

## CENTERPIECE

Volume 36 Number 2 Spring 2022

NEWSLETTER OF THE WEATHERHEAD CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS HARVARD UNIVERSITY **FOLLOW US** INSIDE **ALSO** Message from the Director Of Note twitter.com/HarvardWCFIA In Conversation with New Books facebook.com/wcfia Angie Bautista-Chavez Research Group Updates vimeo.com/wcfia Who Fights for the Homeland? In Memoriam wcfia-epicenter.simplecast.com Tribute to Herbert C. Kelman Events

#### CONTENTS

Message from the Director

2

Of Note

3

**New Books** 

4

In Memoriam: Tribute to Herbert C. Kelman

In Memoriam: Philip Heymann

Photos: Events

Who Fights for the Homeland?
By Andi Zhou
12

The Journey to Professorship: In Conversation with Angie Bautista-Chavez By Michelle Nicholasen

Research Group Updates

Epicenter News

Cover credit: Rose Lincoln, Harvard University This page: Center Director Melani Cammett. Credit: Mark Ostow

## **Message from the Director**



This spring, the mood around the Weatherhead Center vacillates between hopeful optimism and somber concern. Hope is reflected in our graduating students—who, after more than two years of pandemic restrictions on their studies, are ready to take their next steps into a more promising world. At the same time, terrible humanitarian crises—in Ukraine, Afghanistan, Syria, Yemen, and other places—darken our world and reinforce our commitment to the study of international affairs and global challenges. Violence and human displacement require our continued efforts to make the world a better place.

Consistent with the Center's original efforts to connect research with our complex and ever-changing world, the Weatherhead Center staff is working with Harvard's Scholars at Risk Program to help scholars from around the world escape persecution and continue their work. The abundance of violent conflicts globally has produced a backlog of scholars who need such support. Our staff colleagues are working to help facilitate safe circumstances for scholars from places in crisis.

In addition, we are in the process of approving several new Weatherhead Research Clusters that will launch this summer. These new clusters will join the existing roster of clusters on Regions in a Multipolar World; Comparative Inequality and Inclusion; and Global Transformations (WIGH).

Our research clusters strengthen the identity of the Center and its intellectual profile while maintaining our focus on funding a wide range of faculty research. They promise future scholarly contributions by promoting multidisciplinary collaboration across Harvard's schools and departments and beyond. And they generate ties between undergraduates, graduate students, postdoctoral and visiting scholars, and faculty within the Weatherhead Center. We are proud of the connections these clusters produce, and the pressing global issues they address.

Recent events related to sexual harassment on campus—and in the broader academic world—have reinvigorated our efforts to foster a productive and safe community. After a fruitful community dialogue earlier in the semester, we are establishing an Equity, Diversity, Inclusion, and Belonging standing committee at the Weatherhead Center. This group—comprising faculty, students, and staff—will strategize ways we might acknowledge and address some of the issues our community members face. This is challenging and uncomfortable work and will require self–reflection, accountability, collaboration, and creative thinking. We are committed to this process, because we believe that making the Center a supportive place for everyone provides a better foundation for the innovative research we are known for.

Finally, I want to share my plans for the next academic year: I will take an (overdue) sabbatical leave in 2022–2023 to gather data for my new book on identity politics and conflict, with a particular focus on Northern Ireland, Lebanon, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Dean Larry Bobo has appointed Erez Manela, Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate and professor of history, to serve as interim director. Erez is the director of Graduate Student Programs at the Center, so he already knows our community well. I'm delighted to head into a period of research knowing that the WCFIA is in good hands, and I look forward to reconnecting with everyone in the fall of 2023!

Melani Cammett Weatherhead Center Director



#### New Members of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences

Several Faculty Associates are members of the 2022 class of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences: Erica Chenoweth, Frank Stanton Professor of the First Amendment at Harvard Kennedy School and Susan S. and Kenneth L. Wallach Professor at Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University; Sven Beckert, Laird Bell Professor of History at Harvard University; Eve Blau, Adjunct Professor of the History and Theory of Urban Form and Design and Director of Research at Harvard Graduate School of Design; and Suzanne Preston Blier, Allen Whitehill Clowes Professor of Fine Arts and professor of African and African American studies at Harvard University.

#### Jason Beckfield Selected Robert G. Stone Jr. Professor of Sociology

Faculty Associate **Jason Beckfield**, professor of sociology, has been selected to be the inaugural Robert G. Stone Jr. Professor of Sociology, a position that recognizes an outstanding scholar in international studies. A longstanding member of the Harvard Corporation, Stone ('45–'47) was a shipping executive who was legendary for his indefatigable fundraising skills. He passed away in 2006, and will be widely remembered for his commitment to undergraduate financial aid, student athletics, and international studies, according to a 2006 tribute in the *Harvard Gazette*.

#### Durba Mitra Wins Bernard S. Cohn Prize

Faculty Associate **Durba Mitra**, assistant professor of women, gender, and sexuality and Carol K. Pforzheimer Assistant Professor at the Radcliffe Institute at Harvard University, is the recipient of the Bernard S. Cohn Prize for her book, *Indian Sex Life: Sexuality and the Colonial Origins of Modern Social Thought* (Princeton University Press, 2020). The award is presented by the Association for Asian Studies and honors outstanding scholarship for a first single-authored monograph on South Asia.

#### Wendell Nii Laryea Adjetey Awarded William Dawson Chair at McGill University

Former William Lyon Mackenzie King Postdoctoral Fellow **Wendell Nii Laryea Adjetey**, now assistant professor of history and classical studies at McGill University, was awarded the William Dawson Chair at McGill. This endowed research chair—tenable for five years and renewable once—recognizes an outstanding scholar, a tenure-track assistant or associate professor, who is poised to become a leader in his or her field. Adjetey's forthcoming book, *Cross-Border Cosmopolitans: The Making of a Pan-African North America* (UNC Press) delves into the global Black freedom struggle.

#### Sheila Jasanoff Wins Holberg Prize

Faculty Associate **Sheila Jasanoff**, Pforzheimer Professor of Science and Technology Studies at Harvard Kennedy School, is the recipient of the 2022 Holberg Prize for her pioneering work in the field of science and technology studies. The goal of the Holberg Prize, established by the Norwegian Parliament in 2003, is to increase awareness of the value of academic scholarship in the humanities, social sciences, law, and theology—all attributes of Jasanoff's work that forges a unique body of research that connects many disciplines.

#### Christy Thornton Wins Luciano Tomassini Latin American International Relations Book Award

Former Postdoctoral Fellow **Christy Thornton**, now as assistant professor of sociology at Johns Hopkins University, is the recipient of the 2022 Luciano Tomassini Latin American International Relations Book Award for her book, *Revolution in Development: Mexico and the Governance of the Global Economy* (University of California Press, 2021). The award, in honor of the thinker, political scientist, and analyst Luciano Tomassini, is presented by the Latin American Studies Association to an author of an outstanding book on Latin American foreign policies and international relations.

## Tarek Masoud Named Coeditor of Journal of Democracy

Faculty Associate **Tarek Masoud**, the Sultan Qaboos bin Said of Oman Professor of International Relations and professor of public policy at Harvard Kennedy School, was appointed coeditor of the *Journal of Democracy* by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). The *Journal of Democracy* is a leading publication on the theory and practice of democracy around the world, and since its establishment in 1990, has shaped the thinking on major challenges that confront democracies. Masoud has an extensive background in leadership and academic scholarship, and backs the NED's mission of supporting freedom around the world.

## S.V. Subramanian Leading New India Policy Insights Initiative

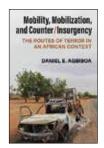
Faculty Associate **S. V. Subramanian**, professor of population health and geography at Harvard T. H. Chan School of Public Health, is leading a new partnership between India Policy Insights (IPI), his flagship project at the Geographic Insights Lab, and the National Institution for Transforming India (NITI), the official policy design and innovation think tank for the Government for India. India Policy Insights is a collaborative initiative created to support precision public health policy in India by providing a comprehensive online geo-visual data platform of policy-relevant population health and development indicators, using novel statistical techniques at multiple geographic levels.

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#### PRESENTING RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY WEATHERHEAD CENTER AFFILIATES



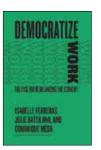
Mobility, Mobilization, and Counter/ Insurgency: The Routes of Terror in an African Context By Daniel E. Agbiboa

University of Michigan Press | Faculty Associate Daniel E. Agbiboa is an assistant professor of African and African American studies at Harvard University.



A Cultural History of Peace in the Age of Enlightenment Edited by Stella Ghervas & David Armitage

Bloomsbury | Faculty Associate David Armitage is Lloyd C. Blankfein Professor of History at Harvard University.

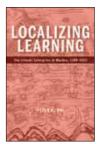


Democratize Work: The Case for Reorganizing the Economy

By Isabelle Ferreras, Julie Battilana

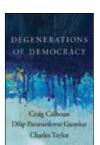
By Isabelle Ferreras, Julie Battilana & Dominique Méda; Translated by: Miranda Richmond Mouillot

University of Chicago Press | Faculty Associate Julie Battilana is a professor of business administration at Harvard Business School.



Localizing Learning: The Literati Enterprise in Wuzhou, 1100–1600 By Peter K. Bol

Harvard University Press | Faculty Associate Peter K. Bol is Charles H. Carswell Professor of East Asian Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University.

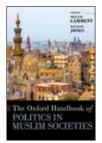


Degenerations of Democracy
By Craig Calhoun, Dilip Parameshwar
Gaonkar, & Charles Taylor

Harvard University Press | Advisory Committee Chair Craig Calhoun is University Professor of Social Sciences at Arizona State University.



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The Oxford Handbook of Politics in Muslim Societies

Edited by Melani Cammett & Pauline Jones

Oxford University Press | Center Director Melani Cammett is 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.

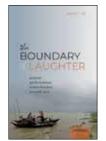


On Revolutions: Unruly Politics in the Contemporary World

By Colin J. Beck, Mlada Bukovansky, Erica Chenoweth, George Lawson, Sharon Erickson Nepstad, & Daniel P. Ritter

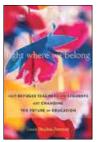
Oxford University Press | Faculty Associate Erica Chenoweth is Frank Stanton Professor of the First Amendment at Harvard Kennedy School and Susan S. and Kenneth L. Wallach Professor at Radcliffe Institute for

Advanced Study at Harvard University.



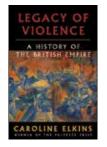
The Boundary of Laughter: Popular Performances across Borders in South Asia By Aniket De

Oxford University Press | Graduate Student Associate Aniket De is a PhD candidate in the Department of History at Harvard University.



Right Where We Belong: How Refugee Teachers and Students Are Changing the Future of Education By Sarah Dryden-Peterson

Harvard University Press | Faculty Associate Sarah Dryden-Peterson is an associate professor of education at Harvard Graduate School of Education.



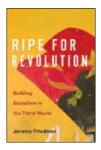
Legacy of Violence: A History of the British Empire
By Caroline Elkins

Penguin Random House | Faculty Associate Caroline Elkins is a professor of history and professor of African and African American studies at Harvard University.



Future Noise: What Stories Help Shape Tomorrow By Bernhard Fischer-Appelt

Redline | Former Weatherhead Center Fellow Bernhard Fischer-Appelt is the owner and CEO of FischerAppelt.



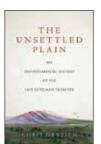
Ripe for Revolution: Building Socialism in the Third World By Jeremy S. Friedman

Harvard University Press | Faculty Associate Jeremy S. Friedman is an assistant professor of business administration at Harvard Business School.



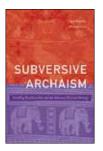
Infrastructure Economics and Policy: International Perspectives Edited by José A. Gómez-Ibáñez & Zhi Liu

Columbia University Press | Faculty Associate (emeritus) José A. Gómez-Ibáñez is Derek C. Bok Research Professor of Urban Planning and Public Policy at Harvard Kennedy School and Harvard Graduate School of Design.



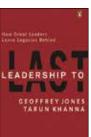
The Unsettled Plain: An Environmental History of the Late Ottoman Frontier By Chris Gratien

Stanford University Press | Former Academy Scholar Chris Gratien is an assistant professor of history at the University of Virginia.



Subversive Archaism: Troubling Traditionalists and the Politics of National Heritage By Michael Herzfeld

Duke University Press | Faculty Associate (emeritus) Michael Herzfeld is Ernest E. Monrad Research Professor of the Social Sciences at Harvard University.



Leadership to Last: How Great Leaders Leave Legacies Behind By Tarun Khanna & Geoffrey Jones

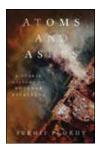
Penguin Random House | Faculty Associate Tarun Khanna is Jorge Paulo Lemann Professor at Harvard Business School.



Familial Undercurrents: Untold Stories of Love and Marriage in Modern Iran

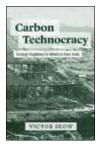
By Afsaneh Najmabadi

Duke University Press | Faculty Associate Afsaneh Najmabadi is Francis Lee Higginson Professor of History and of Studies of Women, Gender, and Sexuality at Harvard University.



Atoms and Ashes: A Global History of Nuclear Disasters By Serhii Plokhy

W. W. Norton & Company | Faculty Associate Serhii Plokhy is Mykhailo S. Hrushevs'kyi Professor of Ukrainian History at Harvard University.



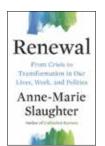
Carbon Technocracy: Energy Regimes in Modern East Asia By Victor Seow

Chicago Press | Faculty Associate Victor Seow is an assistant professor of the history of science at Harvard University.



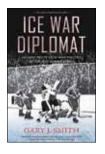
Sing and Sing On: Sentinel Musicians and the Making of the Ethiopian American Diaspora By Kay Kaufman Shelemay

University of Chicago Press | Faculty Associate Kay Kaufman Shelemay is a professor of African and African American studies at Harvard University.



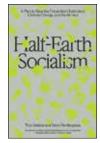
Renewal: From Crisis to Transformation in Our Lives, Work, and Politics By Anne-Marie Slaughter

Princeton University Press | Former Faculty Associate Anne-Marie Slaughter is the CEO of New America.



Ice War Diplomat: Hockey Meets Cold War Politics at the 1972 **Summit Series** By Gary J. Smith

Douglas & McInture | Former Fellow Gary J. Smith used to be a diplomat at the Canadian embassy in Moscow.

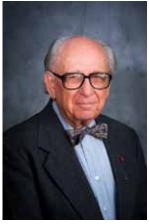


Half-Earth Socialism: A Plan to Save the Future from Extinction, Climate Change and Pandemics By Drew Pendergrass & Troy Vettese

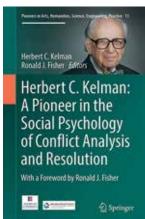
Verso | Former William Lyon Mackenzie King Postdoctoral Fellow Trou Vettese is an environmental historian and a Max Weber fellow at the European University Institute.

#### In Memoriam

#### TRIBUTE TO HERBERT C. KELMAN, 1927-2022







Herbert C. Kelman. Credit: Justin Ide, Harvard University **Herbert Chanoch Kelman**, the Richard Clarke Cabot Professor of Social Ethics, Emeritus, passed away peacefully on March 1, 2022, at age ninety-four. His commitment to peace and the alleviation of human suffering inspired generations of students, academics, and diplomats who have benefited from his mentorship and been influenced by his ideas.

Professor Kelman was born in Vienna in 1927; his family fled Nazi persecution to Belgium and then the United States. As a Holocaust survivor, he spent his life and career acutely aware of the dangers of dehumanization and discrimination. In the 1940s, he became involved in the civil rights movement, and was one of the cofounders of the Baltimore chapter of the Congress on Racial Equality, along with his wife Rose, who was his partner in life and work for more than sixty years.

Among his many professional accomplishments were the founding of the Research Exchange on the Prevention of War; the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*; and the book *International Behavior: A Social-Psychological Analysis*, which is widely accepted as the definitive presentation of the social-psychological dimensions of international conflict.

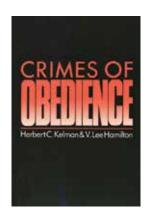
In addition to his work on the ethics of social research, conformity and obedience, and nationalism and national identity, much of Professor Kelman's career was spent on international conflict and its resolution, particularly the Israeli-Palestinian crisis. His interactive problem-solving methodology—a Track II diplomatic approach to resolving conflict—continues to be used today. For over three decades, he organized and led problem-solving workshops for politically influential Israelis and Palestinians. In 1993, he and his graduate students founded the Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution (PICAR), which became a model of his scholar-practitioner approach. In 2003, Professor Kelman formally retired after more than five decades at Harvard.

Professor Kelman was the recipient of over thirty prestigious awards during his academic career, including the Socio-Psychological Prize of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Psychological Association's Award for Distinguished Contributions to Psychology in the Public Interest, the Grawemeyer Award for Ideas Improving World Order, the Austrian Medal of Honor for Science and Art, and the Grand Medal of Honor for Meritorious Contributions to the Republic of Austria. In 2011, Vienna's Institute for Integrative Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding was renamed the Herbert C. Kelman Institute for Interactive Conflict Transformation.

- Cassandra de Alba, Assistant to Professor Herbert C. Kelman, Weatherhead Center

#### Reflections

On February 24 of this year, I was the last speaker at the Herbert C. Kelman Seminar on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution, where Herb could pop in at any time in the talk with all his unparalleled energy. It was such an honor for me to present my book at the seminar and come back to my WCFIA family—albeit virtually. As an alumna,



it was thanks to the many WCFIA resources that allowed me to finish my book. I had the immense honor of meeting Herb in 2017 and was already impressed by his work on psychological approaches to conflict resolution that are, of course, seminal in the field but also particularly inspiring to me in their push for interdisciplinarity in international relations—something I really value as a scholar and educator. Herb's book, *Crimes of Obedience*, had such an impact on me because it is an insightful read with rich examples of different governments' blatant violations of human rights, but also because it is meaningful to think about how much harm has been done in the name of doing the "right" thing for the state.

Herb embodied so much kindness that made me find his work even more resounding. At my first seminar at the WCFIA, I was so touched to have him attend an earlier presentation of my work. He came in early and quietly sat in the front row like an eager student with a notebook already cracked open. At the end of the talk, he shared with me his experience with the Palestine question, which was very thoughtful of him given that it is a key concern for my region.

With Donna Hicks—my mentor at the WCFIA and a moral giant that I am so honored to call my dear friend now—we were hoping to celebrate Herb around the time of his ninety-fifth birthday on March 22 of this year. Donna and I have been sad about his passing, but we have also been sharing our memories of Herb and remembering how much love he exuded. He was our moral giant and has forever marked us as people and scholars.

**—Zaynab El Bernoussi**, Assistant Professor, Universite Internationale de Rabat

One of my treasured memories of Herb involved my daughter, Annie. My husband, Jay, and I had just returned from China with Annie who was only six months old. It was December 1996, a couple of weeks before Christmas, and Boston/Cambridge was quite cold. Soon after arriving home, I called Herb and Rose and said I wanted to come by and introduce Annie. They were delighted and I remember Rose telling me to make sure Annie was dressed warmly. A few days later, off we went. This was one of Annie's first excursions. Everything was new to her-sights, sounds, smells-and she seemed to take it all in, closely observing her new environment, especially people. In those first few weeks she didn't smile too much. I think she was trying to understand where she was and what it all meant.

As we entered the Kelman home, I wasn't sure how Annie would react given how overwhelmed she was by so many new places and people. It was clear that Herb and Rose understood some tentativeness on Annie's part and approached her gently and respectfully. As she became the center of attention—to which she had no difficulty adjusting-Annie seemed to light up and I was struck by her reaction. The love and warmth that soon surrounded her endeared her to Herb and Rose. And what I remember vividlu was the big smile that came across her face. something I hadn't really seen until that moment.

Rose asked if she could take photographs of Annie-black and white, of course-and after a few shots, Annie, to my great surprise, looked into the camera and appeared to be posing! Herb then asked if he could hold her. I placed her on his lap where she sat for the remainder of our visit. Herb had his arms around Annie, and she was clearly content. It was as if she had a perch of authority from which to continue her observations. Periodically, Annie would turn her head to look at Herb and he would always meet her glance with a warm smile. At one point, while still on his lap, she turned toward me and unexpectedly let out a squeal of

absolute delight as if to say, "I am having a great time!" Concerned that Herb might be getting tired of holding Annie, I walked over to pick her up and both he and she made it quite clear that my concern was unfounded.

Rose took many photos of Annie and Herb that day, some of which I have and treasure. I shall always remember how important and, I believe, transformative, that visit was for Annie and her sense of belonging and family of which Herb and Rose were a cherished part.

-**Sara Roy**, Associate, Center for Middle Eastern Studies



Above: Herb Kelman and his wife Rose dancing at the WCFIA fiftieth anniversary celebration held in November 2007. Credit: Martha Stewart. Below: Herb Kelman celebrating his ninety-first birthday in 2019. Courtesy of Lenore Martin



#### When I try to explain who Herb was

as a person, I often return to my memory of his ninetieth birthday celebration, which coincided with a conference held at Harvard. As his assistant, I had spent several days running around attending to details, and after lunch on his birthday I was cleaning up after the attendees. That's when I noticed Herb across the room, carefully throwing away his own trash and recycling his soda can. Even at an event held in his honor, he was never too busy or too important to consider his impact on the world around him. He was truly a scholar-practitioner in every sense, and while he may

have been a giant in the fields of social psychology and international conflict resolution, to me he was the person who often ended our phone calls with "Stay out of troubleunless it's of your own making."

-Cassandra de Alba, Assistant to Professor Herbert C. Kelman, Weatherhead Center



Above: Herbert Kelman (left), Richard Clark Cabot Research Professor of Social Ethics, and Philip Heymann (right), James Barr Ames Professor of Law, participate in a discussion at 124 Mt. Auburn St. as members of the strategy committee for the Project on Justice in Times of Transition, a thennew interfaculty program at Harvard, on May 31, 2000. Credit: Kris Snibbe, Harvard News Office

In the late 1990s, Herb and I took a trip to Havana, Cuba to give several lectures at the University of Havana and to meet with a select group of government officials. We were delighted to be two of the few American academics to visit Cuba. Those of you who knew Herb, know that he was a performer. He loved talking about the interactive problem-solving methodology that he developed to work with Palestinians and Israelis. Our hope was that we would

lay the groundwork for a US-Cuba dialogue, which eventually happened. The most memorable part of the trip was when we were walking the streets of Havana after a lovely dinner with our hosts, and he heard music playing in the background. He looked at our host and said, "Let's follow the music!" We did just that, and when we arrived at the dance floor, Herb grabbed my hand and started twirling me around, then proceeded to do a mean salsa! We all cheered him on while he was surrounded by fellow Cubans. When he was done, he took a deep bow and said to me, "I just love to dance." That was my Herb.

**–Donna Hicks**, Associate, Weatherhead Center

Below: Herbert Kelman, cochair of the CMES/WCFIA Middle East Seminar, gave a lecture titled "Is a Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Still Possible? The Perspective of a Strategic Optimist" on March 28, 2013. Cochair Lenore Martin is in the background. Credit: Johanna Bodnyk

There will be a memorial for Herbert Kelman on September 16, 2022, from 11:30 a.m. to 1:00 p.m., at Memorial Church. To read more about Herbert Kelman and his lifetime pursuit of peace, read our 2017 *Centerpiece* interview, "In Conversation with Herbert C. Kelman" (wcfia.harvard.edu/publications/centerpiece/spring2017/feature\_kelman).

When I think of the many times I watched Herb lead the Middle East Seminar, I marvel at the amazing decorum that reigned during those meetings. The Middle East often has a way of raising people's emotions. Yet Herb was held in such respect, was so knowledgeable, and so fair, that participants around the table learned to hear each other.

Those same "Herb gifts" carried over to the impactful interactive problem-solving workshops he developed to bring Palestinians and Israelis together to recognize each other's life narratives and to work together toward peace. He began to do this when just being together could have landed the participants in jail—or worse.

Herb's mischievous sense of humor, his kindness, brilliance, inclusiveness, along with his indefatigable work for peace and justice permeated his life and the lives of those fortunate enough to work with him. This was epitomized when off to the side at one WCFIA event—and to Herb's surprise—Sam Huntington looked at Herb and said to him: "You should get the Nobel Prize for peace." On that...I think we would all agree with Professor Huntington!

**–Lenore G. Martin**, Associate, Weatherhead Center; Professor of Political, Science and International Studies, Emmanuel College



#### IN MEMORIAM: PHILIP HEYMANN (1932-2021)



Philip Heymann, James Barr Ames Professor of Law, Emeritus, Harvard Law School, passed away on November 30, 2021, at age eighty-nine. Heymann, who became a Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate in 2004, was a legal scholar who served in senior positions during the Kennedy, Johnson, Carter, and Clinton administrations, and was a former associate prosecutor and consultant to the Watergate Special Force. He had long taught at Harvard Law School, during the periods when he was not engaged in government service at the United States Justice or State departments. Read his obituary in the Washington Post or New York Times to learn more about his remarkable career.

Of Note, continued from page 3

#### Dani Rodrik receives \$7.5M Grant to Establish Economics Research Initiative

Faculty Associate **Dani Rodrik**, Ford Foundation Professor of International Political Economy at Harvard Kennedy School, is the corecipient—along with Gordon H. Hanson, also of Harvard Kennedy School-of a \$7.5 million grant to establish the Reimagining the Economy Project. The grant, awarded by the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, is part of a \$40 million effort to fund academic programs on neoliberalism. The new project spearheaded by Rodrik and Hanson will focus on empirical studies of policymaking and local economies.

#### Laura Diaz Anadon Awarded Fellowship from University of Cambridge

Former Faculty Associate Laura Diaz Anadon, Professor of Climate Change Policy at the University of Cambridge, is the recipient of a JM Keynes Senior Fellowship in Financial Economics. The JM Keynes Fellowship Fund, established by the University of Cambridge, supports fellows from a wide range of expertise, whose research falls within the areas of finance, financial institutions, and financial markets-and how those areas interact with microeconomic behavior and macroeconomic performance.

#### Philippe Aghion Is Hayek Book Prize Finalist

Former Faculty Associate Philippe Aghion, professor at the College de France and at the London School of Economics, is a finalist for the 2022 Hayek Book Prize for his book, The Power of Creative Destruction: Economic Upheaval and the Wealth of Nations (Harvard University Press, 2021). The award, given by the Manhattan Institute, honors the book that best reflects Friedrich Hayek's vision of economic and individual liberty, and encourages other scholars to follow his example. The winner of the Hauek Prize is chosen from among the nominations by a selection committee of distinguished economists, journalists, and scholars.

#### Michèle Lamont Awarded Honorary Doctorate

Facultu Associate and Former Director Michèle Lamont. Robert I. Goldman Professor of European Studies and professor of sociologu and of African and African American studies at Harvard University, received an honorary degree from the University of Antwerp. Every few years, the University of Antwerp faculty recommends an internationally renowned scientist for an honorary doctorate. Lamont was recognized for her expertise in sociological issues on culture and social inequality.

#### Emma Rothschild Wins PROSE Award in European History

Faculty Associate **Emma Rothschild**, Jeremy and Jane Knowles Professor of History at Harvard University, is the recipient of the 2022 PROSE Award in European History for her book, An Infinite History: The Story of a Family in France over Three Centuries (Princeton University Press, 2021). Every year the Association of American Publishers Awards for Professional and Scholarly Excellence (PROSE Awards) recognize the best in professional and scholarly publishing by celebrating the authors, editors, and publishers whose works have made significant advancements in their respective fields of study.

#### **Amy Catalinac Wins** Leon Weaver Award at APSA

Former GSA and Postdoctoral Fellow Amu Catalinac, assistant professor of politics at New York University, is the corecipient of the 2021 Leon Weaver Award for her paper "Geographically-Targeted Spending in Mixed-Member Majoritarian Electoral Systems." The award is given to the best paper presented at the previous American Political Science Association (APSA) on a conference panel sponsored by the Representation and Electoral Systems Section. The paper was subsequently published in World Politics, a quarterly journal of international relations.

## **Photos: Spring 2022 Events**



# WHETHER AT THE CENTER OR AROUND THE GLOBE...

WCFIA events connect our community of scholars to the broader world. We have never felt this connection more deeply than in the past year, as we have grown to rely on Zoom to reach our friends and colleagues all over the world. While we are grateful to host such conversations, we are thrilled to have begun connecting in person again.









#### This page (left to right in rows):

On Thursday, February 10, 2022, UK Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, the Right Honorable Brandon Lewis, CBE MP, addressed a small group of Weatherhead Center affiliates. WCFIA Director Melani Cammett moderated the discussion about Northern Ireland, Brexit, and the EU. The session was hosted by Dr. Peter Abbott, OBE, Her Majesty's Consul General in Boston. Credit: Erin Goodman

Undergraduate Associate Kate Laumann Wallace gives her talk titled, "Pipe Dreams: Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipeline and the Legal Paradigms of Canadian Settler Colonialism" on the Friday, February 4, 2022 panel of the Undergraduate Thesis Conference.

Undergraduate Associate Roshni Chakraborty gives her talk titled, "The Last Link: The Inequity of India's Response to Child Trafficking" on the Thursday, February 3, 2022 panel of the Undergraduate Thesis Conference.











#### Page 10 (third row, left to right):

Weatherhead Scholars Program spring 2022 visiting scholars and fellows enjoy a year-end celebration at Gustazo restaurant in Cambridge. Courtesy of Erin Goodman

Affiliates of the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations wrap up their year at the Center by attending a Red Sox game for some much-deserved celebration. Pictured left to right: Program Director Christina Davis, Executive Director Shinju Fujihira, Staff Assistant Emma Duncan, and Academic Associate Akihiko Uchiyama with family. Courtesy of Shinju Fujihira

#### This page (left, top to bottom):

Naima Green-Riley speaks at a special session of the Weatherhead Forum on "China's Role in the World: Is China Exporting Authoritarianism?" on February 9, 2022.

Alastair Iain Johnston, Melani Cammett, Stacie Goddard, Zha Daojiong, Dani Rodrik, and Yeling Tan, participate in a special session of the Weatherhead Forum on "China, the US, and the New Global Order(s)" on February 23, 2022.

Ioana Sendroiu presents her research at a Weatherhead Forum titled "Building Better Lives? Crises, Inequalities, and Social Change" featuring the Weatherhead Scholars Program held on March 9, 2022.

Mandy Izadi presents her research at a Weatherhead Forum titled "Unequal Encounters: A Recurrent Dynamic of Global History" featuring Weatherhead Research Cluster on Global Transformations (WIGH) held on March 23, 2022.

Kristin Vekasi, Shuhei Kurizaki, and Christina L. Davis participate in a Weatherhead Forum featuring the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations titled "The Political Economy of Global Ownership and Supply Chains" and held on April 6, 2022.

Tanushree Goyal presents her research at a Weatherhead Forum titled "Representation and Accountability under Weakly Institutionalized Party Systems: Perspectives from India and Peru" featuring The Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies and held on April 20, 2022. Credit: Michelle Nicholasen

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



#### **Feature**

## Who Fights for the Homeland? BY ANDI ZHOU



Andi Zhou is a Graduate Student Associate at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and a PhD candidate in the Department of Government at Harvard University. Research interests: Territorial conflict; national, territorial, and political identity; nationalism; political psychology; and origins of political preferences.



As Russia's invasion of Ukraine grinds on, little clarity has emerged about how the war will end. Is there any compromise that both sides would accept? Will Russian President Vladimir Putin not rest until he can take over Ukraine in its entirety, or would he be content to secure control over a swath of eastern and southern Ukraine? Does Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy have any latitude to offer territorial concessions, or would such a proposal be considered so treasonous as to be politically suicidal, if not outright unthinkable?

The history of territorial conflict suggests that prospects for quick compromise are dim. Modern nation-states hold few things to be more sacred than homeland territory. People are willing to make extraordinary sacrifices to defend their national homeland, as Ukrainians have demonstrated so movingly over the past several months. Political scientists have long struggled to understand what it is about territory that stirs such passion. If territory was worth only as much as the resources it holds, then negotiations over territory should be fairly straightforward: oil revenues can be shared, or compensated with cash. Others view territorial concerns as an anachronism, an outdated obsession in a globalized world where connectivity has supplanted territory as the source of power and wealth. And yet, states fight wars over territory more often than over any other issue, and territorial wars tend to be more violent and last longer than other types of wars.1

Scholars have come to recognize that territory is much more than a mere commodity. The homeland is a core part of national identity, and as such its significance cannot be reduced to natural resources or military advantage. But while the bibliography on nationalism is a long one, it tells us precious little about how such beliefs actually motivate behavior. How do we come to adopt a territorial identity, and how does it shape the way we undertake political action? New work in political science, including my own research, is beginning to shed light on these questions. In one project, I look at a seemingly mundane but potentially critical piece of the puzzle: the role of maps.

#### "This Land Is Your Land": Maps, Homelands, and Sacrifice

As natural as they may seem to us today, deep homeland allegiances are in fact relatively new to human history. For millennia, humans' affinity for land extended little further than their immediate experience—the terrain on which they hunted and the fields they farmed. Aristotle fretted that citizens would fail to defend the city-state against outside attack unless they personally owned property on the frontier.<sup>2</sup> Political allegiances lay primarily with lords and monarchs, not abstract national homelands. As late as the eighteenth century, Goethe wrote of his fellow German speakers, "We all felt for Frederick [the Great], but what did we care for Prussia?"<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, homeland identity was impossible to imagine without the modern territorial state. Instead of jealously guarding claims to exclusive authority within precisely defined borders, ancient kingdoms accepted fading and overlapping zones of control. The empires of precolonial Africa and Asia shaded gradually from one into another,<sup>4</sup> and in medieval Europe, peasants in a particular village might pay taxes to one lord but submit to the courts of another.<sup>5</sup> The creation of territorial states required both technological and cognitive changes: not only the capacity of rulers to project power right up to the edges of their domains, but also the ability to imagine as a coherent whole an expanse of space far larger than any individual can experience at once, or even over a lifetime.

Advances in military technology and infrastructure took care of the first condition, but the second required a quantum leap in a wholly different field: mapping. You cannot picture in your mind a physical space larger than what you can experience yourself without a visual aid. Before the Renaissance, maps were simply incapable of representing space in this way. But between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, advances in cartography enabled European leaders to begin thinking of political control as being over bounded space rather than people and objects. Colonialism then imposed this conception of territoriality on the rest of the world.

As they transformed how rulers imagined their dominions, maps also changed how the masses related to the state. They played a pivotal role in enabling the rise of nationalism—the transformation of "peasants into Frenchmen," in historian Eugen Weber's words. Only with maps could France, for example, assume a visual identity that could be disseminated across a vast population that still preferred to identify as Breton or Basque or Provençal. The advent of national education gave states a way to ensure that every citizen would grow up immersed in a common vocabulary of national symbols, including the national map.

Political scientist Benedict Anderson famously described nations as "imagined communities," in that they require us to identify with many more people than we could possibly know directly. We rely on maps to carry out this "imagining." Maps hold power not just because we recognize the shape on the map as our own homeland, but because we know every other member of the nation recognizes it as theirs, too. And unlike other universal national symbols, such as flags or mottos, maps convey direct information about national membership: borders literally divide who is in from who is out. Maps therefore tell us whom we have a duty to help in times of need, and knowing that everyone else sees the same map reassures us that they will have our back as well.9 Maps are a constant reminder of what we owe to our compatriots and what they owe to us, turning mere land into "motherlands" worthy of reverence and sacrifice.

#### Using Experiments to Test the Power of Maps

Do maps really inspire people to fight and die for the homeland? To find out, I teamed up with Hein Goemans at the University of Rochester (who originated much of the above theory) Michael Weintraub at the Universidad de los Andes, and Joel Selway at Brigham Young Universitu to run a series of experiments that test whether seeing a map of the homeland makes people express greater willingness to sacrifice on its behalf. We embedded these experiments in surveys that were run in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, and Thailand. In each survey, we asked respondents whether they were willing to risk their lives, pay higher taxes, or endure intense suffering to defend their homeland, and we used these responses to construct a "self-sacrifice scale." Some randomly selected respondents were shown a simple map of their country while they answered these questions. By comparing the responses of people who were shown a map to those who were not, we can measure how the map influenced their answers.

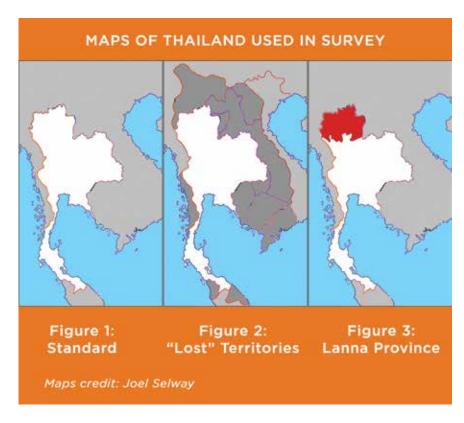
Our main result, as it so often is in academic research, is "it depends." We found that the map raised willingness to sacrifice in Argentina, Bolivia, and Thailand, but not in Chile and Colombia. Context clearly matters: Chile is in the midst of a contentious drafting process for a new constitution, and Colombia is still rebuilding from its decadeslong civil war. In both cases, we might expect the resonance of national symbols, including the homeland map, to be at a low ebb. Even in our positive cases, we found that the influence of maps can be finicky. In Thailand, in addition to the standard national map, we showed two variants: one that marks "lost" territories that Thailand historically controlled but no longer does today, and another that highlights Lanna province in the northeast, where a separatist movement has simmered in recent years, in a different color (see figures, page 14). Both the standard map and the "lost territories" map raised willingness to self-sacrifice, but the Lanna province map did not.

Our results offer both reassurance and caution for our theory. Maps can indeed inspire people to sacrifice for the homeland, but they must be the right maps in the right context. The maps that have this effect are those to which people have already been exposed for years or generations. It doesn't work to show people the "wrong" map or a map they haven't seen before. Symbolic power is not inherent to maps; rather, maps are empty vessels for the meanings that people bring to them.

This process is imperfect—we see in Chile and Colombia that meaning—making can fall short even for the "right" maps. We also do not claim that maps are the only inspiration for sacrifice for the homeland, or necessarily even the most important. We argue that maps are indispensable for that purpose but insufficient on their own, leaving myriad other possible drivers for future research.

"THE HOMELAND
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- ANDI ZHOU



Page 12: Ukrainian National Guardsman Evghenii Shpakov secures a beach landing site before multinational partners participating in Sea Breeze 2016—an amphibious landing demonstration in Odessa, Ukraine July 27. Sea Breeze is an air, land, and maritime exercise designed to improve maritime safety, security and stability in the Black Sea. Credit: Navy photo by Mass Communication Specialist 1st Class Justin Stumberg/Released, public domain, flic.kr/p/Kznwxp

Above: Maps of Thailand used in survey. Credit: Joel Selway

#### Back to Ukraine

While we did not have the opportunity to run our study in Ukraine or Russia, our findings do suggest a few ways in which maps may be playing a role in the ongoing war. First, even though Ukraine essentially chose not to resist Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014 and lost effective control over large parts of its eastern regions to Russian-backed separatists around the same time, Ukraine has never officially recognized these territorial losses. While clinging to claims over territory that one no longer controls may seem like a mere symbolic gesture, our research suggests that symbolic gestures have real consequences—namely, that changing core national symbols too often can dilute their motivating power. If Ukraine had revised its maps after the losses of 2014, it is unclear how effective those maps would have been in rallying the Ukrainian people to fight another invasion just eight years later. You may have seen maps of Ukraine posted on social media or even printed on T-shirts as symbols of defiance and solidarity. The fact that all of these maps include Crimea may be important for preserving the map's power to inspire, even though recovering Crimea is hardly Ukraine's most urgent priority in the war.

Second, it is notable that after annexing Crimea in 2014, Russia has not revised its maps any further to depict additional Ukrainian territory as being part of Russia. 10 One can only speculate as to Vladimir Putin's ultimate aims in this conflict: he has yet to publicly declare an intention to annex all of Ukraine, but he has also

sought to delegitimize Ukraine's territorial sovereignty in his speeches. Regardless, our research suggests that if Putin were to ever formally claim Ukraine to be part of Russia, he would face an uphill battle in mobilizing Russians to sacrifice for Ukrainian territory as their own. The "stickiness" of maps can constrain leaders as much as it empowers them: even with the propaganda machine in overdrive, a new map of Russia may not resonate immediately with the public. Putin, in short, would have to work against the maps that his people already know. Given this, we might speculate that Ukraine enjoys a cartographic advantage over Russia—and while it may not win the war on its own, it may explain some of Ukraine's striking overachievement on the battlefield.

#### Notes

- 1. Monica Duffy Toft, "Territory and War," *Journal of Peace Research* 51, no. 2 (2014): 185–98.
- 2. Aristotle, Politics, 1330a.13-20.
- 3. Hans Joachim Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 5th ed. [rev. and reset] (New York: Knopf; distributed by Random House, 1972), 110.
- 4. Jeffrey Herbst, States and Power in Africa:
  Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control,
  STU-Student edition, 2 (Princeton University Press,
  2000); Sugata Bose, A Hundred Horizons: The Indian
  Ocean in the Age of Global Empire (Cambridge:
  Harvard University Press, 2009).
- 5. Jordan Branch, *The Cartographic State: Maps, Territory and the Origins of Sovereignty*, Cambridge
  Studies in International Relations; 127 (New York:
  Cambridge University Press, 2014).
- 6. Branch.
- 7. Eugen Weber, *Peasants Into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford University Press, 1976).
- 8. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities:*Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,
  Revised edition (London New York: Verso, 2016).
- H. E. Goemans, "Bounded Communities: Territoriality, Territorial Attachment, and Conflict," in Territoriality and Conflict in an Era of Globalization, ed. Miles Kahler and Barbara F. Walter (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 25–61.
- See, for example, the map behind Putin at his December 2021 press conference, https://www. ft.com/content/c60bf50e-27f2-495f-a57cd025416f6ab3.

#### **Feature**

## The Journey to Professorship: In Conversation with Angie Bautista-Chavez BY MICHELLE NICHOLASEN

From first-generation college student to assistant professor at the School of Politics and Global Studies at Arizona State University (ASU), Angie Bautista-Chavez shares her experiences navigating the world of academia and the ways in which the Graduate Student Associates (GSA) program helped prepare her for life as a *profesora*.

## CENTERPIECE: Can you give an overview of your pathway from first-generation student to college professor?

**BAUTISTA-CHAVEZ:** My family is from El Refugio, San Luis Potosí, Mexico. I grew up in rural Texas, right outside of the city of Lockhart. Growing up, I saw my mother navigate many challenges in this country as an immigrant woman, and I also saw her go back to school and get her GED. She later became a manager in food service in the Austin Independent School District.

Lockhart is very important to me for many reasons. It has only one high school, and it's a place where everyone knows each other. Students who grow up in working-class immigrant families, especially in rural areas, are often not connected to college opportunities. And when we are, we face significant financial barriers in higher education. This was the case for me. I had competitive grades but didn't have the money to pay for college. What is so crucial in my own personal story is that I received so much support from my hometown.

I was lucky in that I crossed paths with a new assistant principal at the time, Monica Guillory, who came to Lockhart intent on working with students who were often underestimated or dismissed. It was in Saturday school detention that I met her. She asked me about my plans for college, and I didn't have any concrete plans. Monica Guillory was also helpful because she spoke with my mother, helping us navigate difficult conversations about leaving home and moving to a different city for college. She encouraged me to apply to all scholarships I was eligible for. I fundraised money through bake sales while waiting tables at Garcia's Mexican Restaurant. I vividly remember my little sister and my friend, Roxanne Urrutia, baking cookies for me. This is how I paid for books during my first year of college.

It was through the guidance of teachers in my high school where I learned about Rice University. Rice is a private university and had increased its commitments to supporting low-income families. It was a combination of generous financial aid packages and fundraising in my hometown that made it possible for me to attend.

## CENTERPIECE: What was the focus of your graduate research at Harvard?

**BAUTISTA-CHAVEZ:** I studied immigration enforcement. It was through my early fieldwork in East Boston that I

was inspired to do a project that examined both the domestic and international dimensions of immigrant enforcement. In 2013 and 2014, I had been volunteering with Centro Presente, an immigrant-led organization on immigrant rights. By volunteering with Cesar Boc, who was a Centro Presente community organizer, I helped to document the stories of women and children who had recently arrived in East Boston from various places in Central America. By listening to their stories, I realized that Central Americans had moved through various countries, and experienced compounded levels of harm by various governments—governments who themselves had their own historical and complex relationships. I knew that my dissertation had to move beyond the United States to understand the total effect of US immigration policies.

#### **CENTERPIECE: What drew you to that subject?**

**BAUTISTA-CHAVEZ:** As the daughter of immigrants, I've always been interested and shaped by immigration. The experiences of my family members have always been a lens through which I have understood American politics, public policy, and immigration policy. While I didn't have the words to express this in my youth, I did know that immigration and immigration policy were more nuanced and layered than how the issue was framed and discussed in public debates.

In terms of research, when I was at Rice University as an undergraduate student, it was a transformative part of my undergraduate experience to work with professors and graduate students who treated undergraduates as capable researchers and recruited them to work as research assistants.

I was introduced to the world of research early in my undergraduate studies, largely in part because then-graduate student, and now a professor, Dr. Ngoc Phan, recruited me to work as a research assistant. As part of the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship, I was then trained and mentored by Professor Melissa Marschall. She introduced me to the world of research in political science that focused on immigration and contexts of reception. Through her training, I came to understand schools as sites of incorporation for immigrant families. And this resonated with many of my own lived experiences. So, I've always known that immigration policy shaped—and was shaped by—many other policy areas, but early on I didn't have the words to express the multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary connections I was making.



Angie Bautista-Chavez is an assistant professor in the School of Politics and Global Studies at Arizona State University. Research interests: Domestic and international politics of immigration regulation and control.



Participants at the Western Political Science Association (WPSA) annual conference, Portland, Oregon, March 10–12, 2022. Angie Bautista-Chavez is seated center. Courtesy of Angie Bautista-Chavez

## CENTERPIECE: What role did the GSA program play in your development as a scholar?

**BAUTISTA-CHAVEZ:** The GSA program is very special to me. When I applied, I felt like I had not yet found a community in political science. I began my coursework in American politics, but I knew that I wanted to understand the international and transnational dimensions of immigration policy. The GSA program provided the intellectual and social community I needed, because the other graduate student research fellows were also developing transnational or international projects. Not only did I learn from the research of others in the program, but I also learned from Erez Manela about how to facilitate community among various fields. Folks came in with different approaches, different theoretical and methodological toolboxes, and spoke with different jargon. In this program, I learned how to listen and how to engage with colleagues in meaningful ways, not only to provide feedback, but also to integrate what I was learning weekly into my own work.

In my syllabi today, I draw on the work of historians, political geographers, and anthropologists. This was inspired by conversations, presentations, and events hosted by the Weatherhead Center. In fact, a fellow GSA was the first to really challenge me on how I thought about and studied borders. This was my first introduction to examining borders through Indigenous perspectives. Another key event for me was attending a research talk by political geographer Alison Mountz, through the Weatherhead Center's Canada Program. In my classes today, I incorporate research by Indigenous scholars and political geographers and will continue to do so.

## CENTERPIECE: Can you remember a particular challenge you faced?

**BAUTISTA-CHAVEZ:** One challenge I faced early in the dissertation process regarded methodology. I knew the

tools of regression analysis didn't seem appropriate for the kinds of questions I was asking. For example, under what conditions does Mexico collaborate with the United States on immigration enforcement? The GSA community provided me a place to learn how other graduate students were developing rigorous qualitative or archive-based work. The projects of fellow GSAs included ethnographies and interviews, and they were drawing on materials from various types of archives. They provided inspiration for my own work, and I used my GSA funding to visit archives in both Washington, DC and Mexico City. I also then conducted interviews with both countries as well.

## CENTERPIECE: How did the GSA program prepare you for the job market?

**BAUTISTA-CHAVEZ:** The GSA program helped prepare me in various ways. Even before I applied for jobs, I saw how other GSAs prepared for the job market. Graduate students shared offices, and I saw two of my office mates go through the job market process. I saw how emotional and uncertain the process was. And I also realized how crucial it was to have a team of support, which included advisors but also peers. As part of the GSA workshops, I also got to see practice job talks, and I had the opportunity to present my own talk. It's a scary and uncertain process, but I felt like I wasn't alone. And I felt like I was part of a group that wanted each other to do well and be well.

## CENTERPIECE: What advice do you have for aspiring graduate students?

**BAUTISTA-CHAVEZ:** It is so important to have a team of mentors, advisors, advocates, sponsors, and champions. High-quality mentorship is essential for the ability of graduate students to complete dissertations, apply for jobs, get interviews, get postdocs, get tenure-track jobs, and to eventually get tenure. Nonexistent or poorquality mentorship in academia has detrimental, long-term ramifications. And academia is riddled with informal rules and informal networks. So, while mentorship in academia is highly unstructured and often very informal, it is also a necessary and consequential resource.

#### **CENTERPIECE:** Is this hard to achieve at Harvard?

**BAUTISTA-CHAVEZ:** I knocked on so many doors and walked across campus so many times, looking for supportive faculty and supportive environments. I took courses in sociology, education, and law school. The Weatherhead Center and the GSA program was one of the many doors I knocked on. It can feel defeating to approach a faculty member and realize that that person is not available or perhaps that it's not a good match. Not everyone can be the supportive mentor that you need. But I do think there are people who

do really want to see you succeed and who will find interest in your work. Some of my committee members ended up not even being from Harvard. Dr. Anne Sartori from MIT was teaching classes in the Department of Government at Harvard during one semester, and that's how I met her. She became one of my advisors and a champion of mine. So, for folks at Harvard, I also encourage extending your mentorship search beyond Cambridge.

Harvard is a tough place. There has been recent attention to just how unequal and unfair Harvard can be, and the power relations and networks that sustain these inequalities. During my time at Harvard, I saw doctoral students of color quietly get pushed out, asked to leave with a master's degree. I once received a very discouraging email from a professor with a powerful reputation in political science saying that my coursework was "disappointing." I remember crying alone in the snow, feeling like I should drop out. I didn't, and that was mostly because I thought about my immigrant mother's own journey of navigating difficult places in this country. I was learning the hard way that some folks aren't going to invest in your success and well-being, but others will. And that's important. Some folks really do want to see you be well and do well.

#### **CENTERPIECE:** Are you happy at ASU?

**BAUTISTA-CHAVEZ:** I have felt welcomed and in-community at ASU. ASU serves a large first-generation college student population, and that is very important to me, being a first-gen myself. In the past year, I've taught three new courses, and each time I want students to come out of my courses feeling confident and capable of developing their own original ideas and projects.

#### CENTERPIECE: What classes are you teaching at ASU?

**BAUTISTA-CHAVEZ:** Last semester I taught two new courses: an undergraduate immigration politics course and a second class that merged my interests in public policy and bureaucracy.

I'm currently also teaching an immigration class at the graduate level, and this class is actually very much informed by my time at the Weatherhead Center. The class is called "The Politics of International Migration and Expanding Borders." The course moves across levels of analysis—international, national, subnational, transnational—and engages various theoretical frameworks across political science and other disciplines. It was inspired by my time at the Weatherhead Center because it was through this graduate fellowship that I came to be in a community with researchers from across disciplines who were doing research across the world. Through attending GSA meetings and events at the Weatherhead Center I expanded my own thinking and research regarding migration and borders.

## **CENTERPIECE:** How do you integrate research into your teaching?

**BAUTISTA-CHAVEZ:** Research is something I integrate into my classes, even at the undergrad level. It's important to me that all my students create their own project. I consider undergraduate research opportunities as one way of contributing to social justice. This is partly because students gain tangible research skills, like developing a research design or collecting and analyzing data. Most importantly, for me, is that as they go through the research process, students also develop an identity as a knowledge producer and as a rising expert. This is particularly important for students of color, first-generation college students, and students from low-income families. We are still too often not seen or heard or treated as experts. Communities of color and low-income families are often the subjects of research, but we deserve and must also be experts and we must also lead research endeavors. That's whu I've prioritized integrating research training into all aspects of mu research, teaching, and mentorship.

One additional way I've done this work at ASU is by working with undergraduate student researchers as part of the Junior Fellows Program at the School of Politics and Global Studies. Through this program, students work with faculty members on research projects at ASU and receive course credit. I have trained and mentored two research teams this spring semester. One team has conducted literature reviews on US immigration bureaucracy and is currently analyzing Department of Homeland Security budgets over time. The second team is conducting case studies and building a database of Latinx organizations in the state of Arizona. We've also done resume editing and I have helped each student develop a strategic academic and career plan for the next year.

#### **CENTERPIECE:** Do you have any final reflections?

**BAUTISTA-CHAVEZ:** During my final year at Harvard, I noticed that the GSA Friday workshops were one of the few workshop spaces, in my experience, where the majority of participants were graduate students who were women of color. It was in this space that I saw these women of color take up a lot of space, showcase their expertise, challenge existing research approaches, present ambitious and rigorous research projects that spanned boundaries. It was also the first time I heard "thank you for your work, I learned a lot" in a workshop space.

As a first-year tenure-track assistant professor, I have developed community among other faculty women of color through ASU's Faculty Women of Color Caucus. So in my own way, I'm continuing to create these spaces.

"IN THIS PROGRAM,
I LEARNED HOW TO
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TO ENGAGE WITH
COLLEAGUES IN
MEANINGFUL WAYS,
NOT ONLY TO PROVIDE
FEEDBACK, BUT ALSO TO
INTEGRATE WHAT I WAS
LEARNING WEEKLY INTO
MY OWN WORK."

- Angie Bautista-Chavez

#### STUDENT PROGRAMS

#### **NEW UNDERGRADUATE ASSOCIATES**

The following students have been appointed Undergraduate Student Associates for the 2022–2023 academic year and have received funding to support research and travel in connection with their senior thesis projects on international affairs. These students are being supported with funding from the Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Special Project Fund, the Hartley Rogers Family Fund, and the Canada Program.

**Tzofiya Bookstein** (Social Studies) will conduct research on the peace-building field of Israeli and Palestinian civil society, with a focus on national identity.

**Bridget Chemberlin** (Social Studies; Film & Visual Studies) will conduct research on language and environment as determinants of Mohawk nationalism, in opposition to settler nationalism in the US and Canada.

**Aysha Emmerson** (Special Concentration in Resilience Studies; Social Anthropology) will study predominantly white-settler protesters' motivations for involvement in the ongoing Fairy Creek Blockade on Vancouver Island.

**Sophie Feldman** (Social Studies; Language, Mind & Brain) will evaluate how female Norwegian Far-Righters discuss their own femininity, particularly in regards to immigration.

**Andre Ferreira** (Government; History) will study the mental, emotional, and physical impacts of migration on individuals traveling from Mexico and Central America to the United States.

**Olivia Fu** (Computer Science; Government; Economics) will conduct research on joint venture models behind new smart city developments and their impact on public goods in Singapore and South Korea.

**Esther Kim** (Government; East Asian Studies) will investigate why the US, South Korea, and China have been thus far unable to coordinate foreign policies with respect to North Korea's human rights violations.

**Chloe Koulefianou** (Social Studies; African and African American Studies) will conduct ethnographical and archival research primarily in Lomé, Togo, to explore concepts of neocolonialism and migration through the lens of political trauma.

**Abigail LaBreck** (Government; European History, Politics & Societies) will conduct research on the effect of compulsory religious education in public school curricula in Alsace-Moselle on shaping the political ideology of young adults in the region.

**Anissa Medina** (History & Literature; Comparative Study of Religion) will conduct research in Spain, Mexico, and the US on the transnational memory, commemoration, and history of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt.

**Arthur Gabriel Moura Vieira** (Government; Economics) will conduct research in Brazil on how spatial inequality in Latin American cities affect people's civic, social, and political engagement.

**Fiker Negash** (Government) will conduct research in Ethiopia on gender (in) equality and how particular effects on women, such as fertility rate and percentage of women in the labor force, are related to war and other forms of violence.

**Victor Rangel** (Government; Global Health & Health Policy) will conduct research in Mexico and Argentina on why clinics adjacent to pharmacies have become more widespread in Latin America over the last thirty years.

**Ariel Silverman** (Social Studies; Environmental Science & Public Policy) will analyze how the recent democratic deepening of Chile's political culture is contributing to improved environmental justice outcomes in copper- and lithiummining communities.

**Alexander Tam** (History) will explore Americanbased activism among Asians and Asian Americans against imperialism in India, China, and the Philippines.

**Malaika Tapper** (History & Literature) will conduct research in Greece on urban planning, oil infrastructure, and the Cold War in Riyadh.

**Jonathan Zhang** (Social Studies; Computer Science) will conduct research on the impacts of the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative on geopolitical and socioeconomic development in Saudi Arabia.

#### 2021-2022 GRADUATE STUDENT ASSOCIATES

The Graduate Student Associates (GSA) program is one of the Center's oldest and most valued programs. Directed by Erez Manela, professor of history and Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate, the program welcomes applicants from any of Harvard's graduate and professional schools. Thank you to this year's GSAs for all your hard work and dedication!



#### MEET THE NEW EXECUTIVE OFFICER, KAORI URAYAMA



CENTERPIECE: Welcome to the Weatherhead Center! Tell us about your new role as the executive officer of The Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies.

Kaori Urayama: The Harvard Academy advances knowledge of the culture, history, and institutions of major world regions and countries through interdisciplinary social science research. Our scholars work on a variety of world regions and are trained in different disciplines, including anthropology, economics, history, political science, and sociology. Our postdoctoral fellowship is one of the most prestigious and competitive in the world and draws several hundred applications every year. I review and screen the applications and steward the entire selection process in coordination with the Academu's Senior Scholars and our program coordinator, Kathleen Hoover. Throughout the year, I also work closely with our postdoctoral fellows on their author's conferences, practice job talks, and other academic supports. I have a doctorate degree in political science, so that helps me in advising our scholars on self-directed writing, field work, job searches, and other professional development.

#### CENTERPIECE: What did you do prior to working at the WCFIA?

**Kaori Urayama:** Prior to my current position, I worked as the senior program manager at the Harvard Kennedy School's Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation. I managed the Ash Center's academic programming and administrative planning for a large annual cohort of visiting scholars, postdocs, and practitioners (around 120).

Before my time at Harvard, I completed my PhD in political science at Boston University, and worked as an independently contracted foreign policy analyst for the Office of Director of National Intelligence. I also gave birth to two boys!

CENTERPIECE: What are some of your other interests, outside of your role as executive officer?

**Kaori Urayama:** In the last few years, I've been actively involved in equity, diversity, inclusion, and belonging (EDIB) efforts at Harvard and in my children's school district. At the Ash Center, I founded a staff identity group to offer advice to the center leadership on EDIB, which led to the establishment of their diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) steering committee.

At the WCFIA, I have been working with staff and student colleagues to set up the EDIB standing committee, which we hope will better promote discussions among students, staff, visiting scholars, and faculty. The WCFIA is a wonderful community of the brightest, most hardworking individuals, and I hope we can work together to place more organizational intentionality around EDIB. Collaborating with students and staff on EDIB efforts makes me hopeful that we can make the WCFIA an even more extraordinary place.

CENTERPIECE: Tell us something that people may not know about you.

**Kaori Urayama:** I have this secret career plan to become a landscape consultant one day, specializing in garden designs for lazy gardeners who don't necessarily have green thumbs or the time for meticulous upkeeping (like myself). I occasionally volunteer my time to design easy-maintenance perennial gardens for my neighbors who may be having a hard time or have special needs. Last September, I enjoyed collaborating to organize the WCFIA's first-ever plant exchange among affiliates, and I hope that will be an annual tradition!

Left: Kaori Urayama, Executive Officer, The Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies. Courtesy of Kaori Urayama

Below: Nancy Qian of Northwestern University, and former Academy Scholar AY2007–2009, gives a talk titled "The Rise & Fall of Local Elections in China: Some Lessons about the Role of Elections in a Non-Democracy" at an Academy seminar held on April 11, 2022. Credit: Kaori Urayama

Page 18: 2021–2022 Graduate Student Associates have their final Friday lunch of the academic year on May 7, 2022 in person and via Zoom. Credit: Michelle Nicholasen





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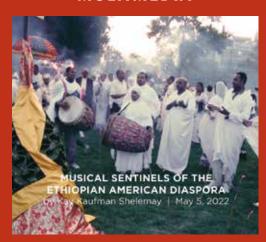
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