or fostering “democratic iterations.”¹ All these proposals fall prey to an error I call “politicism.” By analogy with economism, politicist thinking overlooks the causal force of extra-political society. Treating the political order as self-determining, it fails to problematize the larger societal matrix that generates its deformations.

In fact, democracy's present crisis is firmly anchored in a social matrix. It represents one strand of a broader, more far-reaching crisis, which also encompasses other strands—ecological, economic, and social. Inextricably entwined with these others, it cannot be understood in isolation from them. Neither freestanding nor merely sectoral, today's democratic ills form the specifically political strand of a *general crisis* that is engulfing our social order in its entirety. Their underlying bases lie in the sinews of that social order—in the latter's institutional structures and constitutive dynamics. Bound up with processes that transcend the political, democratic crisis can only be grasped by a critical perspective on the *social totality*.

What exactly is this social totality? Many astute observers identify it with neoliberalism—and not without reason. It is true, as Colin Crouch maintains, that democratic governments are now outgunned, if not wholly cap-

tured, by oligopolistic corporations with a global reach, lately liberated from public control.² It is also true, as Wolfgang Streeck contends, that democracy's decline in the Global North coincides with a coordinated tax revolt of corporate capital and the installation of global financial markets as the new sovereigns that elected governments must obey.³ Nor can one dispute Wendy Brown's claim that democratic power is being hollowed out from within by neoliberal political rationalities that valorize efficiency and choice and by modes of subjectivation that enjoin “self-responsibilization” and maximization of one's “human capital.”⁴ Finally, Stephen Gill is right to insist that democratic action is being preempted by a “new constitutionalism” that locks in neoliberal macro-economic policy transnationally, through treaties such as NAFTA, which enshrine free-trade strictures as political trumps and foreclose robust social and environmental legislation in the public interest.⁵ Whether taken individually or read together, these accounts convey the entirely plausible idea that what threatens our democracy is neoliberalism.

Nevertheless, the problem runs deeper. Neoliberalism is, after all, a form of capitalism, and today's democratic crisis is by no means capitalism's first. Nor is it likely, if capitalism perdures, to be the last. On the contrary, *every* major phase of capitalist development has given rise to, and been transformed by, political turmoil. Mercantile capitalism was periodically roiled and eventually destroyed by a slew of peripheral slave revolts and metropolitan democratic revolutions. Its *laissez-faire* successor racked up a solid century and a half of political turbulence, including multiple socialist revolutions and fascist putsches, two World Wars and countless anti-colonial uprisings, before giving way in the inter- and postwar era to state-managed capitalism. The latter regime was itself

WWW

Watch videos of all our lectures on our Vimeo page: vimeo.com/wcfia

no stranger to political crisis, having weathered a massive wave of anti-colonial rebellions, a global New Left uprising, a Cold War and a nuclear arms race before succumbing to neoliberal subversion, which ushered in the current regime of globalizing, financialized capitalism.

This history casts the present democratic crisis in a larger light. Neoliberalism's political travails, however acute, represent the latest chapter of a longer story, which concerns the political vicissitudes of capitalism as such. Not just neoliberalism, but *capitalism*, is prone to political crisis and inimical to democracy.

That, in any case, is the thesis I shall argue here. Treating democracy's present-day crisis as one strand of the general crisis of the social totality, I shall construe the object of that crisis as *capitalist society in its present form*. But I shall also argue the stronger thesis that every form of capitalism harbors a deep-seated *political contradiction*, which inclines it to political crisis. Like capitalism's other contradictions—economic, ecological, social, this one is inscribed in its DNA. Far from representing an anomaly, then, the democratic crisis we experience today is the form this contradiction assumes in capitalism's present phase, which I shall call *financialized capitalism*.

1. The political contradiction of capitalism "as such"

My thesis rests on enlarged understandings of capitalism and capitalist crisis. Many leftwing thinkers, including most Marxists, understand capitalism narrowly, as an economic system *simpliciter*. Focused on contradictions internal to the economy, such as the falling rate of profit, they equate capitalist crisis with economic system dysfunctions, such as depressions, bankruptcy chains and market crashes. The effect is to preclude a full accounting of capitalism's crisis tendencies, omitting its *non-economic* contradictions and forms of crisis. What are excluded, above all, are crises grounded in *inter-realm contradictions*—contradictions that arise when capitalism's economic imperatives collide with the reproduction imperatives of the non-economic realms whose health is essential to ongoing accumulation, not to mention to human well-being.

An example is what I have called the "social reproductive" contradiction of capitalist society. Marxists have rightly located the secret of accumulation in the "hidden abode" of commodity production, where capital exploits wage labor. But they have not always fully appreciated that this process rests on the even more hidden abode of unwaged carework, often performed by women, which forms and replenishes the human subjects who constitute "labor." Deeply dependent on such social-reproductive activities, capital nonetheless accords them no (monetized) value, treats them as free and infinitely available, and assumes no responsibility for sustaining them. Left to itself, therefore, and given its relentless drive to limitless accumulation, it is always in danger of destabilizing the very processes of social reproduction on which it depends.⁶



Another example of inter-realm contradiction is ecological. On the one hand, the accumulation of capital relies on nature—both as a "tap," which supplies material and energetic inputs to commodity production, and as a "sink" for absorbing the latter's waste. On the other hand, capital disavows the ecological costs it generates, effectively assuming that nature can replenish itself autonomously and without end. In this case, too, capitalism's economy tends to eat its own tail, destabilizing the very natural conditions on which it relies.⁷ In both cases, an inter-realm contradiction grounds a proclivity to a type of capitalist crisis that transcends the economic: social reproductive crisis, in one case, and ecological crisis, in the other.

These considerations suggest an enlarged understanding of capitalism—no longer a "mere" economy, but an *institutionalized social order*. Above and beyond its economic subsystem, capitalist society also encompasses the non-economic realms that support its economy—including social reproduction and nonhuman nature. As such, it harbors a plurality of crisis tendencies—not just those stemming from intra-economic contradictions, but also those based in inter-realm contradictions—between economy and society, on the one hand, and between economy and nature, on the other. Not just Marxian contradictions, then, but also Polanyian contradictions, are built into capitalist society.

This enlarged understanding affords a way of understanding democracy's present travails that escapes the trap of politicism. No longer seen as freestanding, these appear as a further strand of capitalist crisis, grounded in yet another inter-realm contradiction: a contradiction between the imperatives of capital accumulation and the maintenance of the public powers on which accumulation also relies. This *political contradiction of d* can be stated in a nutshell: legitimate, efficacious public power is a condition of possibility for sustained capital accumulation; yet capitalism's drive to endless accumulation tends over time to destabilize the very public powers on which it depends. On this view, today's democratic crisis is a strand of capitalist crisis whose broader contours supply the key to its resolution.

Let us pursue this hypothesis by noting, first, that capital relies on public powers to establish and enforce

Nancy Fraser and Cornell West, Professor of the Practice of Public Philosophy, Harvard Divinity School, greet each other before the start of the lecture.

**NOT JUST
NEOLIBERALISM,
BUT CAPITALISM,
IS PRONE TO POLITICAL
CRISIS AND INIMICAL
TO DEMOCRACY.**

— NANCY FRASER

**CAPITALISM, IN SUM,
IS FUNDAMENTALLY
ANTI-DEMOCRATIC.
EVEN IN THE BEST-CASE
SCENARIO, DEMOCRACY
IN A CAPITALIST
SOCIETY MUST
PERFORCE BE
LIMITED AND WEAK.**
— NANCY FRASER

its constitutive norms. Accumulation is inconceivable, after all, in the absence of a legal framework underpinning private enterprise and market exchange. It depends crucially on public powers to guarantee property rights, enforce contracts, and adjudicate disputes; to suppress rebellions, maintain order, and manage dissent; to sustain the monetary regimes that constitute capital's lifeblood; to undertake efforts to forestall or manage crises; and to codify and enforce both official status hierarchies, such as those that distinguish citizens from "aliens," and also unofficial ones, such as those that distinguish free exploitable "workers," who are entitled to sell their labor power, from dependent expropriable "others," whose assets and persons can simply be seized.⁸

Historically, the public powers in question have mostly been lodged in territorial states, including those that operated as colonial powers. It was the legal systems of such states that established the contours of seemingly depoliticized arenas within which private actors could pursue their "economic" interests, free from "political" interference. Likewise, it was territorial states that mobilized "legitimate force" to put down resistance to the expropriations through which capitalist property relations were originated and sustained. Then, too, it was national states that conferred subjective rights upon some and denied them to others. It was such states, finally, that nationalized and underwrote money. Having thus constituted the capitalist economy, these political powers subsequently took steps to foster capital's capacities to accumulate profits and face down challenges. They built and maintained infrastructure, compensated for "market failures," steered economic development, bolstered social reproduction, mitigated economic crises and managed the associated political fall-out.

But that is not all. A capitalist economy also has political conditions of possibility at the geopolitical level. What is at issue here is the organization of the broader space in which territorial states are embedded. This is a space in which capital would seem to move quite easily, given its inherent expansionist thrust and its deep-seated drive to siphon value from peripheral regions to its core. But its ability to operate across borders, to expand through international trade, and to profit from the predation of subjugated peoples—all this depends not only on national-imperial military might but also on transnational political arrangements: on international law, brokered agreements among the Great Powers and supranational regimes that partially pacify (in a

capital-friendly way) a realm that is sometimes imagined as a state of nature. Throughout its history, capitalism's economy has depended on the military and organizational capacities of a succession of global hegemony, which have sought to foster accumulation on a progressively expanding scale within the framework of a multi-state political system.⁹

At both levels, then, the state-territorial and the geopolitical, the capitalist economy is deeply indebted to political powers external to it. These "non-economic" powers are indispensable to all the major streams of accumulation: to the exploitation of free labor and the production and exchange of commodities; to the expropriation of racialized subject peoples and the siphoning of value from periphery to core; to the organization of finance, space, and knowledge—hence, to the accrual of interest and rent. In no way marginal adjuncts, political forces (like social reproduction and nonhuman nature) are constitutive elements of capitalist society. Essential to its functioning, public power is part and parcel of the institutionalized social order that is capitalism.

But the maintenance of political power stands in a tense relation with the imperative of capital accumulation. The reason lies in capitalism's distinctive institutional topography, which separates "the economic" from the "political." In this respect, capitalist societies differ from earlier forms, in which those instances were effectively fused—as, for example, in feudal society, where control over labor, land and military force was vested in the single institution of lordship and vassalage. In capitalist society, by contrast, economic power and political power are split apart; each is assigned its own sphere, endowed with its own distinctive medium and *modus operandi*.¹⁰ The power to organize production is privatized and devolved to capital, which is supposed to deploy only the "natural," "non-political" sanctions of hunger and need. The task of governing "non-economic" orders, including those that supply the external conditions for accumulation, falls to the public power, which alone may utilize the "political" media of law and "legitimate" violence. In capitalism, therefore, the economic is non-political, and the political is non-economic.

Definitive of what capitalism is, this separation severely limits the scope of the political. Devolving vast aspects of social life to the rule of "the market" (in reality, to large corporations), it declares them off-limits to democratic decision-making, collective action, and public control. Its very structure, therefore, deprives us of the ability to decide collectively exactly what and how much we want to produce, on what energetic basis and through what kinds of social relations. It deprives us, too, of the capacity to determine how we want to use the social surplus we collectively produce; how we want to relate to nature and to future generations; how we want to organize the work of social reproduction and its relation to that of production. Capitalism, in sum, is fundamentally anti-

Weatherhead Center
Director Michèle Lamont,
Robert I. Goldman Professor
of European Studies and
Professor of Sociology and
of African and African
American Studies introduces
Nancy Fraser.



democratic. Even in the best-case scenario, democracy in a capitalist society must perforce be limited and weak.

But capitalist society is typically not at its best, and whatever democracy it manages to accommodate must also be shaky and insecure. The trouble is that capital, by its very nature, tries to have it both ways. On the one hand, it freeloards off of public power, availing itself of the legal regimes, repressive forces, infrastructures and regulatory agencies that are indispensable to accumulation. At the same time, the thirst for profit periodically tempts some fractions of the capitalist class to rebel against public power, to badmouth it as inferior to markets and to scheme to weaken it. In such cases, when short-term interests trump long-term survival, capital is like a tiger that eats its own tail. It threatens to destroy the very political conditions of its own possibility.

The nub of the problem is encapsulated in four words that begin with "D." First, capitalist societies *divide* their economies from their organized political powers. Second, it constitutes their economies as *dependent* on political powers in order to run. But third, because capital recognizes only monetized forms of value, it free rides on public goods and *disavows* their replacement costs. Geared to endless accumulation, finally, capitalism's economy is primed periodically to *destabilize* the very political powers that it itself needs.

Together, these four D-words spell out a political contradiction lodged deep in the institutional structure of capitalist society. Like the economic contradiction(s) that Marxists have stressed, this one, too, grounds a crisis tendency. In this case, however, the tension is not located "inside" the economy but rather at the border that simultaneously separates and connects economy and polity in capitalist society. Inherent in capitalism as such, this inter-realm contradiction inclines *every* form of capitalist society to political crisis.



Footnotes

1. I have selected these expressions to represent a range of different perspectives in democratic theory, those respectively of William E. Connolly, Andreas Kalyvas, Chantal Mouffe and Seyla Benhabib. But I could have chosen others as well.
2. Colin Crouch, *The Strange Non-Death of Neoliberalism* (Cambridge UK: Polity, 2011).
3. Wolfgang Streeck, *Buying Time: The Delayed Crisis of Democratic Capitalism* (London and Brooklyn: Verso, 2014).
4. Wendy Brown, "American Nightmare: Neoliberalism, Neoconservatism, and De-Democratization," *Political Theory* 34,6 (2006): 690–714, and Wendy Brown, *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution* (Brooklyn: Zone Books, 2015).
5. Stephen Gill, "New Constitutionalism, Democratization and Global Political Economy," *Pacifica Review* 10,1 (1998) 23–38. For a more recent statement, see Stephen Gill, "Market Civilization, New Constitutionalism and World Order," in *New Constitutionalism and World Order*, ed. Stephen Gill and A. Claire Cutler (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 29–44.
6. Nancy Fraser, "Contradictions of Capital and Care," *New Left Review* 100 (2016): 99–117.
7. Nancy Fraser and Rahel Jaeggi, *Capitalism: A Conversation in Critical Theory*, ed. Brian Milstein (Polity Press, 2018), pp. 35–37, 90–101.
8. For an account of this last distinction as corresponding roughly but unmistakably to the global color line, see, Nancy Fraser, "Is Capitalism Necessarily Racist?" [2018 Presidential Address, APA Eastern Division], *Proceedings and Addresses of the American Philosophical Association*, vol. 892 (2018).
9. Giovanni Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century: Money, Power and the Origins of Our Time* (London and New York: Verso, 1994).
10. Ellen Meiksins Wood, "The Separation of the Economic and the Political in Capitalism," *New Left Review* 1/127 (1981): 66–95.

Top: Nancy Fraser delivers the Jodidi Lecture on November 5, 2018.

Bottom: Amongst the standing-room-only audience in the Belfer Case Study Room were (left to right) Faculty Associate Susan Pharr, Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics; Faculty Associate Frank Dobbin, professor of sociology; and George Hoguet, AB 1969, MBA 1973, KSG 2002.



Above: 2018–2019 affiliates of the Weatherhead Scholars Program.

Photo credit: Martha Stewart
Below (left to right): Visiting Scholar Amy Austin Holmes (University of Cairo) and Postdoctoral Fellow Talia Shiff (Northwestern University) present their research at a Weatherhead Forum on “Institutional Dynamics of Recognition—Global, Comparative, and Local Perspectives” on October 31, 2018.

Photo credit: Lauren McLaughlin

laborating with faculty through their participation in the Center’s research clusters, including those working with WC-FIA Director Michèle Lamont in the Weatherhead Research Cluster on Comparative Inequality and Inclusion: Matthias Koenig, visiting scholar from the University of Gottingen and the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity; Çetin Çelik, visiting scholar from Koç University; Talia Shiff, postdoctoral fellow (PhD from Northwestern University); Silvia Rief, visiting scholar from the University of Innsbruck; Kate Williams, postdoctoral fellow, and research fellow at Cambridge University; Puneet Bhasin, postdoctoral fellow (PhD from Brown University); and Adrien Abecassis, fellow, and diplomat, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Participating in the Weatherhead Research Cluster on Global Transformations are Tomoko Okagaki, visiting scholar from Dokkyo University, and Jack Loveridge, postdoctoral fellow and recent PhD from the University of Texas at Austin. Fellow Bobby Lankford, a career officer in the United States Air Force, is affiliated with the Weatherhead Research Cluster on International Security. Several scholars, including postdoctoral fellows Monica Marks (PhD from Oxford University) and Merih Angin (PhD from Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies), and Fellow Matthew Eichburg, United States Army, are pursuing their research projects through other Harvard affiliations.

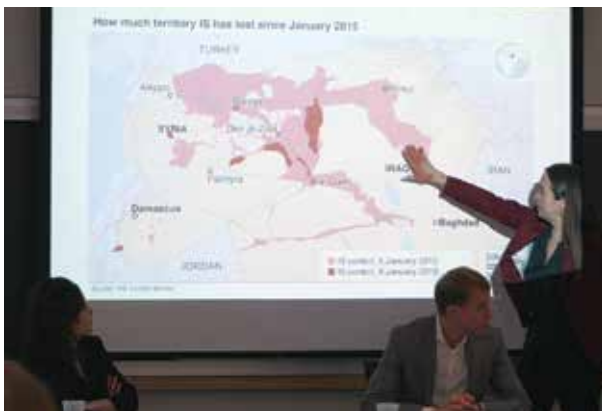
In late October, the biweekly Weatherhead Forum showcased the Weatherhead Scholars Program. The session, “Institutional Dynamics of Recognition—Global, Comparative, and Local Perspectives,” offered all Center affiliates the opportunity to learn about the research of scholars Matthias Koenig, Talia Shiff, and Amy Austin Holmes, visiting scholar from American University in Cairo, who represented the program at this session.

At the program’s biweekly breakfast meetings, scholars share their research, and also receive constructive feedback from their colleagues in the program. Fall-term presenters include visiting scholars Tomoko Okagaki and Amy Austin Holmes; Fellows Bernard Fischer-Appelt, a business professional from Hamburg, and Stratos Efthymiou, consul general of Greece in Boston.

Scholars and fellows also interact regularly with Harvard students—both undergraduates and graduate students. Sandra Goh, a fellow currently on leave from Microsoft Asia Pacific, has seized the opportunity to coach and mentor Harvard undergraduates as well as PhD students, and she continues to share her work experience with international students as well.

The Weatherhead Scholars Program welcomed its second group of participants this fall. This class of 2019 includes both academic scholars, such as visiting faculty and postdoctoral researchers, and practitioners in the field of international affairs, such as diplomats and military officers. Collectively termed as Scholars, most are here for the full academic year and have dedicated their time to pursuing various research projects. In addition, they participate in the Center’s closed seminar series for affiliates, the Weatherhead Forum, and in a biweekly breakfast meeting. It is a diverse group in terms of research discipline and topic as well as choice of profession.

Affiliates in the Scholars Program have made valuable connections since arriving on campus. Several are col-



THE WEATHERHEAD INITIATIVE ON AFRO-LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES

Awarded in 2016, the Weatherhead Initiative on Afro-Latin American Studies supports the growing field of Afro-Latin American studies through various programs and initiatives—including hosting scholars, organizing events, and supporting a book series—housed at the Afro-Latin American Research Institute (ALARI) at Harvard University. ALARI is the first research institution in the United States devoted to the history and culture of peoples of African descent in Latin America and the Caribbean, and has expanded its outreach to academia, international organizations, activists, and regional governments.

Over 95 percent of the Africans forcibly imported into the Americas went to Latin America and the Caribbean, two-thirds of them to the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. Many Hispanics in the United States are also of African descent. Cultural forms and community practices associated with Africa are conspicuous across the region—indeed, the very existence of Latin America would be unthinkable without them. During the last few decades, Afro-Latin Americans have created numerous civic, cultural, and community organizations to demand recognition, equality, and resources, prompting legislative action and the implementation of compensatory policies. The ALARI stimulates and sponsors scholarship on the Afro-Latin American experience and provides a forum where scholars, intellectuals, activists, and policy makers engage in exchanges and debates.

Through generous support of the Weatherhead Center, the ALARI has supported over twenty short-term field research projects in Latin America, including the Caribbean, as well as in Europe and the US. Harvard graduate students focus on a wide range of topics within Afro-Latin American studies, such as comparative slavery, art, ethnomusicology, black mobilization, and gender, among others. The ALARI's mission is to build the field of Afro-Latin American studies. Supporting field research projects is one of the ways to reach this goal.

Another way the Weatherhead Center is contributing to facilitating research on Afro-Latin America is to actively support visiting scholars from Latin America, and other US and European institutions to present their research to the Harvard community. Over forty PhD Candidates from all over the world have participated in the three editions of the Mark Cluster Mamolen Dissertation Workshop (2016–2018); twenty scholars on Afro-Latin American Archaeology participated in the Afro-Latin American Archaeology Workshop in September 2017; several dozens of students participated in the Graduate Conference on Afro-Latin American Studies in April 2017; and more than a hundred proposals are expected to be received for the ALARI First Continental Conference on Afro-Latin American Studies, to be held in December 2019. The number of applicants increasing every year speaks to the dynamic development of the field.



Above: Afro-Latin American Archaeology Workshop, September 20–21, 2017.
Below left: 2018 Mark Cluster Mamolen Dissertation Workshop.
Below right: Graduate Conference on Afro-Latin American Studies, April 2017. Photo credit: Used with permission of ALARI



WEATHERHEAD RESEARCH CLUSTER ON COMPARATIVE INEQUALITY AND INCLUSION



The Weatherhead Research Cluster on Comparative Inequality and Inclusion has been in full swing this year. Led by WCFIA Director Michèle Lamont, this cluster brings together faculty, postdocs, visiting faculty, and graduate students affiliated with various programs within the Weatherhead Center as well as other centers at Harvard.

Events have included a well-attended conference on September 21–22 called “Changing Middle Classes: Comparative and Global Perspectives,” which brought to Cambridge scholars from around the globe researching various aspects of class formation and structure at the micro, meso, and macro levels. Papers focused on labor markets, identity, boundaries, social movements, politics, and more.



A second important event was a workshop on November 9 that convened scholars who were involved in the cluster last year, together with this year’s cohort. Under the topic of “Recognition and Cultural Processes in Comparative Perspectives,” nine presentations focused on “immigration, refugees, and asylum seekers” and “ethno-racial identities.” This intense day of discussions was complemented by a talk by Professor Eva Illouz (Hebrew University) on gender and stigma. These events were preceded on November 5 by a lunch conversation around the topic of recognition with Professor Nancy Fraser, who delivered a Jodidi Lecture on “Democracy’s Crisis: On the Political Contradictions of Financialized Capitalism.”

What is emerging from these discussions is a growing sense of intellectual cohesion among scholars who study topics as disparate as the Bolsa Família in Brazil, the administrative selection of asylum seekers in the United States, and the integration of Syrian refugees across several European countries. In all cases, the focus is on institutional and cultural mechanisms that enable and constrain inequality and inclusion.

Lamont also organized a closed faculty workshop on October 19, which brought together seventeen faculty from various social science departments (sociology, political science, and anthropology), Graduate School of Design, Harvard Law School, Kennedy School, Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, and Harvard Graduate School of Education to learn about their respective research in an intimate setting. This was a rare opportunity for intense intellectual exchange among faculty which will be repeated annually. This event involved several members of the steering committee of the cluster. The committee will distribute funds to undergraduate and graduate students for research on comparative inequality and inclusion in upcoming months.

Next semester, the cluster will meet on a regular basis to discuss works in progress by members. Affiliates are also preparing a few small workshops for the spring semester on “Law, Inclusion, and Moral Boundaries.”



Top to bottom: 2018–2019 affiliates of the Weatherhead Research Cluster on Comparative Inequality and Inclusion; Faculty Associate Melani Cammett speaking to a closed faculty workshop on October 19, 2018; Michèle Lamont representing the research cluster at the Weatherhead Forum; Jules Naudet, panelist at the Changing Middle Classes conference. Photo credit this page: Michelle Nicholasen and Lauren McLaughlin



WEATHERHEAD RESEARCH CLUSTER ON GLOBAL TRANSFORMATIONS (WIGH)

Since 2012, the Weatherhead Initiative on Global History (WIGH), which functions within the WCFIA as the Weatherhead Research Cluster on Global Transformations, provides the Center with a scholarly and teaching nucleus that is attuned to innovative trends in interdisciplinary and transnational historical scholarship. Its continuing seminars bring together graduate students and postdoctoral fellows in a biweekly seminar led by Sven Beckert, Sugata Bose, and Charles Maier. Jean Comaroff's participation as a codirector assures openness to multidisciplinary and attention to the Global South. Looking outward, WIGH has played a key role in creating the world's first network of institutions dedicated to the study of global history. With partners in Dakar, São Paulo, Amsterdam, Shanghai, and Delhi, WIGH has built a vibrant community stretching across five continents, exchanging PhD students and scholars, as well as organizing an annual conference on key themes in global history.

Members of WIGH helped organize and participate in three major conferences over the past year: "Empires: Toward a Global History," hosted by University of Delhi in December 2017, and two conferences on the global reach of soccer: one in Athens in September 2017 and the second in Cambridge in May 2018. The latter featured the participation of notable world-class players as well as a scrimmage between our historians and the pros! A particularly notable feature of these conferences was that the calls for papers attracted about 150 proposals for the approximately fifteen that could ultimately be accepted. Likewise, an abundance of proposals for limited spots holds true for the upcoming meeting on colonial cities to be hosted by the Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar in the colonial capital of Saint-Louis, Senegal, this coming December.

During the upcoming year, WIGH will mark its seventh anniversary. The original directors look back on a rich record of seminars, conferences, and most importantly, a vital network of younger and older scholars—demonstrated most recently, for instance, by a conference in Dublin on global poverty organized by some early WIGH alumni. WIGH has shared a motivating vision of studying history as a record of global participation and agency across national and social boundaries; and the cluster remains committed to continuing this enterprise at a time so many contemporary political currents must find its premises unwelcome and threatening.



Keynote speaker Josep Maria Bartomeu, President of FC Barcelona, is introduced by conference co-convenor Stephen Ortega. Mr. Bartomeu gave a moving keynote on Barcelona's commitment to inclusion at the "Participation, Inclusion, and Social Responsibility in Global Sports" conference held at Harvard on May 31–June 2, 2018.

Photo credit: Rose Lincoln



Group photo of the presenters at the "Empires: Towards a Global History" conference held at the University of Delhi, India on December 3–5, 2017. *Photo credit: T.C.A. Achintya*



Email correspondence regarding *Centerpiece* or other matters may be directed to:

Theodore J. Gilman,
Executive Director
tgilman@wcfia.harvard.edu

Kristin Caulfield,
Manager of Communications
kcaulfield@wcfia.harvard.edu

Lauren McLaughlin,
Communications Coordinator
laurenmclaughlin@wcfia.harvard.edu

Michelle Nicholasen,
Communications Specialist
michelle_nicholasen@wcfia.harvard.edu

wcfia.harvard.edu
epicenter.wcfia.harvard.edu
twitter.com/HarvardWCFIA
facebook.com/wcfia
vimeo.com/wcfia
soundcloud.com/wcfia

1737 Cambridge Street
Cambridge, MA 02138

© 2018 President and Fellows of Harvard College



The Weatherhead Center is pleased to announce its 2018–2019 class of Juster Fellows. Now in its eighth 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 recently appointed 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—all of whom will be undertaking their international experiences this December and January—are as follows:

Philip Balson, a senior history concentrator, will conduct archival research in London for his thesis on Southeast Asian dynamics and President Lyndon B. Johnson’s Vietnam policy in 1963.

Julia Bunte-Mein, a junior social anthropology concentrator, will travel to India and Guinea to conduct thesis research on sustainable agriculture and agency of small-holder farmers.

Tom Osborn, a junior psychology concentrator, will travel to Kenya to conduct research using a study with Shamiri, a mental health and wellness intervention program in Kenya’s Kibera slums.

Isabel Parkey, a senior joint concentrator in history & literature and folklore & mythology, will conduct research at the UNESCO archives in Paris on the political utilization of cultural heritage in postconflict Mali.

Christina Qiu, a senior applied mathematics and economics concentrator, will travel to Paris to gather the remaining dataset that she needs for her thesis on the diffusion of welfare in Roma informal settlements of Île-de-France.

Russell Reed, a junior geography and development concentrator, will travel to Brussels, Belgium to begin research for his thesis on racial science and gorilla conservation in the Albertine Rift in central Africa.

Jinyuan Ryan Zhang, a sophomore social studies concentrator, will travel to Indonesia to conduct research on how the Association of Southeast Asian Nations has shaped the treatment of Chinese Confucians, an ethnic and racial minority, in Indonesia.

EPICENTER: AT THE HEART OF RESEARCH AND IDEAS

epicenter.wcfia.harvard.edu

Epicenter is an online publication that provides commentary and analysis on issues that transcend borders. Our team of writers and editors works with academic specialists to help bring clarity to complex global issues. The Weatherhead Center for International Affairs is committed to Harvard’s tradition of fostering innovative, timely, policy-relevant scholarly activities that help us all make sense of the world. Some of our recent posts include:

- Trump’s Impact on the World: Christina L. Davis on Trade
- The Pro-Life Movement Fosters “Moral Panic” in Latin America | Hope for a New Transatlantic Relationship
- History’s Apology: Sexuality and the 377 Supreme Court Decision in India | Who Deserves Independence?
- When Life Is in Limbo, Education Can’t Wait

FOLLOW US ON TWITTER: @HARVARDWCFIA | FACEBOOK.COM/WCFIA | VIMEO.COM/WCFIA | SOUNDCLLOUD.COM/WCFIA