

## CENTERPIECE

Volume 33 Number 2 Spring 2019

NEWSLETTER OF THE WEATHERHEAD CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY



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Cover (left to right): Nadia Murad, Shahnaz Osso, and Jennifer Leaning delivering the Jodidi Lecture on April 3, 2019, in Memorial Church. Photo credit: Martha Stewart



### **Message from the Director**

### A Leaking Pipeline for International Studies

As always, our Center has been bustling with activity as the academic year ends. In the first week of April, we cosponsored the Harvard Summit for Gender Equity and hosted an amazing Jodidi Lecture delivered by 2018 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Nadia Murad. We also cosponsored an important event on the global Roma diaspora for International Roma Day.

Beyond our campus, the world of international studies faces some new and important challenges. A recent study by the Modern Language Association (MLA) found that between fall 2013 and fall 2016, US college enrollments in languages other than

English fell 9.2 percent. In concrete terms, this means that colleges lost an astounding 651 foreign-language programs in three years. A decline in the number of language learners portends a leaking academic pipeline that will affect our country's ability to sustain real expertise in international, comparative, transnational, and global studies in the decades ahead. This is particularly worrisome when growing global integration should lead us to prioritize resisting isolationism.

At Harvard, the trends in language enrollment vary. European languages fare badly: French, German, and Spanish language enrollments declined similarly during this time period. Yet East Asian (especially Chinese), Russian, and Arabic language enrollments increased somewhat. As such, we are experiencing more of a shift in the population of students studying languages rather than an overall drop in their numbers.

However, there is a real area of concern: some Harvard undergraduates still want to do research, and more prefer to stay on campus to do so. This is negatively affecting the number of applicants who plan to do field work abroad—for a senior thesis or other purpose.

What can we do to encourage student interest in international research opportunities? Language ability is obviously an important prerequisite for such an experience. Optimistic Harvard undergraduates sometimes imagine they can hire a translator or pick up sufficient language skills on the fly. However, there is no preparatory substitute for intensive, term-time, classroom-based language study in readying students to conduct independent research abroad.

Thus, starting this summer, the Weatherhead Center is committing additional resources to support early career language study—doubling our investment in this category of funding. We are also increasing our support for undergraduate field studies—funding almost half of the applications we received for summer research this year. Additionally, we are bolstering our support to graduate student research by funding over a third of our early-stage graduate student applications and increasing support for dissertation writing.

Fostering international studies is an urgent task as many senior scholars are retiring. We want to continue producing the deep knowledge of various parts of the world that will propel our societies forward. The Weatherhead Center already contributes mightily to this effort, and we hope to do more in the future.

In other news, I wish to share with the WCFIA community my plans for the next academic year: as of fall 2019, I become an empty nester with our twins heading off to college (one to Reed College, and the other to Harvard). I will be on sabbatical leave in Manhattan, with the support of an Andrew Carnegie Fellowship and a fellowship from the Russell Sage Foundation, where I will be in residence. I plan to work on a book tentatively titled New Narratives of Hope: Self-Worth and the Current Crisis of American Society, which will discuss the current cultural landscape of the United States against the background of other advanced industrial societies. This book will tie together social changes and the need to engineer new collective myths and repertoires of hope.

While I am away, Melani Cammett, Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs at Harvard University and professor of global health and population at Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, will serve as acting director for the Center while she also leads The Harvard Academy (which is part of the WCFIA). Our Center will be in excellent hands, with the able support of Ted Gilman and the WCFIA team.

Warm thanks to our faculty, whose participation in committees and intellectual engagement adds great value to the Center's community. Thank you also to our amazing staff for all they do to support our Center's mission. I wish everyone an excellent summer and look forward to reconnecting with the WCFIA community in the fall of 2020, deo volente! Arrivederci!

Michèle Lamont Weatherhead Center Director



### Michèle Lamont Awarded Andrew Carnegie and Russell Sage Foundation Fellowships

Center Director **Michèle Lamont**, Robert I. Goldman Professor of European Studies and professor of sociology and of African and African American Studies at Harvard University, is the recipient of two fellowships in 2019. First is the Andrew Carnegie Fellowship, or "Brainy Award," which awards recipients a grant of up to \$200,000 to devote to their research and writing. Second is the Russell Sage Foundation Fellowship, where Lamont will be in residence for the 2019–2020 academic year to pursue writing a new book.

### Joseph Nye Wins Jury Prize in 2019 Sakip Sabanci International Research Awards

Former Center Director and current Faculty Associate **Joseph Nye**, Harvard University Distinguished Service Professor at Harvard Kennedy School, is the recipient of the 2019 Sakıp Sabancı International Research Awards' Jury Prize. The research awards are Turkey's first international awards given in the social sciences, and the Jury Prize is awarded to an individual who has made distinguished contributions in a particular theme. The theme for 2019 is "Future of Multilateralism in Global Turmoil: Rethinking Security, Economy, Democracy." At the award ceremony held on April 10, 2019 at Istanbul's Sabancı Center, Nye spoke on soft power and the role it plays in Turkey's future.

### Matteo Maggiori Awarded Guggenheim Fellowship

Faculty Associate **Matteo Maggiori**, associate professor of economics at Harvard University, was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship. Along with 168 other scholars, writers, and artists, Maggiori was selected from a group of almost 3,000 applicants. The fellowship, awarded by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, furthers the "development of scholars and artists by assisting them to engage in research

in any field of knowledge and creation in any of the arts, under the freest possible conditions and irrespective of race, color, or creed."

### Two Affiliates Awarded Radcliffe Institute Fellowships

More than fifty new members belong to the 2019–2020 class of fellows at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University, including Faculty Associate Paul Y. Chang, associate professor of sociology at Harvard University. Also awarded were three graduate student fellowships, including Graduate Student Affiliate Angie Bautista-Chavez, PhD Candidate in the Department of Government at Harvard University. Winning the highly competitive fellowship means that the incoming class can "direct their creative and intellectual energy to producing solutions to some of the most complex and urgent challenges of our time."

### Kathryn Sikkink Wins 2019 HR Distinguished Scholar Award

Faculty Associate **Kathryn Sikkink**, Ryan Family Professor of Human Rights Policy at Harvard Kennedy School and Carol K. Pforzheimer Professor at Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, is the recipient of the 2019 Human Rights Section's Distinguished Scholar Award. The award is given on a biennial basis by the International Security Studies Section (ISSS) of the International Studies Association. It "recognizes an individual whose lifetime achievements in scholarship, teaching, and mentoring have made a significant impact on the field of human rights."

### Daniel Ziblatt Awarded Berlin Prize Fellowship

Faculty Associate **Daniel Ziblatt**, Eaton Professor of the Science of Government at Harvard University, is part of the fall 2019 class of Berlin Prize Fellows. The fellowship, awarded by the American Academy in Berlin, is "awarded annually to scholars, writers, composers, and artists based in the United States who represent the highest

standards of excellence in their fields." Fellows live in Berlin's Wannsee district, pursuing projects of which they normally don't have the time or resources to devote.

### Peter A. Hall Elected to American Academy of Arts and Sciences

Faculty Associate **Peter A. Hall**, Krupp Foundation Professor of European Studies at Harvard University, is elected to the 239th class of new members at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Founded in 1780, the Academy's mission is to honor members across "increasingly diverse fields and with the work focused on the arts, democracy, education, global affairs, and science." Hall joins a class of over 200 new members, including former First Lady Michelle Obama, who will all be inducted at a ceremony in October 2019 in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

### Mattea Mrkusic Awarded Global Rhodes Scholarship

Former Undergraduate Associate and Ken Juster Fellow Mattea Mrkusic '17 was named a Global Rhodes Scholar, a new award given to candidates from anywhere in the world. Mrkusic was one of five Harvard affiliates to win a Rhodes Scholarship this year. When she was a Harvard undergraduate, she contributed an article to the fall 2016 Centerpiece on climate change-induced migration in Kiribati. Since her time at Harvard, she has worked on a documentary about the criminal justice system, conducted climate change migration research, and worked as a freelance journalist, according to the Harvard Crimson. At Oxford, Mrkusic plans to pursue master's degrees in public policy and refugee and forced migration studies.

A full list of noteworthy news can be found on the online version of this issue of *Centerpiece*.



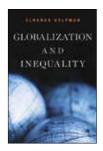
Get the latest Center news: wcfia.harvard.edu/news

### PRESENTING RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY WEATHERHEAD CENTER AFFILIATES



The Oxford Handbook of Terrorism Edited by Erica Chenoweth, Richard English, Andreas Gofas, and Stathis N. Kalyvas

Oxford University Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Erica Chenoweth is a professor of public policy at Harvard Kennedy School and the Susan S. and Kenneth L. Wallach Professor at Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University.



Globalization and Inequality
By Elhanan Helpman

Harvard University Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Elhanan Helpman is the Galen L. Stone Professor of International Trade at Harvard University.



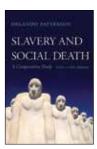
A Short History of European Law: The Last Two And A Half Millennia By Tamar Herzog

Harvard University Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Tamar Herzog is the Monroe Gutman Professor of Latin American Affairs and professor of history at Harvard University. She is also a Radcliffe Alumnae Professor at Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University.



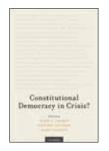
Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism By Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart

Cambridge University Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Pippa Norris is the Paul F. McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics at Harvard Kennedy School and professor of government and international relations at the University of Sydney.



Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study, with a New Preface By Orlando Patterson

Harvard University Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Orlando Patterson is the John Cowles Professor of Sociology at Harvard University.



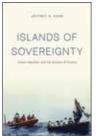
Constitutional Democracy in Crisis? Edited by Mark A. Graber, Sanford Levinson, and Mark Tushnet

Oxford University Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Mark Tushnet is the William Nelson Cromwell Professor of Law at Harvard School.



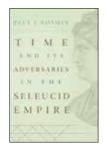
News From Germany: The Competition to Control World Communications, 1900–1945 By Heidi J. S. Tworek

Harvard University Press | Former Visiting Fellow Heidi J.S. Tworek is an assistant professor of history at the University of British Columbia.



Islands of Sovereignty: Haitian Migration and the Borders of Empire By Jeffrey S. Kahn

University of Chicago Press | Former Harvard Academy Scholar Jeffrey S. Kahn is an assistant professor of anthropology at the University of California, Davis.



Time and Its Adversaries in the Seleucid Empire By Paul J. Kosmin

Harvard University Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Paul J. Kosmin is an assistant professor of the classics at Harvard University.

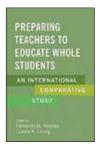


Votes for Survival: Relational Clientelism in Latin America By Simeon Nichter

Cambridge University Press | Former Harvard Academy Scholar Simeon Richter is an assistant professor of political science at the University of California, San Diego.



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



### Preparing Teachers to Educate Whole Students: An International Comparative Study Edited by Fernando M. Reimers

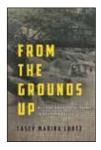
and Connie K. Chung

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



### Sentinel: The Unlikely Origins of the Statue of Liberty By Francesca Lidia Viano

Harvard University Press | Francesca Viano is a Visiting Fellow at the Weatherhead Research Cluster on Global Transformations (WIGH). She recently completed her PhD in history of political thought at the University of Perugia.



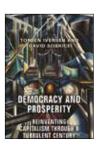
### From the Grounds Up: Building an Export Economy in Southern Mexico By Casey Marina Lurtz

Stanford University Press | Former Academy Scholar Casey Marina Lurtz is an assistant professor of history at Johns Hopkins University.



### Coping with Caveats in Coalition Warfare: An Empirical Research Program By Gunnar Fermann

Palgrave Macmillan | Former Weatherhead-SCANCOR Partnership Visiting Scholar Gunnar Fermann is an associate professor of sociology and political science at Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU).



Democracy and Prosperity: Reinventing Capitalism through a Turbulent Century By Torben Iversen and David Soskice

Princeton University Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Torben Iversen is the Harold Hitchings Burbank Professor of Political Economy at Harvard University.

#### IN MEMORIAM

### Edward R.J. "Roger" Owen, 1935-2018



Roger Owen, A.J. Meyer Professor of Middle East History, Emeritus, at Harvard University, passed away on December 22, 2018, at age 83. Owen was a Faculty Associate since 2008 and

former Harvard Academy Senior Scholar from 1996–2015. He studied imperialism and colonialism, political economy of the modern Middle East, and systems of crony capitalism. To learn more about his life and contributions to the academic world, read his obituary published in the Boston Globe.

### Roderick MacFarguhar, 1930–2019



Roderick MacFarquhar, Leroy B. Williams Research Professor of History and Political Science at Harvard University, passed away on February 10, 2019, at age 88. MacFarquhar was a Faculty As-

sociate since 1996, a founding Harvard Academy Senior Scholar, and was director of the Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies from 1986-1992 and again from 2005-2006. He was a renowned scholar of China's Cultural Revolution who also worked as a journalist and politician before becoming an academic. To learn more about him, read the Harvard Crimson profile, "Roderick MacFarquhar, Prolific Author and Professor of Chinese History, Dies at 88."

### **Feature**

# In Conversation with Pia Raffler BY MICHELLE NICHOLASEN



Pia Raffler, Faculty
Associate. Assistant
Professor, Department
of Government, Harvard
University. Research
interests: The political
economy of development;
and African politics.
Photo credit this feature:
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Pia Raffler

Assistant Professor of Government Pia Raffler understands the fraught relationship between politicians, bureaucrats, and voters. Her research on the political economy of development asks the question: How do voters hold their politicians accountable, and, in turn, how do politicians exert oversight of bureaucrats?

Using a combination of experimental and qualitative methods in her field research in Uganda, she seeks to understand when and why accountability breaks down. For example, her research has found that in the absence of party competition, local elected officials fear using tools to engage in oversight of the

bureaucracy. Other work highlights the role of skewed access to information about candidates in reinforcing the electoral dominance of the ruling party. In Germany, she has also studied how the media affects political behavior. She teaches classes on African politics, comparative political economy, and governance in developing countries, and has codirected the Comparative Politics Seminar and the Graduate Workshop on Political Economy at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

## CENTERPIECE: What is your overall approach to finding research questions?

RAFFLER: I talk to voters, bureaucrats, and politicians in weakly institutionalized settings and try to understand what dilemmas they face. I compare those with our understanding in the literature. When we don't have a good grasp of the issues yet then that's probably a good project to take on.

## CENTERPIECE: How did you become interested in Uganda?

RAFFLER: I first became interested in development when I spent eight months in rural Ghana just after high school, interning with a local NGO there. When I was studying for my master's degree at Columbia University, I spent a summer working in northern Uganda and was fascinated by the fact that incentives set by local institutions were at times counterproductive to good government performance. For example, local bureaucrats had every incentive to engage in some degree of shirking and misallocation of funds, given limited political and administrative

oversight. That got me interested in political science, since the reasons for such suboptimal institutional design (from a purely technical perspective) are usually political. Before starting my PhD at Yale, I set up the Innovations for Poverty Action (IPA) office—an international research organization—in Uganda and led it for two-anda-half years. I still partner with IPA on much of my work.

# CENTERPIECE: How is your research focus unique in the field of political science and development studies?

RAFFLER: I think it is crucial to understand political oversight of the bureaucracy if we want to explain governance outcomes in weakly institutionalized settings. In the end, politicians are not the ones who are implementing services; for that they have to delegate to the bureaucracy. However, they often have a hard time holding the bureaucracy accountable. That link between politicians and bureaucrats, in my view, has received too little attention, particularly in the study of developing countries. It can be difficult for politicians to control the bureaucracy when they have lower education levels than

their civil servants, which is often the case in local governments. In addition, turnover among these politicians is often high, so they don't have time to learn the rules of the game, unlike career civil servants. In the Ugandan context, for example, local politicians often do not know how many public funds actually arrive from the capital in their own district that they're supposed to oversee. This issue is common in other developing countries as well.

# CENTERPIECE: Is it difficult to work with the very groups that you are hoping to "reform"?

RAFFLER: Well, my role is not to reform governments but to understand the reasons why governments are often not accountable to their citizens. My approach is to work with these same governments or political parties to institute changes in the way they operate in a systematic manner so that we can observe the ripple effects, so to speak, and how they are conditioned by different political, institutional, and economic factors. Part of the process is to design and test reforms that promote accountability, to such an extent that they can accept and own it. It's a fine line to walk.

## CENTERPIECE: How do you see the long-term effect of your work?

RAFFLER: My goal is to understand why accountability breaks down. If that knowledge can be used to inform policy, that's ideal. Every project is a partnership—government agencies and political parties will cooperate with me only if they are interested in the answers

themselves. That keeps my research grounded. It's also one of the reasons why I like to work with government agencies—ultimately, they are in the best position to take solutions to scale and to change people's lives.

## CENTERPIECE: Can you reflect on the multidisciplinary aspects of your work?

RAFFLER: My work lies at the intersection of comparative politics, political economy, and development economics. I like to use a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods to get my head around an issue, often iteratively—qualitative interviews to develop an intuition, quantitative (often experimental) methods to test it, then again qualitative methods to understand the mechanisms, ideally followed by more quantitative data collection to test them at a larger scale. Each project is really a huge team effort (see photo) and only possible because I have wonderful colleagues and partners.

## CENTERPIECE: What are you working on right now?

RAFFLER: I am excited about a few new projects, in particular one that seeks to understand how bottom-up and top-down accountability complement each other in the context of the education sector.

## CENTERPIECE: Can you share a fun fact people would not know about you?

RAFFLER: I grew up spending my weekends in the barn. In my alternate life I'd be a farmer!



Pia Raffler and field team at IPA Uganda, about to begin a survey of Ugandan local government officials.

### **Photos: Spring 2019 Events**

### **2019 UNDERGRADUATE THESIS CONFERENCE**

The Weatherhead Center Undergraduate Thesis Conference was held on February 7–8, 2019, and featured a series of panels chaired by Faculty Associates and other Center affiliates. Clustered by regional or disciplinary themes, each student's presentation was followed by questions, commentary, and feedback for the enhancement of their thesis work in its final stages. *Photo credit: Lauren McLaughlin and Kristin Caulfield* 





Top: Graduate Student Associate Rabiat Akande. (SJD Candidate, Harvard Law School) speaks with WCFIA Executive Director, Theodore J. Gilman before the conference begins.

Bottom: Elsie Tellier (Sociology) presented "The Factors that Impact the Gap in Treatment for Indigenous Canadian Children with Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder in the Manitoban Child Welfare System" during a session entitled "Comparative Issues of Identity and Access." Seated on the panel, from left to right, are fellow Undergraduate Associates Michelle Liang (Joint Concentration in History & Literature and Women, Gender & Sexuality) and Wonik Son (History).

### **www**

Watch Weatherhead Forum events on our Facebook page: facebook.com/wcfia

### THE WEATHERHEAD FORUM

The Weatherhead Forum showcases the research of the various units that are associated with the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. In spring 2019, the forum continued to bring together the diverse constituencies of the Center so all affiliates may learn about and discuss emerging academic research from our community.







Images from Spring 2019 Weatherhead Forums (top to bottom): Meg Elizabeth Rithmire presented "The State of Regions and Regionalisms: Interdisciplinary Perspectives from the Regions Cluster"; Francesca Viano, Martine Jean, Murari Jha, and Charles S. Maier presented on the theme of "Global Cross-Currents," featuring the Weatherhead Research Cluster on Global Transformations (WIGH); Faculty Associates Joshua D. Kertzer, Stephen Peter Rosen, and Alastair Iain Johnston presented "New Frontiers in Security Studies," featuring the Weatherhead Research Cluster on International Security. Photo credit: Lauren McLaughlin

### SPECIAL EVENTS AND CONFERENCES

For many, the Weatherhead Center's numerous events are the heart of its activities. A constant stream of distinguished presenters enrich discussion and the exchange of ideas for more than 400 Center affiliates and the general public. Activities range from faculty seminars, conferences, symposia, and special events.









Left column (top to bottom): The Benazir Bhutto Leadership Program, part of ClassACT HR73, cosponsored "What's Wrong with Democracy?—The Challenges and Promise of Democracy in the Middle East, South Asia, and the US," on April 12, 2019. Present and former SCANCOR affiliates attended the SCANCOR-Weatherhead Conference on May 10, 2019. Photo credit: Michelle Nicholasen

Right column (top to bottom): On May 3, 2019, the Weatherhead Research Cluster on Comparative Inequality and Inclusion sponsored the conference "Law, Inequality and the Politics of Moral Worth." The Bowie-Vernon room was packed for the Weatherhead Research Cluster on Global Populism/Challenges to Democracy panel, "Overcoming Political Polarization" held on April 29, 2019. The conference "Interpreting Energy Dependence in Eurasia" was held on May 9–10, 2019, and was cosponsored by the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies. Photo credit: Michelle Nicholasen; Lauren McLaughlin; and Mary McGreal, Davis Center



## THE HARVARD ACADEMY FOR INTERNATIONAL AND AREA STUDIES CELEBRATION

On May 1, 2019, The Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies held its 2018–2019 farewell reception in CGIS South and gave certificates to its departing second-year Scholars. *Photo credit: Michael Dressler* 

### **Feature**

# Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Nadia Murad in Conversation with Jennifer Leaning

On April 3, 2019, the Samuel L. and Elizabeth Jodidi Lecture was delivered by Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Nadia Murad in Conversation with Jennifer Leaning in Memorial Church. This transcript has been edited for length and clarity. A full transcript can be found on the online version of this issue of Centerpiece or watch the lecture on our Vimeo channel.

This page: Nadia Murad relaxes in the green room before the lecture. Next page (top to bottom): Audience member in Memorial Church during the lecture; translator Shahnaz Osso before the lecture; Nadia Murad signs the guest book in the green room of Memorial Church; Professor Jennifer Leaning; Nadia Murad and Shahnaz Osso in the green room before the lecture. Photo credit this feature:



On August 3, 2014, Islamic State militants launched an attack on the Yazidi people in Sinjar, northern Iraq, the homeland of approximately 500,000 Yazidis. ISIS killed and captured thousands of people in the small religious community because the militants consider them to be infidels and their religion to be devil worshipping. Many Yazidis fled to nearby Mount Sinjar, a sacred place in their community for over a thousand years.

Nadia Murad was twenty-one years old in 2014 when her peaceful life on the family farm in Kocho was forever changed. ISIS militants killed her mother and six of her brothers. She was captured, along with many other women, and forced into sexual slavery for several months. Murad has detailed her harrowing experiences in her memoir, *The Last Girl*, as well as in her 2015 statement to the UN Security Council. She received a Nobel Peace Prize in 2018 for her activism in advocating for victims of sexual violence and working to rebuild communities in crisis.

The Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, together with the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, invited Nadia Murad to Harvard University to deliver the Samuel L. and Elizabeth Jodidi Lecture on April 3, 2019, in Memorial Church. Murad spoke to WCFIA Faculty Associate Jennifer Leaning, an expert in public health and rights-based responses to humanitarian crises, through the help of Yazidi translator Shahnaz Osso. Their conversation, rather than discussing details of Murad's captivity, focused on Murad's upbringing and trajectory of her life and work since the attack. What follows is an excerpt of their discussion, lightly edited for clarity. For the full conversation, including video and transcript, visit our website.

### WWW

Watch videos of all our lectures on our Vimeo page: vimeo.com/wcfia **JENNIFER LEANING:** So give us, if you could, just a three-or-four-sentence outline of what happened on that day, August 3rd, August 4th, 2014. How did you hear of what was happening? How did you try to protect yourself? And then it's over, and you are caught.

NADIA MURAD (VIA TRANSLATOR): On August 3rd, when they attacked, it was one of the hottest times of the year in Sinjar. And they had heard that ISIS was attacking Mosul, and Tal Afar, and other villages around them. But they didn't think that something this big would happen around them. But they knew it was kind of inevitable.

Her brothers were sleeping on the roof on August 3rd. And she, and her sisters, and sisters-in-law were sleeping in the yard, because her brothers on the roof kept calling people on the phone to try and figure out what was happening. They spent the entire night on their phones. So she, and her sisters, and sisters-in-law slept in the yard so they can actually get some sleep.

So first thing in the morning, the next day, they had heard that people were being attacked and that they were escaping to the mountains to try and get to safety. And they were calling them on the phone to try and get a hold of them and figure out what was going on. She and her family wanted to escape, as well. But like you said, there was just that mountain. It was their only place to go.

So they had heard that ISIS was attacking. And they were too far from the mountain. And so they didn't think that they'd be able to make it to escape to the mountain. They didn't have very many options, either. And they kept hearing people say so-and-so got caught, so-and-so escaped and is on the mountain. And Kocho, which is her village, is right on the edge of the Yazidi territory. So they were very quick to be surrounded by ISIS. And they had run out of options, at that point.

**LEANING:** So let's go after that. Go to the last week of your captivity. What were you thinking? And how did you begin to imagine your escape?

MURAD (VIA TRANSLATOR): When her family was finally caught by ISIS, there was about forty-eight of them that were all captured together. And she and her nieces were separated from the rest of the family. And then her nieces were separated from her, also. And the whole time, she was thinking, when something like this happens, you have to think about yourself. Like will I survive? Won't I survive? And how will I do it?

She began losing hope and thinking that there's no way that the Yazidis will survive this. And she kept seeing that there was ISIS even going on TV. And everybody was hearing about what was happening. But nobody was coming to help. So as she was beginning to lose hope in the international community doing something, she started to have more hope in herself to survive, and hoping that God will take over and help her survive this.

**LEANING:** Were you able to move around a bit? I'm thinking just physically. Now, you're speaking of yourself as a survivor, already. You have to save yourself. Nobody's coming. You can't count on the family. Was there a wall you're going to have to get over? Was there a door you were going to have to get out of?

MURAD (VIA TRANSLATOR): It was actually very easy to escape. It was just difficult to survive past that. Many of her friends that she knew had escaped just simply through a door or a window. But once they would go and try to find a family to either take them in, or help them, or contact somebody, they would return them back to ISIS. So it was difficult once you got out to stay out and find somebody to help you and take you in.

**LEANING:** So let's create this scene for people here. Was it night or day that you chose to leave?

MURAD (VIA TRANSLATOR): It was closer to night.

**LEANING:** And were you in an unfamiliar part of your territory? Or did you understand where you were?

**MURAD (VIA TRANSLATOR):** She was in Mosul. And that was the first time she'd ever been there. And so she did not recognize anything there.

**LEANING:** And did you know enough to know that you were going to have to get to Kurdish areas for help? And how far away was that? Or did you have a sense of a town or a village to go to? What made the difference between your not getting turned in and all your other friends who did?

MURAD (VIA TRANSLATOR): She had hope in herself and had hoped that because she came from a very peaceful and well-known family that there was other people that were like her family and had a good heart, like her family. And so there was some very old homes there [in Mosul] that she thought that maybe those would be a good idea.

And so she thought if there's people that are similar to my family in morals and values, that they'll recognize somebody that comes from a background like them and maybe take her in.

LEANING: So you knock on a door of an old house in the

evening? Or is it, by then, morning? And what do you say to people when they answer the door?

MURAD (VIA TRANSLATOR): It was still evening. And she just knocked on the door. And everybody at that point in Mosul and in











"SO THE THING THAT **PUSHED HER IS BECAUSE** SHE HAD ALWAYS HAD THIS IDEA—IF YOU **DO A CRIME SUCH AS MURDER, YOU NEED TO** BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE. AND SO IT WASN'T JUST **GETTING THE STORY OUT. IT WAS ABOUT BRINGING THE MEMBERS** OF ISIS THAT DID THESE **HEINOUS CRIMES TO JUSTICE, AND BRINGING** THEM IN FRONT OF AN INTERNATIONAL COURT. AND MAKING THEM PAY **FOR THEIR CRIMES THAT** THEY'VE DONE." - NADIA MURAD Iraq, altogether, knew what had happened to the Yazidis and what was going on. So she just knocked and said, "I'm a Yazidi. I've escaped. Will you help me?"

**LEANING:** Wonderful. So who answered the door?

MURAD (VIA TRANSLATOR): It was the father.

**LEANING:** And what did he say? Give us a little sense of what the next five minutes was like. You knocked. He opens. You say you're Yazidi. "Can you help me?" What does he say? And how does it unfold?

MURAD (VIA TRANSLATOR): So he invited her in and started asking her more questions about who she was, where she was from. And the man showed some concern. Because if ISIS found out that he was helping her, then his family might be in danger, too. And she could tell, just from looking around, his whole family was home. And she could tell that they weren't affiliated with ISIS at all. And that made her feel more safe around them.

**LEANING:** And what do you think persuaded him? Or did the wife or other family members chime in? What do you think persuaded him to say, "Yes, I'm going to help you?"

**MURAD (VIA TRANSLATOR):** He said that regardless of religion, they were all still Iraqis. They didn't agree with what ISIS was doing. And they didn't have any affiliation with them either, and that they need to take compassion. Because regardless of what her beliefs are and what their beliefs are, they're all still one Iraqi community.

**LEANING:** You're lucky in that regard, aren't you? That you found a good family.

MURAD (VIA TRANSLATOR): Yes. Not everybody was as lucky as her. Her sister-in-law did the same thing and escaped, knocked on somebody's door. And the person who answered the door did the same thing and invited her in, asked her some questions like which ISIS members she escaped from and things like that. And eventually, called those ISIS members and got her taken back.

**LEANING:** In some settings where people flee, there is a person who really helps early on. And it's critical. That can be somewhat life-affirming after your experience has deadened your feelings about humanity. And I'm going to just ask, but I think you get a sense that this is really important. Really important, initially, in helping you get out and start another life. Is that correct?

**MURAD (VIA TRANSLATOR):** She believes that if she hadn't found a family like this that had helped her, she likely would have either been returned or wouldn't have made it. So it is

very important that they were willing to help her. And because of that, she was able to get out and have this safe and happy life—or somewhat happy life that she has now.

**LEANING:** Do they know what has happened to you? Does that family understand who you've become?

**MURAD (VIA TRANSLATOR):** Yes. She was able to tell them a little bit of her story while she was with them, as well. And so they know what was going on with her before.

**LEANING:** But now? Have you called them and said, "I got the Nobel Peace Prize," for instance?

**MURAD (VIA TRANSLATOR):** She hasn't spoke to them directly. But when Mosul was freed, basically, her brother was able to tell them, and speak to them, and tell them what's been happening with Nadia and what's been going on. And Iraq is a very tight-knit community, anyway. Anything that happens, everybody knows about it. So she's sure that they had heard about it anyway and know what's going on.

**LEANING:** That's great. Thank you. I'm going to move now to another set of questions, which is: When did you shift from finding a way to survive to finding a way to make a difference?

**MURAD (VIA TRANSLATOR):** This was never part of her plan. Her plan or her hope was just to get out and live somewhere safe with her family. But then people would come and start talking about what was going on and asking questions. And she felt that she needed to inform them that this is what was happening to us. So this is likely what's happening to girls still in captivity.

And something needs to be happening. And so it was never her plan to be a public speaker, or an advocate, or an activist. It just kind of happened. She felt that it needed to be done. But it was never part of a big plan for her.

She's not the only person to speak out on this or the only survivor to speak out on this. There's been plenty of girls before her and at the same time as her speaking about their experiences, as well, on a large scale and even writing their own books. But sometimes, one person's story just resonates with the world. And it's just what everybody else picks up on, and it just happens to become bigger.

**LEANING:** I think, of course, you're correct in what you're saying. Because it's your life. And you know what happened. But there are probably some factors in your thinking that made you get more organized about wanting to make a difference. And you may not identify them in you, yet. But as you said, the story of Yazidi came out. It was not that well known, but it came out. And there were many testimonies that the newspapers found, et cetera. And I'm sure the women who survived were talking to each other. But then out of that mix of testimony,

and anger, and grief, somehow you took all of that feeling and began to say you wanted to campaign. How did that turn? When did you start using the word "campaign"?

MURAD (VIA TRANSLATOR): So the thing that pushed her is because she had always had this idea—if you do a crime such as murder, you need to be brought to justice. And so it wasn't just getting the story out. It was about bringing the members of ISIS that did these heinous crimes to justice, and bringing them in front of an international court, and making them pay for their crimes that they've done.

And everybody, at some point, is going to be judged in front of a court for their sins.

**LEANING:** So as a little child, as a kid, you had a strong sense of right or wrong? And if somebody did something wrong, they should get punished?

MURAD (VIA TRANSLATOR): Of course. She believes that there always has to be some sort of reconciliation for things. For example, if they had planted a bunch of wheat, and one of their neighbor's sheep got into their plants and ate all of it, the neighbor can't just say "whatever." They have to come, and apologize, and say, "We're sorry all your hard work went to waste. Let us pay for the plants. Or let us buy them off of you. Or here's a sheep to make up for it." So actions should have consequences.

As a kid, though, she thought that was the worst thing—was to have your hard work go to waste with the farm or the crops. She didn't know that there was something as horrible as a mother, like her own mother's hard work going to waste, raising eleven kids, and having them all be killed.

**LEANING:** So you're thinking about something that is overwhelmingly wrong. Now, I know that you have found some good friends and colleagues. And even that is a talent to reach out to people when you are feeling so overwhelmed with sadness. To reach out to people and have them come towards you, and you build something together. That, to me, is a really interesting aspect of your biography. That it's a short two years from August 2014 until when one can see you before the UN Security Council in December 2016. That is a long pathway to go. So I'm going to ask you about some of the friends, some of the people. Not everybody, but two or three that helped shape your agony, your pain, into the search for justice. During those two years, who did you encounter? Who did you talk to?



Left to right: William Granara, Director, Center for Midddle Eastern Studies; Michèle Lamont, Director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs; Patti Bellinger, Chief of Staff, Office of the President; Lawrence S. Bacow, President, Harvard University; Nadia Murad.

MURAD (VIA TRANSLATOR): She says that one of the very important things was the fact that many women were speaking out about the things happening. So a lot of the women involved had a big influence on the progress that has been made. Because in the history of all the genocides, in the history of Iraq, women haven't spoken out about the things that have happened to them during these sorts of events. And all of the women that were giving their accounts of things that happened to them and giving their stories and their side of things made a very big impact, and was very important, and set the stage for it, and pushed the whole process more, to be able to have them speak out against what has happened. And it caused an international outcry, because the women were finally speaking out about it. And it made everybody want to get more involved.

**LEANING:** That's a point we should underscore, isn't it? That in many of these situations, women who have been through sexual violence are not talking about it. They get quiet. And their husbands, and fathers, and brothers don't want them to talk. It's considered shameful. And the fact that something in your community, and your friends in your survivor community, including you, wanted to speak out about it is a remarkable accelerant, a remarkable boost to getting action taken. If you talk, then people understand. And that, I think, has made a very big difference.

**MURAD (VIA TRANSLATOR):** In the past, not just the Yazidis, but Iraqi women in general, they haven't spoken out about these things. And it's very important that they have been speaking out, now. Because in the past, it's even more of a

stigma than it is here, in America. It's a very large stigma to talk about rape or things of that nature. And they oftentimes see it as bringing shame to themselves or even their village and their family.

But the women saw the roughest parts of what ISIS was doing. And they had to endure the hardest part of the genocide. And so being able to speak out against it was very important, because they are the ones that went through it.

**LEANING:** They are also the ones who survived with very deep scars. ISIS killed a lot of the men. Right? So if you're going to take charge of the cause for your community, the women, even injured, are going to be necessary.

**MURAD (VIA TRANSLATOR):** The men were often killed. And she forgot to mention, they have found seventy-one other grave sites where many of the men and women were found. But in almost every war, women endure the most. And especially with this last genocide, they made sure that women endured the most and saw the most heartache and suffering. And if you ask any Yazidi woman, she has been through the most and will often say that she wishes that she were just killed like one of the men, rather than having to endure that.

The conversation between Nadia Murad and Jennifer Leaning moved into a discussion about genocide—including how it applies to the dire situation facing the Yazidi people. Murad concluded by offering the audience a powerful message: to never take their safety and freedom for granted—and to use their privilege to educate others, and become a force for good.

### **Research Groups**

### STUDENT PROGRAMS

### **NEW UNDERGRADUATE ASSOCIATES**

The following students have been appointed Undergraduate Student Associates for the 2019–2020 academic year and have received grants to support travel in connection with their senior thesis research on international affairs.

**Isabel Bernhard** (Social Studies), Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Research Fellow. *Argentine-Brazilian civil military relations in the Cold War* (1983–1994).

**Constance Bourguignon** (Romance Languages and Literatures; Women, Gender & Sexuality), Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Research Fellow. *Grammatical gender in the lived experiences of nonbinary Francophones.* 

**Angie Cui** (East Asian Studies; Government), Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Research Fellow. *Historical memory and China's Belt and Road Initiative*.

**Eva Diianni-Miller** (Social Studies), Williams/ Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Research Fellow. *Young black South African political identity in Cape Town*.

**Eve Driver** (Social Studies), Rogers Family Research Fellow. *Indigenous land rights in Cape Town, South Africa*.

**Archibald Hall** (Social Studies), Julian Sobin Fellow. *The cultural legacy of the British Empire in Africa.* 

**Matthew Keating** (Government), Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Research Fellow. *Comparative analysis of EU member state policies towards LGBTQ asylum seekers and refugees*.

**Charles Michael** (Social Studies), Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Research Fellow. *Colonial heritage as a competitive asset for Hong Kong.* 

**Julie Ngauv** (History), Julian Sobin Fellow. *Oral history of Cambodian genocide survivors from rural provinces.* 

**Tom Osborn** (Psychology), Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Research Fellow. *Positive psychology intervention on depression and anxiety in youth in sub-Saharan Africa living in Kenya's Kibera slums*.

**Isabel Parkey** (History & Literature), Rogers Family Research Fellow. *Heritage and Ghanaian intellectual property law in global perspective.* 

**Brendan Powell** (Government), Simmons Family Research Fellow. *Investigating the effects of foreign intervention on sectarianism in the Lebanese Civil War.* 

**Russell Reed** (Special Concentration in Geography and Development), Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Research Fellow. *Colonial racial science and gorilla conservation in the Albertine Rift*.

**Alyssa Resar** (Government), Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Research Fellow. *Chinese military strategy in China and Taiwan*.

**Paulette Schuster** (Social Studies), Rogers Family Research Fellow. *Educational impact on young local social entrepreneurs in east Africa*.

**Nick Stauffer-Mason** (East Asian Studies; Government), Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Research Fellow. *Policy implementation and the comparative political economy of housing oversupply in China.* 

**Alexandra Todorova** (History), Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Research Fellow. *Danish αrchαeology in the shadow of the Third Reich*.

**Sophia Vargas** (Anthropology), Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Research Fellow. *The reintegration of female excombatants in Colombia*.

Adele Woodmansee (Integrative Biology; Anthropology), Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Research Fellow. How native maize varieties and subsistence agriculture shape ideas of locality and contamination in San Miguel del Valle, Oaxaca.

## 2019 THOMAS TEMPLE HOOPES PRIZE WINNERS

The Weatherhead Center congratulates the following Undergraduate Associates who were awarded 2019 Thomas Temple Hoopes Prizes on the basis of their outstanding scholarly work.

**Sunaina Danziger**, "Nazis in America: The US Intelligence Programs That Shaped the New World Order, 1945–1949."

**Sierra Nota**, "Make Way for the Railway: Transit-Oriented Development in the City of Irkutsk, 1890–1920."

**Jules Ziqi Qiu**, "Friendship or Hostility, Trade or War: The 1832 Voyage of the Lord Amherst."



2018–2019 Graduate Student Associates. Photo credit: Michelle Nicholasen

### PROGRAM ON U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONS

The Program on U.S.-Japan Relations, which began in 1980, now has almost 600 alumni. Prominent alumni include five current members of Japan's parliament; **Fred Hiatt** (1986–1987), editor of the editorial page and columnist, the *Washington Post*; **Kojiro Shiraishi** (1989–1990), chairman of the board, Yomiuri Shimbun Holdings; **Ban Ki-Moon** (1984–1985), former UN secretary general; **Tsuyoshi Okamoto** (1986–1987), former president and chairman, Tokyo Gas Co., Ltd.; and **Mariko Bando** (2006–2007), chancellor, Showa Women's University (also in the photo, front row, second from right).

Program affiliates are prolific authors, and this semester is no exception. Recent or forthcoming books by faculty and former affiliates include: **Daniel Aldrich**, *Black Wave: How Networks and Governance Shaped Japan's 3.11 Disasters* (University of Chicago Press, 2019); **David Leheny**, *Empire of Hope: Sentimental Politics of Japanese Decline* (Cornell University Press, 2018); and **Ezra Vogel**, *China and Japan: Facing History* (Harvard University Press, 2019).

In other recent news, during the spring semester, **Christina Davis**, former postdoctoral fellow (2001–2002) and currently professor of government and Susan S. and Kenneth L. Wallach Professor at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, served as the program's acting director.



Over spring break, Harvard President Lawrence S. Bacow traveled to China and Japan. Program Director Susan Pharr took part in the Harvard events in Tokyo, including a dialogue with Japanese university presidents and other educators on challenges facing higher education Photo credit: Ana Beatriz Gervasio

### WEATHERHEAD RESEARCH CLUSTER ON RELIGION IN PUBLIC LIFE IN AFRICA AND THE AFRICAN DIASPORA

Our research cluster's recent colloquium, "Religion and the Public Sphere in Africa and the African Diaspora," held on December 7–8, 2018, brought together sixteen scholars to discuss the above-stated theme from various interdisciplinary perspectives. This group included both senior and upcoming scholars, who presented their research as historians, anthropologists, theologians, and scholars of religion more broadly. While we encouraged presenters to focus on historical and ethnographic analyses of religion in specific contexts—particularly those of central importance to such conversations—we also welcomed thematic approaches to the topic that cut across geographical areas and nationalities.

Participants discussed religion in the context of many other topics relevant to Africa and its diaspora, including law, politics, culture, economic development, and more. More specifically, we explored many questions during the conference, including: Why is religion emerging as a central

site of contestation in twenty-first-century Africa? How does religion shape the social, economic, and political landscape of Africa and its diaspora? In what ways, if any, does the role played by religion in Africa differ from other (non-African) examples?

This colloquium, convened by Harvard Professors Jacob Olupona and Marla F. Frederick, was the first of several in a series sponsored by the Weatherhead Research Cluster on Religion in Public Life in Africa and the African Diaspora, and was quite successful. All participants shared their work with one another and received feedback from fellow scholars on how to augment their ideas. We aim to publish articles based on these inspiring scholarly contributions, which will then be compiled into an edited volume—making this work available to other scholars and interested publics. Certainly these brilliant papers are indicative of a broader trend on the horizon, which we will continue to pursue, encourage and support as needed.



Speakers for the session on Race, Gender and Identity during the "Religion and the Public Sphere in Africa and the African Diaspora" conference held on December 7–8, 2018. Left to right: Mary Nyangweso, associate professor of religious sudies and J. Woolard and Helen Peel Distinguished Professor, Department of Religious Studies, East Carolina University; Laura S. Grillo, affiliated faculty, Theology Department, Georgetown University; Todne Thomas, assistant professor of African American religions, Harvard Divinity School; and Katerina Kerestetzi, researcher, French National Center for Scientific Research, Paris. Photo credit: DeVaughn Kindred Owens



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### **NEW FACULTY ASSOCIATES**

The following Harvard faculty accepted invitations to be WCFIA Faculty Associates during the 2018–2019 academic year:

**Daniel Carpenter**, Allie S. Freed Professor of Government, Department of Government, Harvard University. *The political economy of government regulation and health; and petitioning in North American political development, examining comparisons and connections to petitioning histories in Europe and India.* 

**Bruno Carvalho**, Professor, Department of Romance Languages and Literatures, Harvard University. *Urban Studies; cultural history; race; interplay between diversity, inequality, segregation; ecology; sociospatial theory; Latin America; and Brazil.* 

**Stephen Chaudoin**, Assistant Professor, Department of Government, Harvard University. *International institutions and cooperation, with an emphasis on the WTO and ICC.* 

**Erica Chenoweth**, Professor of Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School; Susan S. and Kenneth L. Wallach Professor, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University. *Political violence; nonviolent resistance; social movements; contentious politics; terrorism; counterterrorism; and democracy and democratization.* 

**Christina L. Davis**, Susan S. and Kenneth L. Wallach Professor, Radcliffe Institute; Professor of Government, Department of Government, Harvard University. *Politics of international trade; foreign policy of East Asia and Japan; and geopolitics and international organizations.* 

**Anders Jensen**, Assistant Professor of Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School. *Public finance; development; state capacity; corruption; and public sector governance.* 

**David Kennedy**, Manley O. Hudson Professor of Law, Harvard Law School. *Issues of global governance, development policy, and the nature of professional expertise in an interdisciplinary context.* 

**Durba Mitra**, Assistant Professor, Committee on Degrees in Studies of Women, Gender, and Sexuality and Carol K. Pforzheimer Assistant Professor, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University. *The history of sexuality and gender in colonial India and across the colonial and postcolonial world.* 

Ellis P. Monk, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, Harvard University. Racial categorization and stratification in comparative perspective; social stratification; sociology of the body; health; social psychology and cognition; political sociology; sociological theory (classical & contemporary); and Brazil.



### 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:

Cross-Border Cosmopolitans | In the Crosshairs of an Academic Crackdown

The Lasting Power of Nonviolent Resistance—Parts 1 & 2 | History's Hatred: China's War on Drugs and the Power of Past Violence

Trump's Impact on the World: Timothy J. Colton on Russia | Trump's Impact on the World: Melani Cammett on the Middle East

The Financial Crisis, Then and Now: Ancient Rome and 2008 CE

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