



Weatherhead Center
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HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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NEWSLETTER OF THE WEATHERHEAD CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY



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Message from the Director

This fall, I was honored to step into the role of acting director of the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs as our director, Melani Cammett, takes a well-earned sabbatical. I welcome the opportunity to work more closely with our amazing staff, especially at a time when the Center, like the University at large, has returned to

something like normal life for the first time since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. Still, the world continues to face many challenges and we at the Center remain committed as ever to the production and dissemination of knowledge that can help us better meet them.

The Center now hosts a full roster of seven research clusters, many of which are actively recruiting participants who study broad interdisciplinary questions central to international relations. New clusters on business and government, climate change, migration, and identity politics join existing clusters on comparative inequality and inclusion, global transformations, and regions in a multipolar world. These research clusters operate both virtually and in person, with the remote channels facilitating truly global participation in the activities. If you are interested in joining a cluster, please contact the faculty or staff member listed on that cluster's webpage on the WCFIA website.

We continue our efforts to build community and advance knowledge both within and outside the Center. This fall, we launched the Weatherhead Spotlight series, held in person over lunch on Wednesdays and designed to introduce the work of the Center's various units and affiliates to the entire Center community. The Weatherhead Forum, also on Wednesdays, showcases pathbreaking research on pressing topics of the day. Forum sessions are open to the public and held on Zoom to reach a global audience.

Our Research Cluster on Business and Government sponsored the first Weatherhead Forum of the fall semester, a discussion between Alisha Holland and Tarun Khanna about his new book (with Michael Szonyi), *Making Meritocracy: Lessons from China and India, from Antiquity to the Present*. Alongside a recent Forum on Beyond Merit: Limits of Meritocracy, the two conversations offer a multidisciplinary set of perspectives that enriches our understanding of meritocracy.

The second Weatherhead Forum this fall, "Can We Learn the Lessons of COVID-19?," featured public health experts and science professors Louise Ivers, Allan Brandt, and Sanjoy Bhattacharya. It sought to deepen our understanding of pandemics and how we can fight them.

The Weatherhead Center also continues to support major in-person conferences. This fall, we sponsored a conference on "Disability Climate Justice and Building Forward Better," organized by William Alford, Michael Stein, and Vikram Patel. Participants discussed their research on disability and climate change, a conversation that is leading to new scholarly collaborations. This was followed by a conference on "Empire, Nation, Federation: South Asia's Freedom in Global Perspective," organized by Sugata Bose, which focused on South Asia seventy-five years after independence from British colonial rule. Part 2 of this conference is scheduled to take place April 7–9, 2023, so be sure to subscribe to our calendar of events for further details.

We are thrilled to announce two endowed lectureships scheduled for the upcoming spring semester. Dr. Larry Brilliant—an American epidemiologist, technologist, and philanthropist who was part of the WHO's global smallpox eradication program—will deliver the Jodidi Lecture on March 29. Gina McCarthy, an American air quality expert who served as the first White House National Climate Advisor from 2021 to 2022, will deliver the Manshel Lecture on April 19. Both speakers are highly accomplished in their respective fields and they are eager to connect with our community. We are fortunate to host them and invite you all to attend these events.

In sum, we are excited to be back for another year of intellectual stimulation and conviviality as we continue to push forward at the frontiers of knowledge on international affairs. We look forward to seeing many of you here in the coming months.

Erez Manela
Acting Center Director

Cover: Piedras Rojas (Red Rocks) and Salar de Talar located near La Reserva Nacional Los Flamencos (National Flamenco Reserve) in Chile's Atacama Desert. Credit: Ariel Silverman

This page: Acting Center Director Erez Manela.
Credit: Lauren McLaughlin

Daniel Carpenter Wins Two 2022 Book Prizes

Faculty Associate **Daniel Carpenter**, Allie S. Freed Professor of Government at Harvard University, is the recipient of two book awards for his recent book, *Democracy by Petition: Popular Politics in Transformation 1790–1870* (Harvard University Press, 2021). He won the 2022 J. David Greenstone Book Prize, given by the Politics and History Section of the American Political Science Association, which recognizes the best book in history and politics in the past two calendar years. He also won the 2022 James P. Hanlan Book Award, given by the New England Historical Association, which recognizes authors living or working in New England and whose books focus on any historical topic, time period, or geographic region.

Yeling Tan Wins Peter Katzenstein Book Prize

Former Graduate Student Associate **Yeling Tan**, now an assistant professor of political science at the University of Oregon, is the recipient of the 2022 Peter Katzenstein Book Prize for her book, *Disaggregating China, Inc.: State Strategies in the Liberal Economic Order* (Cornell University Press, 2021). The Katzenstein Prize, in honor of Peter J. Katzenstein, the Walter S. Carpenter, Jr. Professor of International Studies at Cornell University, recognizes an outstanding first book in international relations, comparative politics, or political economy.

Emma Rothschild Wins Leo Gershoy Award

Faculty Associate **Emma Rothschild**, Jeremy and Jane Knowles Professor of History at Harvard University, is the recipient of the 2022 Leo Gershoy Award for her recent book, *An Infinite History: The Story of a Family in France over Three Centuries* (Princeton University Press, 2021). The prize, distributed by the American Historical Association, is awarded annually to the author of the most outstanding work published in English on any aspect of the fields of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century western European history.

Panagiotis Roilos Appointed as President of the European Cultural Center of Delphi

Faculty Associate **Panagiotis Roilos**, George Seferis Professor of Modern Greek Studies and professor of comparative literature at Harvard University, was recently elected president of the European Cultural Center of Delphi, a major cultural center in Europe, which functions under the auspices of—and in collaboration with—the European Council and the Greek Ministry of Culture. The mission of the Center is “to support exchanges of international cultural interest and to promote the common cultural values that unite the peoples of Europe through the advancement of scholarship on European culture and initiatives such as conferences and cultural events.” Roilos succeeds Professor H  l  ne Ahrweiler, a major academic figure in Europe.

Paul Chang Wins ASA Section Award for Outstanding Published Article

Faculty Associate **Paul Chang**, associate professor of sociology at Harvard University, is a co-recipient of the 2022 Outstanding Published Article Award from the Peace, War, and Social Conflict Section of the American Sociological Association for his article with Kangsan Lee, titled “The Structure of Protest Cycles: Inspiration and Bridging in South Korea’s Democracy Movement.”

Jeffrey Frieden Receives Career Achievement Award

Faculty Associate **Jeffrey Frieden**, Stanfield Professor of International Peace at Harvard University, received the 2022 Career Achievement Award at the annual conference hosted by the International Political Economy Society (IPES). Every year IPES provides an annual forum for scholars of international political economy to present their best new work in progress to an informed and critical scholarly audience.

Pippa Norris Wins Warren E. Miller Prize

Faculty Associate **Pippa Norris**, Paul F. McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics at Harvard Kennedy School, has won the 2022 Warren E. Miller Prize from the American Political Science Association (APSA) Section on Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior. The award is presented every two or three years for an outstanding career of intellectual accomplishment and service to the profession in the elections, public opinion, and voting behavior field. APSA lauded her three decades of service to Harvard Kennedy School and her broad intellectual interests, which she has investigated in politics around the world.

Julie Battilana Wins George R. Terry Book Award

Faculty Associate **Julie Battilana**, Joseph C. Wilson Professor of Business Administration at Harvard Business School, is the recipient—along with coauthor Tiziana Casciaro—of the 2022 George R. Terry Book Award for their book, *Power, for All: How It Really Works and Why It’s Everyone’s Business* (Simon & Schuster, 2021). The award is given annually by the Academy of Management to “the book judged to have made the most outstanding contribution to the global advancement of management knowledge during the last two years.”

Mary Brinton Conferred the Order of the Rising Sun

Faculty Associate **Mary Brinton**, Reischauer Institute Professor of Sociology at Harvard University, has been conferred the Order of the Rising Sun, Gold Rays with Neck Ribbon by the Government of Japan. She is honored for her contributions to the field of Japanese studies. The citation also commends Brinton’s observations and insightful arguments of Japanese society, including her research on labor markets and gender mainstreaming measures, which have had impact not only on Japanese scholars but also on policy makers and the broader public.



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Above: 2022–2023 Weatherhead Scholars Program affiliates. Credit: Martha Stewart

Below (clockwise from top): Members of the WSP cohort visit Adams House and the FDR Foundation. Courtesy of Erin Goodman

On September 13, 2022 the program sponsored Waffles at the Weatherhead to introduce undergraduate students to Center affiliates. Credit: Michelle Nicholasen

Visiting affiliates from eight centers gathered on September 21, 2022 for a fall neighborhood networking reception hosted by the program. Credit: Jimena Codina (DRCLAS)

WWW

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

WSP Fellow and a United States Air Force colonel, was joined by two national security fellows from the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard Kennedy School for an off-the-record discussion on “Military Concerns of a Rising China.” The following week, on November 3, WSP Visiting Scholar Alex Godoy-Faúndez from the Universidad del Desarrollo in Chile presented on climate change mitigation ahead of his trip to Egypt for negotiations at the 2022 UN Climate Change Conference.

Scholars and Fellows interact with the Harvard community in many ways, from hiring undergraduate research assistants to engaging with the Center’s research clusters, auditing classes, and connecting with other units around campus. To kick off the year, the WSP and the student organization International Relations on Campus (IROC) cohosted the second annual Waffles at the Weatherhead event, catered by the Zinneken’s waffle truck, on September 14. On September 21, the program hosted a neighborhood reception for visiting affiliates at the tent outside its offices at 61 Kirkland Street. Eight area centers cosponsored the reception, which welcomed over ninety international affiliates in the Cambridge Street and Kirkland Street vicinity.

Finally, some members of this fall’s cohort visited the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Suite on September 27, home of the present-day FDR Foundation—a nonprofit organization based at Adams House, one of the undergraduate houses at Harvard University. The organization is dedicated to preserving the memory of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt and to the renewal of their legacy for the twenty-first century.



This fall, the Weatherhead Center welcomed its sixty-fourth cohort of Weatherhead Scholars and Fellows. The twenty-four visiting affiliates comprising the Weatherhead Scholars Program (WSP)—seven postdoctoral fellows, ten visiting scholars, and seven practitioner fellows—hail from fifteen countries. They include new and seasoned academics from across the social sciences, and diplomats and civil servants from Nigeria, Mexico, Korea, Poland, and the European Commission.

Scholars and fellows spend up to one year at Harvard conducting historical or contemporary international, transnational, global, and comparative research, including policy analysis. Nearly every Thursday, a different member of the cohort presents their research to the other participants over lunch, often followed by a lively discussion. For instance, on October 27, Kenneth Fann,



Student Programs

FROM THE FIELD



Kevin Linn is a Graduate Research Fellow in the Canada Program and a DrPH Candidate at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health. His research interests are public health; health policy; cancer control; and health systems.

"The Canada Program discretionary student travel grant allowed me to attend and present at the World Cancer Congress in Geneva. It gave me more than the chance to attend the conference though; it allowed me to network with leaders from the World Health Organization, the Canadian Permanent Mission to the UN, and the Union of International Cancer Control. It encouraged me to think bigger for my dissertation next year and gave me a better sense of the political economy behind cancer control and global health in general. In fact, the experience has also inspired me to apply—and be accepted to—the January term HKS/HSPH program where I'll be going to Poland to research and analyze the humanitarian and public health response to the Ukraine crisis in Europe." — **Kevin Linn**



Left: Kevin Linn attends and presents at the World Cancer Congress held in Geneva, Switzerland on October 18–20, 2022. Courtesy of Kevin Linn

KENNETH I. JUSTER FELLOWS



The Weatherhead Center is pleased to announce its 2022–2023 class of Juster Fellows. Now in its twelfth year, this grant initiative is made possible by the generosity of the Honorable Kenneth I. Juster, Harvard and Weatherhead Center alum, member of the Center's Advisory Committee, and former United States Ambassador to India. Juster has devoted much of his education, professional activities, public service, and non-profit endeavors to international affairs, and is deeply engaged in promoting international understanding and advancing international relations. 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 winter or early spring—are:

Adam Viktor Aleksic '23 (Government and Linguistics) is conducting research on the effects of language policy on linguistic identity in Serbia and Croatia.

Romnick Ligon Blanco '23 (History and Government) is studying Sino-Philippine diplomatic relations in the turbulent postwar era (1946–1986).

Anna Farronay '24 (History and Romance Languages and Literatures) is studying the impact of Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) on Indigenous political participation, particularly in the formation and strengthening of Indigenous voting blocks.

Sophia Chandler Weng '24 (Social Studies and Mathematical Sciences) will travel to Taiwan to conduct research on data privacy and social media governance.

Eleanor Villafranca Wikstrom '24 (Social Studies) will travel to the Philippines to conduct archival research on the role of Harvard affiliates in designing and implementing the US colonial education system in the archipelago.

Kasia Anna Zarzycka '23 (Theater, Dance & Media and Comparative Literature) is completing a creative senior thesis examining the role of historical narratives on the personal stories told about the controversial past events through case studies in Poland and Chile.



Below: 2021–2022 Juster Fellows Waseem Nabulsi, Jonathan Zhang, Sama Kubba, and Sung Kwang Oh meet with Kenneth Juster and his wife Alyssa Bliss Juster at the Harvard Faculty Club for lunch on October 27, 2022. Credit: Clare Putnam

Every spring, a select group of Harvard College students receive travel grants from the Weatherhead Center to support their thesis field research on topics related to international affairs. We selected seventeen exceptional undergraduates whose research we will support financially as well as in other ways, from helping revise research methods to planning projects that don't require travel. The Weatherhead Center has encouraged these Undergraduate Associates to take advantage of the Center's research community by connecting with graduate students, faculty, postdocs, and visiting scholars. Four Undergraduate Associates write of their experiences last summer:



Anissa Medina
 Rogers Family Research Fellow. Committee on Degrees in History and Literature and Comparative Study of Religion, Harvard College. *Colonial history; decolonization; American Southwest; historical memory; race, ethnicity, and Indigeneity; religious history; and carceral studies.*

"The Pueblo Revolt never ended," declares a sticker affixed to a plaque at the site of the recently removed Soldier's Monument in Santa Fe Plaza, a national historic landmark in the capital of New Mexico. The Pueblo Revolt, led by Po'pay of the Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo, was a successful rebellion against imperial Spain carried out in 1680. Pueblo people, like other Indigenous peoples in the region, were subjected to religious, economic, political, and cultural suppression under Spanish and Catholic rule; this included the incarceration of holy men like Po'pay for their Indigenous spiritual practices. After being whipped in the colonial capital of Santa Fe, Po'pay had a prophetic vision that inspired the organized uprising that would drive out the Spanish for twelve years. As the sticker demonstrates, memories of Indigenous resistance to colonial conquest persist, actively shaping the contemporary commemoration of the revolt while protecting Indigenous sovereignty for the future.

While I was conducting research for my thesis, I came across a 1980 meeting between Mexican, Spanish, and Pueblo dignitaries at the Santo Domingo Pueblo in New Mexico. These leaders exchanged gifts to commemorate the tricentennial of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt. After reading about this exchange, I became very interested in how the Pueblo Revolt is remembered both domestically, in New Mexico and the

larger United States, as well as transnationally, as represented by ambassadors from Mexico and Spain. This anecdote led me to a summer of research on public memory, ethnoracial identity, and the power of religion.

I traveled to Spain for three weeks, spending time in Madrid, Medellín de la Extremadura, Sevilla, and Barcelona. In Madrid, I visited several statues and plazas observing how people interacted with the commemoration of prominent Spanish figures involved in the colonization of the US Southwest. For example, in Plaza Mayor, which hosts a popular statue of King Phillip II in the site formerly used to hold public executions during the Spanish Inquisition, I interviewed both local and foreign visitors. I asked these visitors about their knowledge of the figure who oversaw Spain's colonial invasion of Pueblo homelands in the sixteenth century; the vast majority—especially those from Spain—were unaware of King Phillip II's name and historical role.

After my stay in Madrid, I traveled to the statue of Hernán Cortés in his birthplace of Medellín. The statue of Cortés depicts him clad in armor holding a flag and cross while his left foot stands atop a representation of a Mexica idol (the Mexica were Indigenous people of the Valley of Mexico). The front of the statue bears a shield that says MEJICO, a celebration of Cortés's role in the colonization of modern-day Mexico. I then traveled to Sevilla where I made a brief visit to the Archive of the Indies and read a few sixteenth-century manuscripts from prominent Spanish colonizers.

After I concluded my research in Spain, I traveled to New Mexico. With the help of the University of New Mexico and the Fray Angelico Chávez Library, I consulted dozens of sources ranging from the sixteenth century to the 2000s pertaining to the Pueblo Revolt and its commemoration. I also interviewed sculptor Cliff Fragua, the artist who created two statues of Po'pay that I analyze closely in my thesis; I visited the Indian Pueblo Cultural Center where one of these statues is held.

Studying material objects in the public spaces they occupy offers critical context for my analysis and I loved witnessing how people interacted with the statues of my study. I am so grateful to have been given the opportunity to travel and research a topic that is greatly important to me, and I am excited to continue working on my thesis over the next few months!



Top to bottom: Statue of Hernán Cortés in his birthplace of Medellín de la Extremadura, Spain.

Anissa Medina interviews visitors in Madrid's Plaza Mayor. Both images courtesy of Anissa Medina



Ariel Silverman

Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. Committee on Degrees in Social Studies and Environmental Science and Public Policy, Harvard College. *Natural resource development in Latin America; environmental and climate justice; energy and security; decolonization; dilemmas of left-wing political reforms; and terrorism.*

Just past noon on June 28, 2022, the convention president's gavel struck her desk for the final time, approving the final amendment of the 2022 constitutional proposal to be voted on by the Chilean people on September 4 later that year.

I had managed to enter the convention grounds that morning for an interview with Dr. Cristina Dorador, a microbiologist and environmental advocate elected as one of the representatives of Chile's third district. By peeking into the assembly room from the hallway, I could just barely see the Chilean constitutional assembly members rise to their feet and embrace one another. It was a historic moment that I feel honored to have witnessed during ten weeks of summer field research in Chile.

I had come to Chile to study the impact of nationwide protests for democratic reform on improved environmental outcomes, especially in

the Atacama Desert. After a month in Santiago, I traveled to San Pedro de Atacama, a small oasis in the world's driest desert. There, I conducted interviews with dozens of municipal employees and members of the Indigenous Atacameño communities to better understand the local context. With much patience on the part of my interviewees, I finally came to understand and embrace the colorful Chilean accent.

The Atacama Desert is the site of the most intensive copper and lithium mining in the country, and both are crucial materials to supporting international climate mitigation. Additionally, mining companies support local economic development where the state has historically been negligent. Unfortunately, mining requires significant quantities of water to operate, creating conflict with the ecotourism industry and the local communities.

In the summer of 2022, it appeared as if Chile could realize nationwide hopes for greater environmental justice. The constitutional convention arose from the largest protests in Chilean history since the Pinochet era, where advocates from diverse sectors of Chilean society called for a fundamental revision of the country's extractive-based economy. Consequently, the Chilean people elected a progressive constitutional assembly that produced an ecological constitution. In its 170 pages and 388 articles, the draft declared rights to nature and animals, reconstructed an unequal private water management system, and declared a climate emergency.

This moment of acute hope did not last. On September 4, 62 percent of Chileans decisively rejected the proposal, sending the country back to be governed by the 1980 Pinochet-era charter blamed for perpetuating many of Chile's systemic inequities. The outcome also meant that I needed



to reframe my research question; instead of exploring the ways the government has succeeded in implementing environmental regulations, I am now focused on answering the question: *Why has the Chilean left failed to realize its green agenda?*

While I argue throughout my thesis that the Chilean left has "failed" to green, such failure should not be understood as incompetence on the part of assembly. Rather, the outcome reflects the many tradeoffs fundamental to modern left movements that complicate realizing a more just and sustainable world. The length of the document and number of rights designated reflects the progressive body's attempt to include the many diverse interests and identities coexisting within the Chilean nation. Individuals across the political spectrum voiced concerns that too significant an expansion of certain protections would slow desperately needed growth. In a context of inevitable tradeoffs between environmental justice and economic development, the Chilean people chose the latter.

The outcome of September 4 is a demonstration of the fundamental challenges—but also incredible opportunities societies have to cocreate the world we want to inhabit. The recent convention is hopefully just the beginning of an inclusive national discussion about Chile's values and goals moving forward. Here in the United States, in light of recent rollbacks in constitutional rights based on an originalist interpretation of a document written in 1787, we can surely learn from analyzing the Chilean experience not only as a failure but also by appreciating the ways it strove to realize a more just and equitable world.



Above: Ariel Silverman and Dr. Cristina Dorador at the Chilean constitutional convention on the day the assembly finalized the proposal.

Left: Ariel Silverman hikes in Valle de la Luna (Moon Valley) in the National Flamenco Reserve in Chile.

Both images courtesy of Ariel Silverman

Photos: Fall 2022 Events



WHETHER AT THE CENTER OR AROUND THE GLOBE...

WCFIA events connect our community of scholars to the broader world. This semester, our events were held in person when possible and online when needed. Affiliates enjoyed gathering in person for our annual orientation that kicks off the academic year—lobster rolls never tasted so sweet!



Right:

The Canada Program hosts an event titled “Remembering the Queen of Canada” on September 19, 2022. Reflections were provided by Eric Nelson and Pamela Klassen.
Credit: Ted Gilman

Weatherhead Scholars Program Fellow Tolu Ogunlesi gives a talk titled “Regulating Social Media in Nigeria: A Middle-of-the-Road Approach Involving Coalitions of the Responsible” on December 1, 2022 during a program seminar.





Page 8 (left to right in rows):

Comedian Zarna Garg meets the members of the Harvard College Stand-Up Comic Society after the Center’s sixth annual International Comedy Night on October 3, 2022, held at the Smith Center during Harvard’s Worldwide Week.

Center affiliates attend an academic panel featuring the Weatherhead Research Cluster on Climate Change at orientation on August 30, 2022.

Affiliates of the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations enjoy lobster rolls—a New England favorite—and camaraderie at our first orientation BBQ in two years.

Alisha Holland, Tarun Khanna, and Acting Center Director Erez Manela speak at a Weatherhead Forum launching Tarun Khanna’s latest book, *Making Meritocracy: Lessons from China and India, from Antiquity to the Present*, on October 26, 2022.

Louise Ivers, Allan M. Brandt, Acting Center Director Erez Manela, and Sanjoy Bhattacharya speak at a Weatherhead Forum titled “Can We Learn the Lessons of COVID-19?” on November 16, 2022.



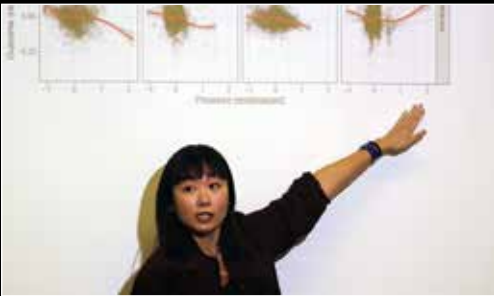
This page (left, top to bottom):

Left to right: Pamela Klassen, Judith Ellen Brunton, Daniel Manulak, and Kathy Bickmore present their work at a Weatherhead Spotlight featuring the Canada Program titled “Resource Colony, Transnational Actor: Canada in a Burning World” held on September 21, 2022. *Credit: Michelle Nicholasen*

Gbemisola Abiola (third from left) gives a talk titled “When Home Is the Mouth of a Shark: A Study of Boko Haram’s Terror and the Continuum of Displacement” at a Weatherhead Spotlight featuring the Graduate Student Associates Program on October 12, 2022.

Yang-Yang Zhou shares her research in “Inclusive Refugee-Hosting in Uganda Improves Local Development, Increases Incumbent Support, and Prevents Public Backlash” during a Weatherhead Spotlight featuring The Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies on “Rethinking Responses to Forced Displacement in Africa” on November 2, 2022.

David Leblang (left) gives a talk titled “The (Ir)Relevance of National Borders in an Era of Climate Change” during a Weatherhead Spotlight featuring the Weatherhead Scholars Program on November 30, 2022.



Cadets and student representatives from around the country pose together on the steps of Washington Hall at the 2022 Student Conference on US Affairs, held at West Point Academy. *Courtesy of Ariel Silverman*



Right: Former WCFIA Executive Director Steven Bloomfield eulogizes longtime colleague and friend Herbert C. Kelman (1927–2022) on September 16, 2022, at a memorial service held in Kelman’s honor in Memorial Church.

All images this section, unless noted otherwise, were taken by Lauren McLaughlin





Chloe Koulefanou

Rogers Family Research Fellow. Committee on Degrees in Social Studies and Department of African and African American Studies, Harvard College. *Togolese political history; West African society; migration and diaspora; decolonization theory; critical archival studies; race and ethnicity; and Afrocentrism.*

I spent five weeks this summer in Lomé, Togo, conducting thesis research on Togolese political history and how it has shaped the population's national identity. Togo holds a unique place in the global political sphere as the stage for the first presidential coup of postcolonial Africa. Since then, the regime of Eyadéma has become notorious for corruption, collusion with France, and unfettered violence, only to be succeeded by his son, Faure. Within this context, I am interested in how citizens think and feel about the government in relation to themselves and their communities. I am examining how people navigate a society rife with fear mongering, ethnic tensions, and myth making, and the subtle ways in which they do express their discontent when

the traditional methods of civil disobedience are heavily suppressed.

This issue is a personal one for me; as a child of the diaspora with a deep love for the country and those that tie me to it, my research naturally follows the thread of a family history. Conversations with my grandmother taught me about the Togolese decolonial struggle and its early years as a post colony. My grandmother was a little girl in 1960 when Togo welcomed its first president, Sylvanus Olympio. She was not much older when he was assassinated by Eyadéma in 1963. I would help her in the kitchen as she told stories about how the jubilation of independence was too quickly followed by mourning the leader that led them there.

My aunts and uncles offer a glimpse into what it was like growing up in the Eyadéma years and the reality of living in Togo today, under the rule of his son, Faure. Their generation came of age during the fight for *droits de l'homme* (human rights) in West Africa. Protests were met with incredible violence at the hands of the police; even the smallest demonstration was—and still is—met with militarized force. My aunt mentioned that they “don’t do strikes” in Togo, traumatized by a series of general strikes in the 1990s that was met with such violence from the state, almost a third of Lomé’s population was forced to flee to neighboring Ghana.

My mother represents the Togolese diaspora, a political response to the actions of an unrelenting state. Of the nine million Togolese people living in 2014, almost 25 percent of them resided as expats outside Togo. An entire 10 percent of Togo’s GDP consists of remittances



from expatriates. In response to the news of my thesis topic, my mother sighed: “Togo is not a country.” Though she remembers her childhood in Togo with great fondness, she stated “the things that are happening on the political level...if you have a heart, you cannot live there today.” Emigration is a national phenomenon in Togo—leaving the country is among the subtle ways Togolese people reclaim power from the state for themselves and their families.

My uncle once told me that despite everything, despite countless lives lost in the fight for a better life in their country, the only thing that has changed in Togo is that the walls are dirtier. The political momentum that Togo saw in the 1960s has been met with an equal and opposite force, keeping the quality of life in a state of stagnation. My research speaks to the plethora of factors that contribute to the relationship between the state and the people, and how this relationship shapes identity, culture, and political participation. This is a massive undertaking, and requires the project to also interrogate ethnic relations, methods of communication, the function of fear, colonial history, and so much more with great nuance. Though many people could not place Togo on a map, the little country is bursting with history that has caused huge reverberations in the fabric of West African society since independence.



Above: Chloe Koulefanou helps her grandmother make fufu, a West African dish made of yams pounded to a stretchy dough.

Left: Published in the midst of anti-government protests and strikes, this edition of *Togo-Presse* urges students to ‘stop all illegal demonstrations.’ Both images courtesy of Chloe Koulefanou



Sophie Stromswold Feldman

Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. Committee on Degrees in Social Studies and Department of Linguistics, Harvard College. Integration and assimilation; sociolinguistics; migration; international conflict mediation; gender studies; modern Scandinavia; human rights; and political polarization.

When I first arrived in Oslo on June 20, 2022, I was greeted by warmth. Sunny, clear, and almost always a balmy seventy degrees, Oslo's summer represents a welcome change from the winters that Norway is most known for. And yet, as I conducted seven weeks of research on immigrant integration and inclusion, I was besieged by narratives of coldness. Both amongst immigrants and 'ethnic' Norwegians, I heard endless stories about the shyness and the antipathy of the Norwegian people.

My project aimed to better understand how a historically racially homogenous country has reacted to an influx of migration. During the seven weeks I spent in Norway, I interviewed screenwriters, journalists, youth politicians, Child Protective Services agents, CEOs of cultural groups, mental health advocates, and employees work-



ing within the immigration system. Simultaneously, I conducted an ethnography of three different nonprofit organizations: the Intercultural Women's Group, which organized trips for immigrant women in the Oslo area; the Red Cross, which provided a social gathering space and day trips for recently arrived immigrants; and Caritas, a nominally Catholic charity that provided practical help to economic migrants.

I began my field work and interviews largely without a clearly defined problem, knowing only that I wanted to understand the practical and emotional mechanisms of integration and inclusion of immigrants in Scandinavia. I set out to track and record the narratives that immigrants used to describe their inclusion and exclusion in Norwegian society, understanding how it is to be, as one of my interviewees termed it, "a minority in a majority country."

Loneliness emerged as a key theme. Many immigrants in Norway feel a profound sense of isolation. Many have no contacts outside of their families. As one interviewee put it: "Where I'm from, you learn Arabic on the street, from your neighbors. I've lived in Oslo for twenty-one years. I don't speak to my neighbors, and they don't speak to me." Norwegians are a reserved, even cold people. For many of the people that I interviewed, this coldness served as a prohibitive barrier between them and meaningful social connection. Of the half dozen or so organizations that I studied, and the three more that I worked for, the majority focused primarily or entirely on creating a social space for immigrants to gather. For many who frequented our programs, we were not only their main source of social interaction, but also their only opportunity to speak Norwegian. This linguistic barrier compounded the existing sense of loneliness. Even with the dozens of immigrant integration programs currently operating in Oslo, many of my interviewees told me that they had no native Norwegian friends whatsoever, a fact that is particularly galling when you consider that more than 80 percent of Norway's inhabitants are ethnically Norwegian.

Only five days after I arrived in Oslo, a lone gunman opened fire on an Oslo gay bar, killing two people and seriously wounding several others. News spread quickly: newspapers began to report that the shooter had been a Norwegian citizen with origins in Iran. In addition to being an unusual tragedy in a relatively peaceful country, this event sent shockwaves through Norwegian queer and Muslim communities in Norway. As Oslo's gay community rallied around solidarity, Norwegian politicians denounced the act as Islamic terrorism.



For the rest of the summer, this conflict helped shape my work, pointing to the paradoxical coexistence of solidarity and hostility.

I came back from my research with more questions than answers. As I write about my experiences, I want to convey the complexity of this issue. I feel that my work speaks to fundamental human realities: loneliness, solidarity, and the paradox of desegregation without integration.

Above: At an outdoor meeting of the Intercultural Women's Group, women sit on picnic blankets as they prepare for a group meditation.

Left: At a pride demonstration in the Center of Oslo, a woman places a flower onto a rainbow-covered poster of King Harald V, its caption reading: 'Norwegians are girls who love girls, boys who love boys, and girls and boys who love each other.' Both images courtesy of Sophie Stromswold Feldman

Finding Home after Boko Haram's Terror

BY GBEMISOLA ABIOLA



Gbemisola Abiola is a Graduate Student Associate of the Weatherhead Center and a PhD Candidate in the Department of African and African American Studies and the Department of Anthropology, Harvard University. Her research interests are critical terrorism studies; anthropologies of political violence; forced migration and displacement studies; and studies on postconflict reconstruction.

**I WANT TO GO HOME, BUT HOME IS THE MOUTH OF A SHARK
HOME IS THE BARREL OF THE GUN
AND NO ONE WOULD LEAVE HOME
UNLESS HOME CHASED YOU TO THE SHORE
UNLESS HOME TELLS YOU TO
LEAVE WHAT YOU COULD NOT BEHIND,
EVEN IF IT WAS HUMAN.**

— Excerpt of "Home" by Warsan Shire

When you flee terror, you do not run in a straight line. The decisions you make under this condition are not informed by months of strategy or planning—rather, you feel the rush of your breath as it pierces through your chest, rushing down your limbs, and giving strength to your feet. You flee what is definitely certain death, or a much worse fate: forced abduction. This terrifying thought pushes you to keep on moving, and to keep on living.

Binta¹ was engulfed in fear as she ran. All her thoughts were rolled into one: how to save herself, her son on her back, and her daughter cradled in her hand. She had heard about Boko Haram's brutality in other towns, but she did not believe she would be a victim. For her, home was no longer a place of safety but had instead become the mouth of a shark. And so she fled, on foot, to Nigeria's Borno state capital city Maiduguri, where her husband's distant cousin

lived, almost 155 kilometers away. It was where she would claim refuge. It was also where she would be given a new identity: Internally Displaced Person (IDP).

This became her reality in 2014 when her town, Gwoza, was invaded by heavily armed Boko Haram fighters. Gwoza—a vibrant and thriving town nestled in the far southeastern region of Borno, and a well-known hub of trade and farming production—almost overnight had transformed into a caliphate of Boko Haram. Dressed in military fatigues, Boko Haram fighters ransacked the stores in the town. They pulled people out of their homes, beat them, and shot them.

Believing itself to be the vanguard of puritan Islam, the defender of Muslims and Islamic tradition, Boko Haram sets out to systematically purge towns and the people of the corruption of Westernization and Western education. For the terrorist group, it was an all-or-nothing battle, with only one goal in mind: the establishment of a pure Islamic state. And so, boys and men were the first targets. They were forcefully conscripted or killed. Next, it was women and girls. They were targets of abductions. They were either forcefully married off to Boko Haram fighters, or compelled to be domestic slaves. In the frenzy of the attack, many fled; some ran through uneasy paths to neighboring states, others went through dirt roads or highways, even crossing rivers to get to Cameroon. The rest were not so lucky as they were trapped in Boko Haram-claimed territories.

People in villages a few kilometers away from Binta's town, and who had heard about the terrifying ordeal some of their neighbors, friends, and relatives had suffered, decided not to wait their turn. They also fled. Though violence and death did not meet them in their homes, their lives were just as ruptured as they were forced to flee to places somewhat unfamiliar, and helped by people of cultures somewhat unshared. As attacks continued, the road away from home became the salvation for many people, as many of the towns and villages emptied out, some before dawn.

Binta, like many others, represents the over two million people who have been displaced by Boko Haram's violence to date.² Many of these people have been displaced for almost a decade; understanding their conceptualization of home is crucial to comprehending the long-term impact of displacement. What home is, as a concept, can sometimes be difficult to articulate. But somehow we know that—regardless of whether it is our experience or not—home is a place where we feel nurtured, where we find order amidst chaos, and where we are equipped with the tools with which we make sense

of the world. How then do people, whose lives have been upended from years of enduring displacement, think about the concept of home?

My ethnographic study (which I concluded in August of 2021, right before many of the sites were shut down by the state government) of internal displacement in Borno, the state most impacted by Boko Haram's violence, provides insights into what comprises the making of home. Home making is not simply about grounding oneself in a built environment, or feeling a sense of rootedness to a place. It also is about being emotionally and psychologically connected to the immaterial elements of home.

There are many ways displacement creates ruptures—in memory as it is connected to identity, cultural practices, religious rituals—such that the quest for home becomes an exercise to heal these ruptures. These ruptures have reshaped the ways in which relationships are conducted and negotiated.

Displacement is an event, a process, and a condition that is exemplified by loss. In the context of northeast Nigeria, the experience of forceful displacement was not a one-time event per se. IDPs currently resettled mostly in different parts of Borno, were not all displaced at the same time. Indeed, there is no single displacement story. From Binta's retelling of events, we see that as towns and villages were systematically pillaged, scorched, and ransacked, others emptied out because they heard the news of what had become of their neighbors.

While not all IDPs experienced direct violence, the number of people in this category pales in comparison to those who did experience direct physical and psychological harm. What is common to all, however, is the uprooting from their homes, within their nation's borders. The sights and sounds, look and language of their new settlements are familiar yet they trigger a sense of alienation. To be displaced, then, is to be in this liminal space.

As a process, displacement is an experience that is both situated and embodied. When people become displaced, there are three sites they either get to settle, or are resettled in: camps, informal settlements, and host communities. Camps are securitized sites directly organized and managed by state agencies and international aid organizations. Informal settlements are 'enclaves' within established communities that are self-governing and self-protecting, and are sometimes recipients of aid. Host communities are towns that accommodate a greater number of the population of IDPs. Some hosts are benefactors to IDPs, offering them free living spaces; a few are landlords; and others are familial relations (or even sometimes those with fictive kinship ties). Transnational aid organizations and state agencies rarely engage with this population. Instead, private philanthropists and local NGOs sometimes distribute relief resources to them.

Of all the northeastern states, Borno is currently home to over 1.6 million IDPs.³ This is unsurprising since Borno is the epicenter of Boko Haram's operations and



the location inhabited by the Islamic State's West Africa Province (ISWAP), the factional group that broke out of Boko Haram (and also currently absorbs it). Nearly 50 percent of this number are housed in camps and informal settlements, while a little over 50 percent live among host communities.⁴ By implication, there is a large humanitarian presence in this state. In order to dispense resources and aid, displaced people are classified within the humanitarian protection framework as IDPs. Undergoing the exercise of being identified, registered, and 'managed,' especially as a resident of a camp, is the quintessential marker of displacement as a process.

During my field research, I had the privilege of meeting and interviewing IDPs across different ethnicities, demographics, gender, and religious lines, at different settlement sites. And even though they did not use the word *memory* to articulate their loss of home, through our conversations it became clear that the experience of displacement ruptures memory. As a condition, the ruptures of displacement become more evident, and the quest for home becomes most salient. Memory is a component of our identity, a reservoir for our religious rituals, and a conveyor of cultural practices, from one generation to the next. In fact, it is a central element or essence of the self. To lose that is to almost lose oneself. The material elements on which memory is formed and built include notable landmarks, flowers and trees that bud and bear fruit at certain seasons, and the quintessential corner

Left: Binta Ali [editor note: unrelated to the Binta in this article] is a beneficiary of emergency relief items to displaced families hosted at a camp in Borno state, in northeast Nigeria. Credit: European Union (photo by Samuel Ochai), Flickr (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0)

Above: A view of Jamina Road in Maiduguri, Nigeria, from the view of a Keke NAPEP (tricycle/rickshaw), underneath a banner that reads "With gun you can kill a terrorist, with education you can kill terrorism" (quotation by Malala Yousafzai). Credit: Gbemisola Abiola

**HOW THEN DO PEOPLE,
WHOSE LIVES HAVE
BEEN UPENDED FROM
YEARS OF ENDURING
DISPLACEMENT, THINK
ABOUT THE CONCEPT
OF HOME?**

— GBEMISOLA ABIOLA

shops. It is the conversations that ensue around those places. It is the relationships built, the memories created, all fused together to create one's identity, solidify one's attachment to a place, and one's orientation to the culture eventually becoming a part of daily life.

This memory rupture was clear during my second visit to Bakasi camp in Borno in 2018. I met Aminu and his son, a little boy no older than ten years. One day, when I was waiting for Aminu on a bench under a tent, I witnessed an interaction between them. The boy was upset that his friend didn't want to share his toy with him. Perhaps in frustration, he threw a tantrum and was yelled at by his mother. In tears, he ran to his father. Among the many things Aminu said, he made a statement that still remains memorable to me: "Do not forget who you are and where you come from. Where we are is temporary. Do not forget home." The boy was immediately appeased—he seemed to understand what his father meant. His father's words struck me in ways that I did not immediately realize. As I talked with more people, I discovered how crucial the question of memory is as it relates to identity and religious and cultural practices.

With this knowledge, I tailored my interview questions to try and understand the depth of the ruptures that displacement produces. Hence, I asked my respondents what they missed about home. "I miss the way I could pluck mangoes from trees," said Abubakar, a lithe teenager who had just turned sixteen. "Here in Maiduguri, everything is expensive. Even our water in Gwoza is very clean, and it is sweet."

For these teenagers who were children when they left home, displacement truncates their rites of passage to adulthood as the centers of reinforcement have been replaced with a way of life that is altogether jarring and confusing. The ones born in displacement or too little to remember rely on the stories of older children and adults, and they are constantly befuddled by what they think are tall tales about a home they have never known.

For Binta, the memory of her hometown has been sullied by a memory of profound violence that she would rather keep buried. In talking about what she misses about her home, she shares how she misses the way holidays are celebrated. "I remember that during Easter, we used to go to the mountain, I mean Gwoza or Mandara mountain, to do our church service. Everybody will be there singing, praying, and after that there will be plenty of food. We will eat together. It was just so good. I miss that." Going up the mountain, though a literal expression of faith in the ascension, is not only this—it also represents a time of physical, relational, and spiritual flourishing.

Because they have been displaced from their worship spaces, religious leaders—and perhaps their local communities of faith—form new communities that mirror the old. They set up camps or settlements such as those managed by the Tariqa Islamic order, EYN (Ekklesiyar 'Yanuwa a Nigeria), and CAN (Christian Association of Nigeria), all doubling as safe spaces and religious communities. These sites replicate the order that once marked their lives; provide children and youths with a sense of the existence of institutions; and give everyone a sense of structure that sometimes quietens the feelings of loss.

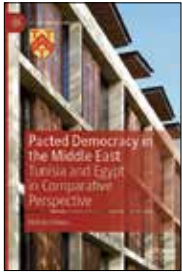
References

1. The names of participants in this study, including the names mentioned in this article, have been changed to protect their privacy and identity.
2. Source: Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) of the International Organization for Migration (IOM), June 2022.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.



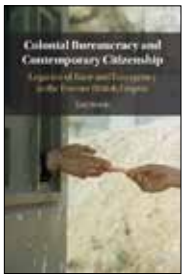
Cross-section of Bakasi camp in Maiduguri, Borno state, Nigeria, prior to the camp's closure.

Credit: Gbemisola Abiola



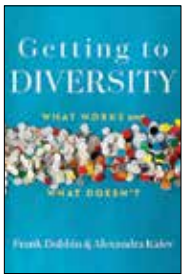
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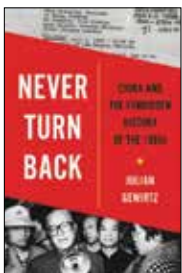
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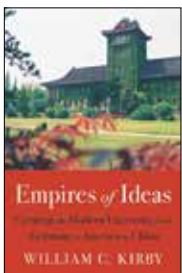
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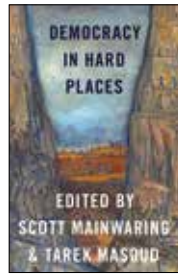
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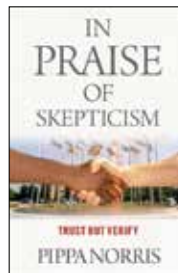
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HENRY ROSOVSKY, 1927–2022

Henry Rosovsky, former acting University president and former dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS), passed away on November 11, 2022, at age 95. In 1986, during his tenure as FAS dean, Rosovsky founded The Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, one of the core programs at the Weatherhead Center. Rosovsky was a beloved figure at Harvard, and served the University in numerous capacities.



Left: Portrait of Henry Rosovsky painted by Bettina Burch, mixed media on paper, 2012.

Right: Henry Rosovsky speaks at the Area Studies Conference hosted by The Harvard Academy on April 15, 2015.

Credit: Martha Stewart

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