



Weatherhead Center
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

CENTERPIECE

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HARVARD UNIVERSITY



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Prayer Dhur, the holiest
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Credit: Jonathan Zhang

This page: Acting Center
Director Erez Manela.

Credit: Lauren McLaughlin

Message from the Director



This spring has been an exciting semester, full of “we are back!” activities. The new Weatherhead Research Clusters are crackling with energy, and we also held our first in-person Jodidi and Manshel endowed lectures since before the pandemic. Our International Book Blitz returned in person, highlighting books published recently by Weatherhead Center Faculty Associates. Last but not least, congratulations to all our graduating students! Quite an accomplishment, especially after more than two years of pandemic restrictions on their studies.

Our Jodidi Lecture speaker this spring was Dr. Larry Brilliant, an American physician, epidemiologist, technologist, and philanthropist. Dr. Brilliant spoke movingly about figures who inspired and taught him to fight

for change in his long career in global health, from the Smallpox Eradication Program in the 1970s to curing blindness through the Seva Foundation, which he cofounded. In the fascinating conversation that followed, he shared his views on the response to the COVID-19 pandemic, the strengths and weaknesses of the WHO, the “lab leak” theory, and the connection between science and faith. I invite you to read our feature, “Insight from Larry Brilliant,” to glean words of wisdom he shared with us during his lecture. You can also watch the [full session](#) on our new [YouTube channel](#).

The [2023 International Book Blitz](#) took place on April 3 at the Fisher Family Commons, where eight Weatherhead Center faculty authors presented their recently published books in a café-style setting. Each author gave a seven-minute “speed talk” about their book, launching us into compelling issues from around the world—including nuclear disasters, climate transitions, and refugee education, to name a few themes.

The [Weatherhead Forum](#) continues in fully remote format, which allows us to speak to audiences from around the world on urgent topics in world affairs. On April 12, we convened a forum on [“The War in Ukraine: How Does It End?”](#) where four experts attempted to peer into the future of this prolonged conflict.

We closed the semester with a terrific [Manshel Lecture by Gina McCarthy](#), the first-ever White House national climate advisor and former US EPA administrator. McCarthy offered an optimistic assessment of the transition to clean energy underway in the US, saying recent federal action has put climate progress “on solid ground” in states led by Republicans as well as Democrats. “It is a moment of hope and certainty,” McCarthy said. “But it still requires that we fight like hell every single day to say, ‘This is good, but what’s next? This is good, but we need to do more. This is good, but our future is still at stake.’” She called for further youth activism to keep the pressure on society to move toward clean energy sources.

We also continued this spring with our efforts to promote equity, diversity, inclusion, and belonging at the Center. The FAS Division of Social Sciences conducted an anonymous survey of our community members and shared the results with us. Respondents gave the Weatherhead community good grades (75 percent or higher) for the following topic areas: Inclusion and Belonging, Interpersonal Justice, Diversity, and Communication & Civil Discourse. We still have room for improvement in the areas of Incivility and Accountability for Wrongdoing. I hope you will join me in making the Center a great place for everyone to work.

Finally, I am pleased to report that on July 1, I will pass the director’s baton back to Melani Cammett as she returns from research leave. It was a real privilege to serve as the Center’s acting director this year and work even more closely than usual with our amazing staff. So thank you, Melani, for this opportunity. I will, of course, continue to serve as the Center’s director of Graduate Student Programs and look forward to being part of this wonderful community for years to come.

Erez Manela
Acting Center Director

New Hicham Alaoui Fellowship Fund

The Weatherhead Center for International Affairs is pleased to announce the Hicham Alaoui Fellowship Fund, made possible by a generous gift from Advisory Committee member Prince Moulay **Hicham Ben Abdallah Alaoui** of Morocco. The fund will support postdoctoral research on the Middle East/North Africa region, with a particular focus on climate change, for three one-year terms. Postdoctoral fellows will be selected through the Weatherhead Scholars Program application process, with a yearly deadline of November 1 of the preceding academic year.

Melani Cammett Appointed Honorary Professor to the Mitchell Institute

Center Director **Melani Cammett**, Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs at Harvard University, was appointed Honorary Professor to the Senator George J. Mitchell Institute for Global Peace, Security and Justice. The institute, housed at Queen's University Belfast, awards this title to recognize and reward the contribution of individuals to teaching, research, and input through professional standing.

Gbemisola Abiola Selected a Harvard Horizon Scholar

Graduate Student Associate **Gbemisola Abiola** is one of nine graduate students selected as a 2023 Harvard Horizons Scholar. As part of Harvard's PhD community, each scholar receives in-depth mentoring on how to present their work effectively, which prepares them for a campus-wide symposium in Sanders Theatre every spring.

Marino Auffant Wins John McCain Dissertation Award

Former Graduate Student Associate **Marino Auffant**, now a postdoc at Johns Hopkins University, won the 2023 John McCain Dissertation Award. The prize is awarded annually to up to two outstanding doctoral

dissertations dealing with an aspect of transatlantic relations. Auffant was selected for his outstanding dissertation in the Department of History at Harvard University on the transformation of the world order during the 1970s due to the First Oil Shock.

Victor Seow Wins John Whitney Hall Book Prize

Faculty Associate **Victor Seow**, assistant professor in the Department of the History of Science at Harvard University, received the 2023 John Whitney Hall Book Prize for his recent book, *Carbon Technocracy: Energy Regimes in Modern East Asia* (University of Chicago Press). Each year the prize is awarded at the Association for Asian Studies annual conference for an outstanding English-language book published on Japan during the previous year.

Daniel Ziblatt Wins APSA Honorable Mention Award

Faculty Associate **Daniel Ziblatt**, Eaton Professor of the Science of Government at Harvard University, received a Best Article Honorable Mention Award from the *American Journal of Political Science*. Ziblatt won the award with coresearcher Aditya Dasgupta, assistant professor of political science at the University of California, Merced, for their 2022 article, "Capital Meets Democracy: The Impact of Franchise Extension on Sovereign Bond Markets."

Jayita Sarkar Wins Honorable Mention for ISS Book Award

Former Visiting Scholar **Jayita Sarkar**, a senior lecturer in economic and social history at the University of Glasgow, received an honorable mention from the Global Development Section at the International Studies Association for her recent book, *Ploughshares and Swords: India's Nuclear Program in the Global Cold War* (Cornell University Press). The awards are given to books with a scholarly concern with development and global justice working across a number of fields.

Diane Davis Named Fellow at CIFAR

Faculty Associate **Diane E. Davis**, Charles Dyer Norton Professor of Regional Planning and Urbanism at the Harvard Graduate School of Design, has been named a Fellow at the Canadian Institute for Advanced Research (CIFAR). She will codirect a research program titled "Humanity's Urban Future," which will consider how we can successfully plan for an urban future—a pressing question given how closely tied future humans are to living in cities.

Gabriela Soto Laveaga Receives Best Article Prize from LASA

Faculty Associate **Gabriela Soto Laveaga**, Antonio Madero Professor for the Study of Mexico at Harvard University, won the Best Article in Social Sciences from the Mexico Section Awards 2023 from the Latin American Studies Association (LASA). Laveaga won the award for her article, "Beyond Borlaug's Shadow: Octavio Paz, Indian Farmers, and the Challenge of Narrating the Green Revolution," published in *Agricultural History* in the fall of 2021.

Five Faculty Associates Elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences

Seventeen Harvard professors were elected to become members of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2023, and five of them are Weatherhead Center Faculty Associates: **Amitabh Chandra** (HKS, HBS); **William C. Clark** (HKS); **Michèle Lamont** (Sociology, African American Studies); **Jacob Olupona** (HDS, African American Studies); and **Daniel Ziblatt** (Government).

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Acting Center Director Erez Manela (left) in conversation with Larry Brilliant (right) for the Samuel L. and Elizabeth Jodidi Lecture held on March 29, 2023 at Harvard's Memorial Church.

Credit (all photos this feature):
Martha Stewart



On Wednesday, March 29, 2023, Dr. Larry Brilliant delivered the [Samuel L. and Elizabeth Jodidi Lecture](#) at Harvard's Memorial Church. Titled "Helping Bend the Arc at the Hinges of History: A Conversation with Larry Brilliant," the event included opening remarks from Brilliant—a noted epidemiologist, technologist, philanthropist, and author—and a conversation with Weatherhead Center Acting Director Erez Manela, before opening it up to questions from the audience. Excerpted below are some of the words of wisdom Brilliant shared with the audience, lightly edited for clarity and length.

On future pandemic preparedness and public trust:

Are we prepared? I don't think we're prepared at all. I think that the first thing you have to prepare for, the most important thing to be able to deal with a pandemic or any epidemic, is you have to have public trust. Without public trust, there's no public will. Without public will, there's no political will. And I don't think anybody in this room would say that any of the institutions in America are having too much public trust.

So that puts us at a disadvantage right away. So many good epidemiologists, so many great virologists, so much wonderful success in making a vaccine—the mRNA vaccines are a miracle. The fact that it was done in one year—I mean, the previous winner in the clubhouse was four years. And that was for the mumps vaccine.

We had a smallpox vaccine for 170 years before we eradicated smallpox. We had a polio vaccine for seventy years before we even embarked on a global polio eradication program. Being able to make a vaccine that quickly is amazing.

And yet, we have some people in Congress who are absolutely certain that it doesn't work or that it's got a little chip that Bill Gates put in it in order to control them. That's not something public health can fix. That's above our pay grade. But we need to figure out a way to make that work. Otherwise, nothing's going to work.

On World Health Organization (WHO) struggles:

WHO is the UN agency charged with responsibility for dealing with the health consequences of climate change. And that convergence of health and climate change is vitally important for all of our lives for the next decade. The WHO budget for each country for climate change and health is \$25,000. That's for the country.

I don't think we can grasp how underfunded WHO is. I'm not saying that it's *not* wasteful. I'm not saying that it doesn't have corruption. I'm just saying, with the amount of money that it has, the corruption is so little money.

You do have a lot of other issues with WHO. Histori-

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cally, vertical campaigns—like smallpox eradication, polio eradication, Guinea worm—are not popular in WHO, because they're trying to build up public health systems all over the world. So they've overinvested in "barefoot doctors." And there's a great place for them. But they really are deliverers of medical care and medical services in the villages. I wouldn't necessarily call them public health workers. We don't have a good public health system for the world.

And WHO has squandered some of the respect that it should have had over the years by making bad choices. In totality, it's done a very good job. But people look at the mistakes, and they magnify them.

In the case of COVID, WHO did not declare COVID as a pandemic until March 20. Almost all of us who work in the field knew that it was a pandemic in January. We had a meeting of a group called Ending Pandemics on January 15. We had people from WHO, CDC, the Gates Foundation, and Rockefeller Foundation—all the groups working together.

We knew then that this was a pandemic. We started writing about it as a pandemic. It took two more months before WHO called it a pandemic. They did call it a PHEIC. That's a Public Health Emergency of International Consequence—a PHEIC. Did I mention that we're not very good at marketing?

But by calling it that, it didn't have the salience of calling it a pandemic. And so we lost two months. And during that period of time, we had people in China and in the United States make terrible decisions based on nationalism.

On balancing faith and science:

I'm doing this series for *Time* magazine on science and faith, to try to give me an excuse to interview people who are struggling with putting those two things into their own self. I don't see how you can be a scientist and look at the wonder of the world and not have faith.

It's interesting that one of [Swiss-French epidemiologist] Nicole Grasset's inspirations, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, wrote all the time about science and faith. He was a scientist who's a paleontologist. And [the theologian] Paul Tillich said that it was in the understanding of evolution that he came to see the face of God.

Albert Einstein—who was able to do what we call a *Gedankenexperiment* in his mind to work out the entire formula for $E=mc^2$ and its mathematical proof—said that looking at the way the world is put together, how can you not believe that it didn't happen by accident? And he famously said, I do not believe that God plays dice with the universe.

You know, sitting in a church, you can go back to Galileo. All the scientists were people of faith. The original clerical robes that we now look at as academic robes—if you go to a graduation ceremony, those are all clerical robes with just a little bit more pizzazz on them.

I don't know people of deep faith who have honestly looked at the world who do not believe in science. Earlier I mentioned the Aga Khan, who is a great scientist and

a great person of faith. The Dalai Lama constantly talks about how important science is.

And maybe some religions are more amenable to that than others. But I think it's more in recent times that we find an evangelical right wing that doesn't believe in science or doesn't—I shouldn't say they don't believe in science, but don't prioritize science. Science is only the way that God works mysteriously to make things happen.

I don't find a contradiction. But I know I'm in the minority on that. The people who have faith who can work harder and longer because of that—and work on science—inspires me.

I don't think you have to have faith to be a good scientist. I don't think you have to be a scientist to have good faith. But it's something that, for me, seems like maybe the most important question that we can ask in this material age is how we can find a way to navigate our way through a difficult and mysterious world. So I'll be trying to do that. That's sort of my next act.

On love, compassion, and being a better ancestor:

So Maharaj-ji would tell us to love, serve, remember. There's a foundation named Love, Serve, Remember of the folks around Ram Dass and Maharaj-ji. And love came first—even before service.

Bill Foege [physician, epidemiologist, and former CDC director] has a program, and he has written a lot about the goal in life is to become a better ancestor, to leave the world better than you found it. He has a teaching series which has nine lessons on how to be a better ancestor. And each of these lessons takes something that we learned from smallpox and makes a lesson about it that you can use in whatever your project is. The first lesson is *this is a cause and effect world*. The second lesson is *truth matters*. The third lesson is about *transparency of what you've learned*. And there's a series of lessons like this.

Top to bottom: Attendees of the lecture included students and members of the community.

Larry Brilliant delivers opening remarks at the church podium.

Events Manager Sarah Banse, Larry Brilliant, and Erez Manela get ready in the green room.



"I THINK THERE ARE SO MANY THINGS TO CELEBRATE BEING ALIVE TODAY, BUT IT WOULD BE DISINGENUOUS NOT TO SAY THAT WE'VE BEEN SHITTY ANCESTORS. AND WE OWE YOU A LOT MORE THAN WE'VE GIVEN YOU. BUT IT'S YOUR CHANCE NOW."

— LARRY BRILLIANT

Attendees sit in the church pews, listening to Larry Brilliant deliver remarks.



And love and compassion are at the heart of it all. Building trust is the most important thing. Being truthful is a necessary condition for success—and I think for life, actually. For those of you who have read anything that Ram Dass has written about his guru, that's Neem Karoli Baba. And we were lucky enough to sit at his feet and to learn from him.

People like that exist today. It's not all over. It's not that all these wonderful, lucky people got to go to India and meet these saints and there are no more, over, end of story. There's lots of saints living amongst us that we don't know—and in every religion. You don't have to be exotic.

I don't know how we could have gone on without that kind of fuel, the love that he gave us. When we sat in front of Maharaj-ji it wasn't just that we felt like he loved everybody in the world. That was his job. He was a saint. If a saint doesn't love everybody in the world, fire him.

What was so difficult for us to understand is that, when we sat in front of him, we loved everybody in the world. I mean think about that. Have you ever had the feeling that you love everybody in the world—other than when you were stoned? I mean, it doesn't come naturally. Sitting around him, that's the way we felt. I still feel that way when I think about him. I wish it were more often.

So, yeah, I mean, if I could encourage people to do things, it would be to find people that you love to work with, to find people who inspire you, to be part of what they're doing, and to be around people who love as much as you want to love, which I hope is a lot. Thank you for that.

On advice for youth:

So for the gray hairs here—those of us who got to live through the 1960s got the best deal of the hand. We lived at a time when it seemed like possibilities were endless. We were raised with the idea that every generation would be richer and happier than the previous generation. That was the social contract.

I think your generation hasn't had that yet. When we talked to the president [of Harvard]—another Larry—he said that he thought the students at Harvard felt shortchanged; that they were even angry about what my generation had bequeathed to them. And how could you not be angry?

I mean, we've not left the world better than we found it. The world is worse than we found it in so many ways. I can list 100 ways in which it's better. Believe it or not, there are fewer people in uniform fighting wars. There are fewer wars. There are fewer deaths from war.

Life expectancy has doubled in the last 100 years. One hundred years ago, life expectancy was forty. Now it's over eighty. But the United States has dropped two years in the last year because of opioids and COVID.

But still, there's a lot of great things that have happened. I find it exhilarating that we see phenomenal telescopes that we put into space. And we look back at the very origin of the whole thing. And we watch that space is expanding. And we infer from that that time is continuing.

I mean, wow. I find it breathtaking that the scientists at CERN have discovered what they call the Higgs boson particle, which is called the "God particle." And it's called the God particle because it begins life as a wave with no weight, no mass.

And as it goes through the universe and through time, it somehow picks up cosmic dust. And it arrives at that cyclotron with weight and mass going from nothing to something. It must be God's will. That's why they call it the God particle. I'm so curious about that.

I see so many advances in science. The vaccine is the most palpable example. But for those of you who have friends who have cancer, looking at CAR T gen, a brand new cure for cancer, there's so many cancers that can be cured now. Look at CRISPR, the ability to take microscopic particles of the human genome and mess with it, and clip it out, and move it into different places.

I even have a lot of fun with ChatGPT-4. I asked ChatGPT-4 what I should tell you today. But it lied. I also asked it to tell me about Wavy Gravy's children. And it announced that he had four. And it gave them fabulous names that are nonexistent. But I love talking to ChatGPT-4.

I think there are so many things to celebrate being alive today, but it would be disingenuous not to say that we've been shitty ancestors. And we owe you a lot more than we've given you. But it's your chance now.

The Future of Climate Action: A Conversation with Gina McCarthy

EDITED BY LAUREN MCLAUGHLIN



Gina McCarthy delivers the Warren and Anita Manshel Lecture in American Foreign Policy at Harvard's Smith Campus Center on April 19, 2023.

*Credit (all photos this feature):
Bethany Versoy*

On Wednesday, April 19, 2023, Gina McCarthy delivered the [Warren and Anita Manshel Lecture in American Foreign Policy](#) at the Smith Campus Center at Harvard University titled ["The Future of Climate Action: A Conversation with Gina McCarthy."](#) McCarthy, the first-ever White House national climate advisor and former US EPA administrator, spoke with Jim Stock, the vice provost for climate and sustainability at Harvard University, before opening it up to questions from the audience. Excerpted below are Gina McCarthy's opening remarks, lightly edited for clarity and length.

Melani, thanks for inviting me to speak today. And Jim, thank you for all the work that you've been doing. It's terrific to be back at Harvard. Just the energy in these buildings is enough to give everybody hope that there's an opportunity for the future. And Harvard never fails to deliver those young, bright minds that actually can make things happen. So I'm excited to be here.

Let me begin just by assuring you of something that everybody asks me at the end of my speech. So I'll hit this issue at the beginning. All of the work that I'm going to be talking about, all the work that we got done in the first couple of years of the Biden administration—the executive actions, the investments, and the Bipartisan Infrastructure Law, the Inflation Reduction Act, the CHIPS and Science Act and all those, they're on very solid ground in both blue and red states.

It is remarkable the changes that we're seeing on the ground, both in terms of people's hopefulness for the future, the investments, the changes that are happening in communities, and that we anticipate to happen.

I would argue that the clean energy transition is soon going to be on steroids. Now, that mostly means that all of our roads and things are going to be dug up. So you're going to have to be patient about never being able to get anywhere. Buildings are going to be built. Good things are going to happen. So be patient. It's exciting.

This is a time for us, I think, to be confident that the

United States is where it should have been a long time ago. But we are where we have to be right now. And I am so excited about the progress that's made and the opportunities that we have moving forward.

And as Melani made clear, and many of you know, I've been in government for decades...and decades...and decades. In fact, I've worked for six governors, five of whom were Republicans. I wrote Governor Romney's climate plan when he was governor in Massachusetts way back when. And I was instrumental in getting the Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative implemented when I worked for Governor Rell in Connecticut—both Republicans. Really good stuff happened.

And I have also worked for two presidents. And guess what? Neither of them were Republican. But they have both remained incredibly vocal, and visible, and strong in their commitment to address climate change.

And so I'm really proud of that work—that we got Republicans and Democrats together. Yes, it may be New England, but I don't care. They were red. They were blue. We can be purple together. That's the way it works.

In fact, I joined President Biden's team as the country's first national climate advisor because of the commitment of President Biden, and because of one really interesting thing: he knew something about climate change that we don't talk about—and, in fact, I never fully appreciated he knew—that climate change was not going to drag down

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Watch the [full lecture](#) on the Weatherhead Center YouTube channel

"AND WE IMPLEMENTED AND DESIGNED POLICIES AND INVESTMENT STRATEGIES THAT COULD TAKE A BITE OUT OF CLIMATE CHANGE, WHILE PROVIDING FUNDAMENTAL BENEFITS TO FAMILIES AND COMMUNITIES. THAT'S THE SECRET SAUCE. THAT IS HOW YOU MAKE CHANGE HAPPEN."

— GINA MCCARTHY

Center Director Melani Cammett, David Manshel, and Alexander Manshel chat before the lecture begins.



his administration, nor was it going to delay his efforts to restart the post-COVID economic recovery. In fact, he argued just the opposite.

He knew that climate change could be the driver of our country's recovery. That's how he viewed it. For once, US climate advocates weren't hiding in the closet, waiting to sneak out. We came there front and center because this president understood that if we just break out of that mold—that climate is a disaster—and look at it as the biggest opportunity of our life right now, that we could grab it and make change happen.

Now, I'm not saying that we should stop reminding people that climate change is the biggest existential challenge of our time. It is. And we should keep reminding them of that.

I've been very focused, as many of you know, on talking about the health benefits that come with clean energy, so that people can get excited about the changes that we really need. But climate action is really more than that. And President Biden got it.

Climate action is about building the economy of the future, where [green energy] no longer has to cower in the face of fossil fuels. Instead, they win the battle for the hearts, and minds, and pocketbooks of the American public. That's what we can do with climate action today. And it's a future that will push all of those skeptics aside and put the US in a leadership position on climate change.

So after twenty years of local and state efforts that I have participated in to try new ideas, new policies, think about strategies, Joe Biden knew that the solutions that we needed—to make progress on climate fast—were already there for us to grab, finally. So we made climate change one of his strongest and most compelling commitments. And he was simply fearless in making his position clear and driving that change at every opportunity that he had available.

And while some question, as they always do, why the

administration should focus on climate change given the huge challenges facing our nation back when President Biden came into office? And it's understandable. But it's true that people were really struggling under the weight of the pandemic. We knew that. They were struggling from the isolation and from the uncertainty.

But the president also knew that if you want to shift that around, you have to get on a path of hope and certainty. That's what you need to do. And it's a future that he was thinking about, that would grow jobs for millions of people who had already lost theirs and needed an opportunity once again. To give families a break, so they could save money in their energy bills and at the pump, and make sure that communities that have been sidelined for far too long would get their fair share of investments.

These were the pillars that President Biden put before us, that we had to deliver in terms of a strategy to make this change happen. So he was determined to invest in innovation again, to jumpstart domestic manufacturing, to rebuild those communities that were left behind, not just for climate, but to get our country moving forward again in ways that could lift people out of poverty, and once again begin to expand on the middle class.

Now, I know that sounds like big deal stuff. It is. But he knew that climate could help drive that agenda forward, if we were focused and careful about what we asked for and what we invested in.

It was the job of my little climate office to find ways to do this. That's why I went back to DC. I didn't go back there because the pay was great. In fact, NRDC [Natural Resources Defense Council] had great pay. And I took an 80 percent pay cut in order to work at the White House.

But it was a gift for me, that I just couldn't say no to, because I knew that it would provide an opportunity for us to actually elevate this issue in a way that would immediately get our country excited again—especially the young people that have been fighting so hard to try to find a path forward, to a future that they could find themselves in, a future that their families would be growing in. That's what we wanted to do. And under Biden's leadership, and with the support of his cabinet, which was frankly amazing, and the White House, we worked to open up these economic opportunities through clean energy investments, both public and private. We knew they could deliver.

And with leadership at the federal level, we began to unlock resources that our country really needed to deploy at scale; to move products and technologies into the market today that were available to us and would allow us to outcompete when it comes to fossil fuels. We started the ball rolling with this big event in the White House lawn about electric vehicles.

Now, you may think that's a weird place to start. But guess what? It was an agreement we reached with the United Auto Workers before we approached the companies themselves, because United Auto Workers agreed that if they wanted a future, they had to build the tech-

nology of the future today. That while there may be fewer people in every plant, because they're not as complicated to build, that it would advance investments across the world, that would come to the United States. And on the whole, they would hugely benefit with new job openings. And we convinced them to play.

And then we convinced GM, and we convinced Ford, then we convinced Chrysler. And we went down, and down, to Stellantis. All those companies began to join in. So when we had the White House event, every major car company was supportive of moving on electric vehicles at a pace that they had never thought to commit before.

So in the end, it stresses me to say that James Carville might be right: Climate change is about the economy, stupid. Winning the future is about recognizing how you take the problems of the past and you turn the opportunities of today, to actually build the path—that we can move forward together.

So we stepped it up. We started rallying the whole of government after the EV event. We opened up opportunities for carbon reduction in every single sector. We energized a coalition of young people, the labor community, the health advocates, environmental justice leaders, innovators, business leaders. We were bringing everybody together in a room to talk about what could be done—and how we could get it done.

And we implemented and designed policies and investment strategies that could take a bite out of climate change, while providing fundamental benefits to families and communities. That's the secret sauce. That is how you make change happen.

And to meet these goals, we had to work hard in every key sector of the economy. That's what produced a Bipartisan Infrastructure Law. The Bipartisan Infrastructure Law was hugely important to go first, because it impacts investments in every single community that will make lives better, and also build the kind of infrastructure we need for clean energy moving forward.

And we move forward with the Inflation Reduction Act. Because the Bipartisan Infrastructure Law was great, but it wasn't going to be enough. It didn't accelerate in a way that we needed it. And we needed to accelerate the momentum throughout our manufacturing sector, throughout the products that we would produce, to talk about how we would jump start our economy and drive groundbreaking reductions in greenhouse gas emissions. And collectively, the actions in these laws, in addition to the CHIPS and Science Act, gave the biggest boost that any country had ever given or thought about that would move us forward on climate change.

And so I'm really proud of the work that got done. We have a Bipartisan Infrastructure Law. That's \$1.2 trillion. We have the Inflation Reduction Act. That's \$370 billion for climate. We have the CHIPS and Science Act. That's \$50 plus billion. We are not talking about chump change here, folks. We're talking about the kind of change that changes every-



thing. And frankly, that's exactly where we needed to be.

And that is what is going to actually drive us toward a cleaner and healthier future for American workers and for their families. I will tell you that the momentum continues in the White House.

I think we've all learned a lesson. There are wonderful ways in which we can set bold goals and ways in which we can drive innovation, to move those goals forward and to meet them.

We set up very difficult targets. And each and every time we met those targets, because we didn't sit alone. We realized that in order to get this done, it wasn't just about what the government wanted—or wanted to do. It was getting people to understand that an economy needs to grow and needs to grow now, and there were businesses all across the United States that saw this as their best opportunity for not just public, but private sector investment.

We are talking right now of exceeding \$600 billion in investments. And we have now an EPA that is underpinning all of this change with regulations like the most recent proposed one, that is going to get us to half of our cars being sold in the United States by 2030 to be electric vehicles.

This is how change happens. It's exciting. It can be frustrating. But honestly, there's just nothing like it. So I'm sorry, NRDC. I'm glad I left. Please hire me again for as much money—no, I'm only kidding.

So it's great to be here, and we'll chat. And thank you for all of your patience and listening. But honestly, it is a moment of hope and certainty. But it still requires that we fight like hell every single day to say, this is good. But what's next?

This is good. But we need to do more. This is good. But our future is still at stake, and we have to work every single day to take our learning here and work with countries all across the world, so that everybody can feel that there is an opportunity for them.

And frankly, even if Congress can't come up with money to pay for loss and damages in other countries, which they should do, we will find a way to drive private investment so that we don't lose precious years across our world in fighting or feuding.

We must stand together. Because after all, climate change is a global problem. Thank you very much.



Top to bottom: Gina McCarthy in conversation with Jim Stock.

An attendee asks a question to Gina McCarthy during the Q&A portion of the event.

A community member connects with Gina McCarthy after the lecture.

Photos: Spring 2023 Events



WHETHER AT THE CENTER OR AROUND THE GLOBE...

Weatherhead Center events connect our community of scholars to each other and to the broader world. We held a record number of events this spring semester, many of them in person for the first time in several years. Events included academic conferences, speed talks on faculty books, and even an ice cream social to wrap up the year!



This page (left to right in rows):

On Wednesday, April 12, 2023, the Weatherhead Forum titled, “The War in Ukraine: How Does It End?” was held online. Speakers included: Timothy Colton, Tanya Kozyreva, Serhii Plokhyy, and Konrad Zielinski. Acting Center Director Erez Manela was the chair.

Undergraduate Associate Victor Rangel (left) gives his talk titled, “The Increase of Clinics Adjacent to Pharmacies (CAFs) in Latin America over the Course of the Last Thirty Years” on the Thursday, February 2, 2023 panel of the Undergraduate Thesis Conference. The panel was chaired by Alisha Holland (right).

Undergraduate Associate Chloe Koulefiannou gives her talk titled, “Neocolonialism and Migration through the Lens of Political Trauma in Lomé, Togo” on the Friday, February 3, 2023 panel of the Undergraduate Thesis Conference.

SCANCOR affiliates from around the globe gather for their annual conference held on May 4–5, 2023.

Caroline Elkins (right), gives a seven-minute speedtalk on her new book, *Legacy of Violence: A History of the British Empire*. Other speakers included: Frank Dobbin, (left), Dustin Tingley (center), Jeremy Friedman, Charles S. Maier, Sarah Dryden-Peterson, Serhii Plokhyy, and Jennifer Leaning. Credit: Jon Chase/Harvard University



This page (left, top to bottom):

Willy Jou (right) presents “Authoritarian Populist Attitudes in Japan” at a Weatherhead Spotlight featuring the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations. Christina L. Davis (left) moderated the event on January 25, 2023.

Sabina Tasheva Nielsen presents “Solving the Paradox of Diversity: A Multilevel Perspective” at a Weatherhead Spotlight featuring SCANCOR at Weatherhead on February 15, 2023.

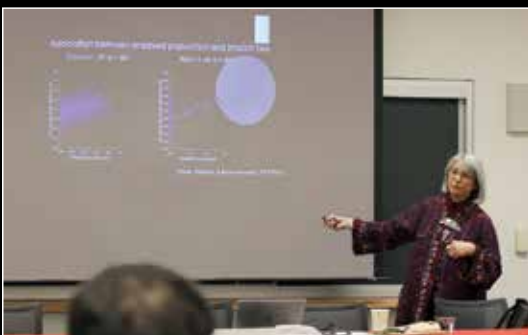
Mahzarin R. Banaji presents “Implicit Bias in Intergroup Perception” at a Weatherhead Spotlight featuring the Weatherhead Research Cluster on Migration on March 8, 2023.

Rita Kiki Edozie (right) speaks at the special event titled “Nigeria’s 2023 Presidential Elections: What Happened and What’s Next?” The event, held on Thursday, March 23, 2023, was moderated by Gbemisola Abiola (left) and Destiny Ogedegbe. Credit: Clare Putnam

Affiliates of the Center and their families enjoy the crisp spring temperatures and capping off the academic year with some Lizzy’s Ice Cream. Credit: Kristin Caulfield

Attendees of the Canada Program conference titled “Mounds and Memory: Indigenous Sovereignty, Ceremonial Spaces, and Stories of the Mound Builders,” held on April 25–27, 2023. Credit: Michelle Nicholasen

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





Alisha Holland

Faculty Associate; Chair, Weatherhead Research Cluster on Business and Government. Associate Professor, Department of Government, Harvard University. *The political determinants and consequences of infrastructure projects in Latin America; migration; crime control; and subnational governance.*

Gautam Nair

Faculty Associate; Chair, Weatherhead Research Cluster on Business and Government. Assistant Professor of Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School. *Comparative and international political economy; distributive politics; business-government relations; and South Asia.*

Images courtesy of Alisha Holland and Gautam Nair



When business is not part of the solution, it is frequently part of the problem. The chairs of the new [Weatherhead Research Cluster on Business and Government](#) hope to provide new insights into how business influence can be a positive force for democracy and development. Launched in the 2022–2023 academic year and spearheaded by Faculty Associates Alisha Holland and Gautam Nair (along with Jeffry Frieden and Dani Rodrik), the cluster aims to better understand the political economy of business–government relations in the contemporary world. *Centerpiece* sat down with Professors Holland and Nair to discuss cluster goals, research, and plans for the future.

CENTERPIECE: What was the genesis of the cluster?

NAIR: For me, it was the idea that in every political system, businesses are powerful actors. Businesses and businesspeople have access to financial resources, and they are few in number—so we expect that they can organize themselves more easily compared to citizens and other interest groups. That means that when business is not part of the solution, it's often part of the problem. The goal of our cluster is to understand how business power operates in politics, and under what conditions business influence is a force that is compatible with inclusive growth and democratic accountability.

HOLLAND: The initial idea of the cluster was to revisit some classic questions. For instance, how does business exert its influence? To what extent is it through campaign contributions, lobbying directly, or persuasion campaigns? And how do those tactics relate to each other?

Business also has changed tremendously from the industrial corporations of the past. The tech industry today provides a nice moment to consider how contemporary businesses operate differently and how their strategies of influencing government differ too.

The second set of questions we are looking at are responses of business to deindustrialization.

As manufacturing has been on the decline, what do firms in the manufacturing sector do? What do voters start to do in response to those changes?

And the third big question is about government regulation. Many observers have noted, especially in the Biden Administration, a greater interest and willingness to retake the tools of government, like antitrust policy, to regulate business. So it's a good moment to ask questions like, why do governments regulate business in some moments and not others? And what types of bureaucratic capacity and technical knowledge do governments need to be effective regulators?

CENTERPIECE: Powerful businesses can skew democratic processes. Are you looking at that effect?

NAIR: The key barrier for democratic accountability and representation in developing countries is often thought to be what's called clientelism. That's the tendency to distribute scarce resources non-programmatically, informally, through party machines, often along ethnic lines; and that means that voters vote on the basis of these narrowly targeted benefits rather than broad-based policies.

But as developing countries modernize, the barrier to democratic accountability and representation increasingly becomes the influence of well-organized interest groups, including businesses, rather than election-time vote-buying or patron-client relations. Business influence can operate through many of the mechanisms that Alisha mentioned, including campaign contributions, lobbying, and changing the beliefs and preferences of citizens, politicians, and government officials. The US requires extensive disclosures (though some may feel that these are still inadequate), and because of data availability these strategies have been studied extensively in the US context. Our hope is that we can expand this research to other countries, particularly in the developing world to look at the connection between business and politics.

I should also note that businesses can advance, rather than skew, democratic processes. Acting in their own self-interest they might lobby for stronger property rights or rule of law, or reduced trade barriers, which can have positive spillovers for consumers and citizens. I call this phenomenon "incidental representation" and am working on a couple of projects that demonstrate the idea in the context of trade and social policy.

CENTERPIECE: Who do you hope to attract to work in the cluster?

NAIR: I noticed that there are a number of faculty members across the University—at the Business School, Kennedy School, Law School, and the FAS—that have interest in the relationship between government and business. And we have many talented graduate and professional students who are doing research on these issues. It's a good time to bring together people across the University that are working and thinking about these topics and we've already made some encouraging progress on this front.

CENTERPIECE: The cluster recently held a “speed dating” event for scholars to pitch their research ideas to win a prize. How did it go?

HOLLAND: I think it was a great success. Especially this first year as a cluster, we have been trying to play around with different events to get people to meet each other. So the idea was to have very short but personal intros where you pitch your research interests and try to find some commonalities.

People had a lot of fun with it, in part because it was a different format. Students said they stayed around until ten o'clock talking to each other, so that achieved our goal to foster greater intellectual connections. It was also really nice to see postdocs meeting graduate students with similar interests and finding avenues for collaboration there.

CENTERPIECE: Who won the prize?

HOLLAND: Austin Jordan, a graduate student in the Government Department, and Sam Tabory, a graduate student in Urban Planning, won the prize (a \$500 research grant) for their project on the evolution of economic plans in Japan and Mexico.

In the 1960s and 1970s, many countries were known for national planning bureaucracies that were often in charge of making decisions about which industries to support and overarching development strategies. Japan was a very notable case, and there's a famous book by Chalmers Johnson on the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) and its role in developing the development strategy behind Japan's growth miracle. Mexico is another case where there was a national bureaucracy that decided which industries to prioritize in an attempt to accelerate growth.

Austin and Sam pitched a project in which they will think about what happened to industrial policy in Japan and Mexico after the governments eliminated state planning.

One of the cool things is that the project showed the benefits of combining different areas of expertise.

Of the two winners, Austin works on East Asia and Sam has worked on Mexico, so they made a pitch to combine their regional expertise and shared research interests in how industrial policy is made.

CENTERPIECE: The cluster clearly lends itself to comparative research. Can you give more examples?

NAIR: I can think of at least two or three comparisons I'm interested in. One is the politics of deindustrialization, which is one of the cluster's emphases. Some countries have been a lot more successful at fostering manufacturing than other countries. For example, manufacturing accounts for about

29 percent of China's GDP but in India, it's only about 17 percent of GDP; and it's only about 12 percent of employment in India, but about 28 percent in China. So that comparison across countries could be interesting. For example, is there an authoritarian edge in manufacturing?

And then another interesting comparison is of industrial policy and the role of banks and finance, say, between Latin America and Asia, or Asia and Africa. When you think about industrial policy, it would be very interesting to understand which countries have been better at it and why. And what are the political outcomes? There's a lot of variation across developing countries and the way businesses exert influence, and how business strategies differ depending on regime types and political contexts—those are great avenues for comparative research.

CENTERPIECE: Can you list a few research projects already underway?

NAIR: Let me mention some of the early-stage research our graduate student affiliates are doing. We have several projects looking at state-business relations in China from a variety of perspectives—including corruption and tax evasion, Chinese state capital's growing influence in global infrastructure, how business associations form and lobby the Chinese government, and how Chinese firms respond to US sanctions. Other projects are studying how campaign finance laws shape party strength, how lobbying by foreign firms is perceived by voters, and the response of Left parties to deindustrialization. I am very excited to see what we learn from these projects.

I'm working on a project that looks at how consumer interests get represented in trade policy, focusing particularly on the rise of large retailers like Walmart and Amazon. I'm also working on research on campaign finance, industrial policy, and state banks in India.

CENTERPIECE: Business influence is not all bad, of course, it can have positive and/or negative impacts on development. How do you approach this duality?

HOLLAND: Let me give you an example of how this cuts both ways, and connects with what I study. I'm interested in the politics of infrastructure in Latin America.

You often hear that infrastructure is critical to development. High-quality roads or ports or broadband internet all can have a transformational impact. And, on the one hand, business can play a key role in defining and prioritizing those projects. For instance, if you are a coffee producer in Colombia, you need a highway and a functional port to export coffee. You have knowledge about the types of transit that would be useful and that could potentially generate substantial exports, jobs, and revenue increases in the country.

“THERE'S A LOT OF VARIATION ACROSS DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND THE WAY BUSINESSES EXERT INFLUENCE, AND HOW BUSINESS STRATEGIES DIFFER DEPENDING ON REGIME TYPES AND POLITICAL CONTEXTS—THOSE ARE GREAT AVENUES FOR COMPARATIVE RESEARCH.”

— GAUTAM NAIR

On the other hand, you also have construction firms that are often interested in building the most profitable project, which doesn't necessarily mean a socially or economically useful project. A construction firm is happy to build a highway regardless of whether it increases exports or new industries. So, you see a lot of developing countries building infrastructure projects that don't serve the underlying population or produce economic growth.

In the cluster, we talk about this dual influence of business: business can provide key inputs and knowledge and resources that generate growth, but also doesn't necessarily serve the broad public interest. So you need a government with the capacity to take in private-sector information, but nonetheless make a decision that reflects what we might think of as public interest.

CENTERPIECE: What are some of the goals planned for the rest of the year?

HOLLAND: This spring we have two things we're working on. The first is helping the graduate students decide on a mini-conference that they would like to run, most likely in the fall. We're preparing and trying to figure out how to converge on some questions for that mini-conference.

We will continue to have informal conversations structured around different themes, going back to those questions that motivated the cluster. We've had an informal discussion on campaign finance across countries. We've had an informal discussion of business power and what it means for business to exert influence, and how we measure that. And we're going to continue conversations in that spirit, bringing

together scholars working in different contexts to discuss the open research questions.

Part of what we're hoping will come out of those conversations is a set of shared data and resources, or a collaboration that the cluster could really invest in. We've talked about large institutional and enterprise surveys that are done, such as those by the World Bank. Perhaps one thing we can do as a cluster is add a set of political and regulatory questions to those surveys.

NAIR: Our faculty cochairs Jeff Frieden and Dani Rodrik are among the world's leading experts on the political economy of globalization. They will be returning from leave and will be a great resource for the cluster. Next year we are also looking forward to bringing more speakers and researchers to Harvard, and to continuing to grow and deepen our community of scholars.



Of Note continued from page 3

David Bloom Receives Taeuber Award

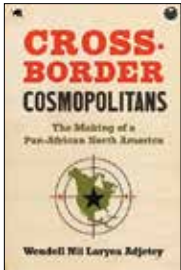
Faculty Associate **David Bloom**, Clarence James Gamble Professor of Economics and Demography at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, is the recipient of the 2023 Irene B. Taeuber Award. The Taeuber Award, given by the Population Association of America (PAA), recognizes "unusually original or important contributions to the scientific study of population and an accumulated record of exceptionally sound and innovative research." Bloom, an economist and demographer, was recognized for his pioneering scientific contributions to the field of population studies.

Robert Putnam Receives Talcott Parsons Prize

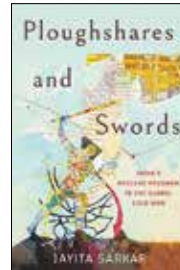
Former Center Director **Robert D. Putnam**, Peter and Isabel Malkin Professor of Public Policy, Emeritus, at Harvard Kennedy School, is the recipient of the Talcott Parsons Prize from the American Academy of Arts & Sciences for distinguished and original contributions to the social sciences. First awarded in 1974, the Talcott Parsons Prize was established to honor the noted sociologist and former president of the Academy. Putnam is only the second political scientist to receive this award, after Robert Dahl of Yale University, in 1977.

Three Faculty Associates Receive Everett Mendelsohn Excellence in Mentoring Award

Every year, the Everett Mendelsohn Excellence in Mentoring Award is presented to one or more Harvard faculty members who provide excellent and exceptional mentorship to graduate students. Awards are given on the basis of nominations from students in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. This year, three of the five faculty members are Faculty Associates at the Center: **Alisha C. Holland** (Government); **Mary D. Lewis** (History); and **Gautam Rao** (Economics).



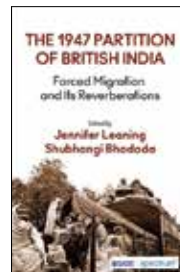
Cross-Border Cosmopolitans: The Making of a Pan-African North America
By Wendell Nii Laryea Adjetei
University of North Carolina Press | Former William Lyon Mackenzie King Postdoctoral Fellow Wendell Nii Laryea Adjetei is an assistant professor of history and William Dawson Chair at McGill University.



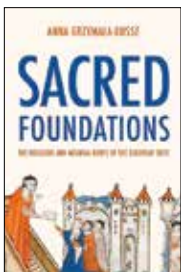
Ploughshares and Swords: India's Nuclear Program in the Global Cold War
By Jayita Sarkar
De Gruyter | Former Visiting Scholar Jayita Sarkar is an assistant professor of international relations at the Frederick S. Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University.



Making Bureaucracy Work: Norms, Education and Public Service Delivery in Rural India
By Akshay Mangla
Cambridge University Press | Former Faculty Associate Akshay Mangla is an associate professor in international business at the University of Oxford.



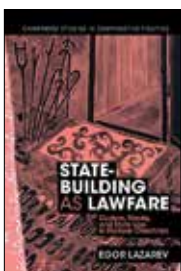
The 1947 Partition of British India: Forced Migration and Its Reverberations
Edited by Jennifer Leaning and Shubhangi Bhadada
SAGE Spectrum | Faculty Associate Jennifer Leaning is a senior research fellow at the François-Xavier Bagnoud Center for Health and Human Rights, Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health.



Sacred Foundations: The Religious and Medieval Roots of the European State
By Anna M. Grzymala-Busse
Princeton University Press | Advisory Committee member Anna M. Grzymala-Busse is the Michelle and Kevin Douglas Professor of International Studies at Stanford University.



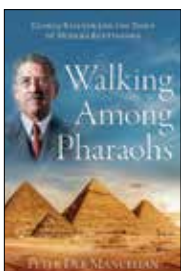
Soft Power and the Future of US Foreign Policy
Edited by Hendrik W. Ohnesorge
Manchester University Press | Weatherhead Scholars Program Associate Hendrik W. Ohnesorge is the managing director at the Center for Global Studies, University of Bonn.



State-Building as Lawfare: Custom, Sharia, and State Law in Postwar Chechnya
By Egor Lazarev
Cambridge University Press | Academy Scholar Egor Lazarev is an assistant professor of political science at Yale University.



Engage and Evade: How Latino Immigrant Families Manage Surveillance in Everyday Life
By Asad L. Asad
Princeton University Press | Former Graduate Student Associate Asad L. Asad is an assistant professor of sociology at Stanford University.



Walking Among Pharaohs: George Reisner and the Dawn of Modern Egyptology
By Peter Der Manuelian
Oxford University Press | Faculty Associate Peter Der Manuelian is the Barbara Bell Professor of Egyptology at Harvard University.

WWW

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NEW UNDERGRADUATE ASSOCIATES

The following students have been appointed Undergraduate Associates for the 2023–2024 academic year and have received funding to support research and travel in connection with their senior thesis projects on international affairs. Undergraduate thesis research funding comes from the Weatherhead Center as well as from our Hartley Rogers Family Fund.

Arjun Adotei Akwei (Government; Astrophysics) will travel to India to conduct research on the US–India relationship through the lens of Indian postcolonial nationalism and other identity-based frameworks.

Laura Voss Connor (Social Studies) will conduct research on the US Agency for International Development’s mission in Bolivia and the circumstances of its departure in 2013.

Tessa Isabelle Conrardy (Government) will conduct research in Germany on why and how a number of independent Russian news organizations have moved their newsrooms abroad since the invasion of Ukraine.

Amen Hasset Gashaw (Government; Molecular & Cellular Biology) will travel to England, Switzerland, and Ethiopia to compare the efficacy of development projects sponsored by religious and secular aid organizations.

Henry N. Haimo (History) will conduct archival research in England and Ghana on cartography of the Gold Coast—now Ghana—from the nineteenth century to the 1960s, a time period that represents a struggle over ownership and independence.

Justin Hu (Romance Languages & Literatures; History) will travel to France to conduct archival research on interwar colonial Martinique production of a cohort of political luminaries.

Logan Christopher Kelly (Social Studies) will research the political and social factors that drove the drug decriminalization process in Portugal.

Sameer Majid Khan (History of Science; Anthropology) will study the everyday experience of trauma in Indian-administered Kashmir, after centuries of occupation in the region.

Dina M. Kobeissi (Government; Near Eastern Languages & Civilizations) will travel to Lebanon to explore the impact of sanctions in the MENA region, highlighting how and why the results of sanctions deviate from the original goal of establishment.

Hamaad Waqar Mehal (Social Studies) will conduct research in Pakistan to access Muhammad Iqbal’s archived writings and construct a genealogy of the emergence of Muslim nationalism in South Asia.

Lauren Sara Morganbesser (Government) will research how the United Arab Emirates sees itself on the global stage and understand its foreign policy vision for the future.

Jamal Nimer (Social Studies) will conduct a study of the position of Arab-Israelis in the Israeli labor market, exploring the obstacles toward upward mobility, including hiring discrimination, that affect Arabs in Israel.

Garrett O’Brien (Social Studies) will travel to Rwanda to study how government officials and civilians understand Chinese investment in the country and whether the Rwanda–China relationship represents a South–South partnership.

Madison Stein (History; Global Health & Health Policy) will conduct archival research at the University of Exeter to study solidarity and transnational ties in Arab Gulf conflicts in the 1960s and 1970s.

Lavinia Teodorescu (Government; Art, Film, and Visual Studies) will travel to Germany to conduct research on the post–Cold War emergence of multiple strong paramilitary organizations in the region.

Elizabeth Vasconcellos e Silva (Government; History) will travel to Brazil and Portugal to gather data on the immigrant experiences and political affiliations, including voting patterns, of Brazilian immigrants in greater Boston and greater Lisbon.

Eleanor Villafranca Wikstrom (Social Studies; Mind, Brain, Behavior) will conduct archival research in the Philippines and Washington, DC to investigate the role of English-only instruction within the US colonial education system and the transpacific project of epistemic colonialism.

Claire Koeun Yoo (History & Literature; Film & Visual Studies) will travel to England to research how American exceptionalism and identity manifested in the Girl Scouts in comparison to how British colonialist ideology manifested in the British Girl Guides.

2022–2023 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! *Credit: Michelle Nicholasen*



MEET THE DIRECTOR OF UNDERGRADUATE PROGRAMS, CHRISTOPH MIKULASCHEK



Christoph Mikulaschek, Director, Undergraduate Student Programs; Faculty Associate. Assistant Professor, Department of Government, Harvard University. *International security and the political economy of international organizations.*

Image courtesy of Christoph Mikulaschek

Welcome to the Weatherhead Center! Tell us about your role as Director of Undergraduate Student Programs.

During the academic year, I work to avail Harvard undergraduates of the [many opportunities](#) the Weatherhead Center offers to them: fellowships; grants for thesis research and for other research and travel; funds for student-run conferences, speaker events, study groups, and student publications; hands-on research experience as research assistants; and participation in student conferences held at West Point, the US Naval Academy in Annapolis, and in Washington, DC. Undergraduates are also warmly welcome to attend any of our twenty open seminar series, and they do not need to have any prior knowledge of or experience with the topic.

My personal highlight so far has been the 2023 Undergraduate Thesis Conference, where the Weatherhead Center's seventeen Undergraduate Associates presented their amazing thesis research and received feedback—from Harvard faculty, graduate students, and from each other—roughly a month before their theses were due. It was a great opportunity to spark an interdisciplinary conversation on how to approach an-

swering pressing questions on important international topics. I was impressed with the amount of expertise the students had accumulated, their intellectual curiosity and dedication to pursuing cutting-edge research, and their talent for effectively communicating their findings.

What did you do prior to coming to Harvard?

This is my second year on the Harvard faculty. Before coming to Harvard, I completed my PhD in political science at Princeton. Prior to that, I worked as a senior policy analyst at the International Peace Institute, an independent think tank in New York, where I served as principal investigator for a multiyear research project on the United Nations and worked with the UN Secretary-General's Special Adviser on the Responsibility to Protect. Earlier, I received a master's degree at Columbia and went to college in Paris and Vienna.

Tell us about your research interests. What are you working on now?

My research interests focus on international security and the political economy of international organizations. In the book manuscript, I investigate how great powers use international organizations to build support for controversial military interventions and costly economic sanctions. I explain that great powers share disproportionately large influence in international organizations with smaller states to attain unanimity. While power-sharing reduces great powers' control of an international organization, it benefits them by maximizing the institution's impact: the unanimous adoption of a policy leads

to more cooperation by outside actors and has a larger impact on public opinion than the endorsement of the same policy by a divided organization. To test the argument, I investigate decision-making in the UN Security Council, compliance with its resolutions, its impact on public opinion, and issue-linkage across international institutions.

A second stream of my research focuses on political violence. A set of papers investigates Iraqi public attitudes toward ISIS, the Iraqi government, and US airstrikes against ISIS, leveraging list experiments and two original national surveys. An additional paper estimates the effect of UN Blue Helmets on violence against civilians through design-based causal inference and a case study.

Tell us something that people may not know about you.

I have always been interested in politics ever since I was a teenager, but what sparked my passion for international institutions and security was a summer internship I did as a freshman at the Kosovo Law Center, which had been established by the Organization for Security and Cooperation after the Kosovo war. As an intern in Prishtina, I realized what a crucial role foreign countries and international organizations play during and after war. Sadly, war and security cooperation in Europe are front page news again. I encourage all undergrads to seek out and seize opportunities for amazing summer internships, because they can change your entire professional trajectory.

2023 THOMAS TEMPLE HOOPES PRIZE WINNERS

The Weatherhead Center congratulates the following Undergraduate Associates who were awarded 2023 Thomas Temple Hoopes Prizes on the basis of their outstanding scholarly work.

Aysha Emerson, "Once Upon a Time in Fairy Creek: Resilience and Ruination in the Anthropocene."

Sophie Stromswold Feldman, "Longing and Belonging in the World's Coldest Country: Immigrant Integration in Norway."

Alexander Tam, "To Be A Citizen: Rights, Obligations, and Belonging at the Social Margins of the Confederacy."

WEATHERHEAD RESEARCH CLUSTER ON COMPARATIVE INEQUALITY & INCLUSION



Above: Affiliates of the Weatherhead Research Cluster on Comparative Inequality and Inclusion gathered for a workshop, held on April 7, 2023, to commemorate the recent publication of RSF: *The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences* titled, "Status: What It Is and Why It Matters for Inequality." Credit: Michelle Nicholasen

Right: The Weatherhead Research Cluster on Comparative Inequality and Inclusion was featured during a Weatherhead Spotlight titled "Comparative Research on Precarity and Insecurity" held on Wednesday, April 19, 2023. Speakers included (left to right): Lorenza Antonucci, Elena Ayala-Hurtado, and Gianluca Busilacchi. The event was chaired by Michèle Lamont. Credit: Kristin Caulfield

How Status Drives Inequality

In early April, the [Weatherhead Research Cluster on Comparative Inequality and Inclusion](#) (CII) brought together seven scholars for a workshop on the construct of status as a type of inequality. This innovative approach to studying inequality teases out status from other factors such as wealth, ethnicity, class, and gender. Participants presented original research ranging from perceptions of status inside the workplace, how performance review methods affect compensation, the status given to men for their financial expertise within wealthy families, and how notions of status are reinforced, or changed, through institutional and political messaging, and more.

The participants' papers were published in a double issue of *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences* titled, "[Status: What It Is and Why It Matters for Inequality](#)."

Status is all around us and cannot be avoided, and it's not based solely on merit. Defined as a form of inequality based on esteem, respect, and honor, it is accorded to individuals and groups, and it plays a role in the uneven distribution of resources. Status is accorded not only by the shared views of others, but also by the ways in which the environment, institutions, and history shape our view of ourselves.

But status does not have to be fixed. Scholars gave examples of actions and policies that can dismantle status beliefs. For example, if lunch is free for everyone in public schools, that removes the stigma associated with disadvantaged schoolchildren. In the workplace, a narrative job review versus a quantitative job review can actually reduce inequality in bonus distribution by eliminating the rigid numerical ranking system, thus

mitigating the status associated with getting a particular score. Further findings show that, in the context of developing countries, if you change the composition of the local bureaucracy, making it reflective of the status of its constituents, it improves access to and use of public goods that might have been fully enjoyed by only higher caste or status.

The group agreed on the need for further investigation into the question of how status is conveyed and also the long-term consequences of status-based inequality on well-being.

This event was followed by a session of the Weatherhead Spotlight, where three members of the CII cluster presented their complementary research on growing precarity in Europe with presenters Elena Ayala-Hurtado (graduate student in sociology), Lorenza Antonucci, and Gianluca Busilacchi (both visiting scholars at the Center for European Studies). Their work is illustrative of the overarching focus of the cluster, which was created in 2017 and has hosted more than 100 scholars from various continents, more than sixty of whom are active in the network. Members research various types of stigma (including those experienced by refugees, immigrants, LGBTQ groups, and members of ethnoracial minority communities), as well as cultural and social processes of inclusion. The cluster is led by Michèle Lamont, former Weatherhead Center director and Robert I. Goldman Professor of European Studies and professor of sociology and African and Africa American studies. Her new book, [Seeing Others: How Recognition Works and How It Can Heal a Divided World](#), will be published in early September 2023.



NEW FACULTY ASSOCIATES

The following Harvard faculty accepted invitations to be Weatherhead Center Faculty Associates during the 2022–2023 academic year:



Top row, left to right: Mashail Malik, Mina Cikara, Taeku Lee, Gabriella Coleman.

Middle row, left to right: David Spreen, Mahzarin R. Banaji, Hannah Teicher.

Bottom row, left to right: Michael Szonyi, Joshua Greene, Jamie Martin, Gordon Hanson.

Mashail Malik, Assistant Professor of Government, Department of Government, Harvard University. *The political psychology of identity.*

Mina Cikara, Associate Professor of Psychology, Department of Psychology, Harvard University. *The psychology of identity, partisanship, and intergroup conflict; coalition dynamics; and prejudice and discrimination.*

Taeku Lee, Bae Family Professor of Government, Department of Government, Harvard University. *Public opinion on regulatory policy; racial/ethnic identity and prejudice; and media effects.*

Gabriella Coleman, Professor of Anthropology, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University. *The politics, cultures, and ethics of hacking.*

David Spreen, Assistant Professor of History, Department of History, Harvard University. *Transnational German history; global Cold War; decolonization; political violence; and protest movements.*

Mahzarin R. Banaji, Richard Clarke Cabot Professor of Social Ethics, Department of Psychology, Harvard University. *The human capacity for introspective access, including its limits; and dissociations between explicit and implicit social cognition in the context of group-based thoughts and feelings.*

Hannah M. Teicher, Assistant Professor, Department of Urban Planning and Design, Harvard Graduate School of Design. *Climate governance; environmental politics; built environment and land use politics; climate migration; and embodied carbon.*

Michael Szonyi, Frank Wen-hsiung Wu Professor of Chinese History, Departments of East Asian Languages and Civilizations and of History, Harvard University. *Modern history of rural China; and Chinese social and economic history, fifteenth-century to the present.*

Joshua D. Greene, Professor of Psychology, Department of Psychology, Harvard University. *Conflict and cooperation across lines of division; and scalable strategies for reducing intergroup conflict.*

Jamie Martin, Assistant Professor of History and of Social Studies, Department of History, Harvard University. *The global economic consequences of the First World War, focusing on the war's effects on trade, shipping, supply chains, and finance outside its principal European theaters of conflict.*

Gordon Hanson, Peter Wertheim Professor in Urban Policy, Harvard Kennedy School. *Labor market impacts of globalization; causes and consequences of international migration; and evaluating place-based policies.*

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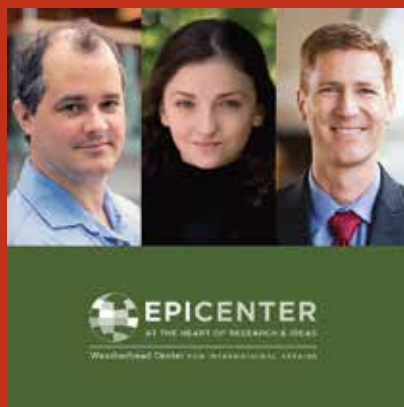
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Protecting the Porcupine: Why Taiwan Matters

Refugees are Brothers and Sisters in Uganda,
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