



**Weatherhead Center**  
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

# CENTERPIECE

NEWSLETTER OF THE WEATHERHEAD CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Volume 24  
Number 1  
Fall 2009

HARVARD UNIVERSITY



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## From the Director

The Weatherhead Center provides a broad umbrella for scholarly research of many types. It does not attempt to set the research agenda of the scholars it supports. This would be a nearly impossible task in any event, given the intellectual independence of our affiliated faculty, graduate students, and undergraduates.

Nonetheless, several important themes have informed WCFA-affiliated research over recent years. The Center cannot take credit for these themes, which arise more from important events in international affairs, but it is interesting to note the emergence of major strands of research.

**The study of conflict, especially within and across states.** The WCFA, and scholars of international relations more generally, have of course always studied interstate war. But more and more militarized conflicts are taking place in other dimensions. Some are within countries, in the form of ethnic, religious, or regional conflicts up to and including civil wars. Others are across borders, involving transnational insurgencies and terror networks. Stephen Rosen (Department of Government) directs the Center's National Security Studies Program (formerly the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies), which has a long history at the Center for both analysis of all types of conflict and nurturing of young scholars from all realms of the social-science disciplines. The Civil Conflict Workshop, co-chaired by Robert Bates (Department of Government and Department of African and African American Studies) and Monica Duffy Toft

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Cover: A resident of the Kibati camp of the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) carries a bag of food ration distributed by the World Food Programme in collaboration with the nongovernmental organization, CARITAS.

North Kivu, Democratic Republic of the Congo.  
Photo courtesy of the United Nations

(Harvard Kennedy School), is a research seminar of long standing, as is Professor Toft's Future of War Seminar, both of which keep open a lively debate on contemporary conflict from an interdisciplinary perspective.

**Global affairs and the global environment.** Scholars of international affairs have long been drawn to the issues raised by international environmental problems. Air and water pollution are classic examples of cross-border negative externalities, costs that one country can impose on another. By the same token, attempts to address these externalities go back many decades, even centuries. Especially given the scope of today's environmental concerns, it is important to understand the circumstances that facilitate cooperation among both governments and nonstate actors in addressing cross-border ecological matters. With the benefit of a WCFIA grant, Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Muhammet Bas (Department of Government) is currently on leave to work on climate change and conflict, studying processes of decision making in the context of unexpected shocks. And two new seminars have been introducing new research ideas to the community with experts from within and outside Harvard: the Ecologies of Human Flourishing, led by Donald Swearer (Harvard Divinity School); and the Workshop on the Sustainability of the World's Food and Farming Systems, co-chaired by Robert Paarlberg (Department of Political Science, Wellesley College), Noel Michele Holbrook (Department of Organismic and Evolutionary Biology), and John Briscoe (School of Engineering and Applied Sciences, and Harvard School of Public Health). For more information on the Workshop on the Sustainability of the World's Food and Farming Systems, read the feature article in this issue by Amanda Pearson.

**The crisis.** International economic affairs have long been a central focus of research by scholars associated with the Weatherhead Center. Many of the Center's affiliates have been prominent analysts of the current international economic crisis. Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Kenneth Rogoff (Department of Economics) has a brand-new book, *This Time Is Different: Eight Centuries of Financial Folly*, which sheds important historical and comparative lights on the current crisis. Among others, the following WCFIA Faculty Associates have all been major contributors to public and scholarly discussions of the origins, course, and implications of the crisis: Alberto Alesina (Department of Economics); Jeffrey Frankel (Harvard Kennedy School); Ricardo Hausmann (Harvard Kennedy School); and Dani Rodrik (Harvard Kennedy School). In November, the WCFIA Executive Committee heard Frankel and Rogoff speak on the implications of the crisis for international finance. In June, our annual conference in Talloires, France, will take up the issue within the theme of "Securing International

Order: The Global Economic Crisis and the U.S.-European Relationship." Furthermore, the Center's intellectual discussions have been animated all year by the following seminar series: the Economic Growth and Development Workshop, the Economic History Workshop, the Harvard Business School International Seminar, the International Economics Workshop, the Faculty Discussion Group on Political Economy, and the Research Workshop in Political Economy. And two Center programs, the Center for History and Economics and the Project on Justice, Welfare, and Economics (JWE) have used the current financial crisis as fuel for comparative study.

This is hardly an exhaustive list of WCFIA affiliates working on these topics. And there are many other subjects on which Weatherhead Center affiliates have worked over the past year. Nonetheless, it is worthwhile to highlight some of the principal areas to which the Center's affiliated scholars are dedicated. ●

*Jeffry Frieden, Acting Center Director*

## Weatherhead Center Faculty Associates Receive Tenure

Pulitzer Prize-winner **Caroline Elkins** was awarded tenure by the Department of History in July 2009. Formerly the Hugo K. Foster Associate Professor of African Studies, Professor Elkins's current research interests include colonial violence and postconflict reconciliation in Africa, and violence and the decline of the British Empire.

Director of graduate student programs at the Weatherhead Center, **Erez Manela**, was recently appointed a professor of history. Manela's research focuses on international history and the United States in the world, including the impact of Woodrow Wilson's rhetoric at the end of World War I and, more recently, the worldwide campaign to eradicate smallpox.

## Harvard Names Six Walter Channing Cabot Fellows

**Peter Bol** was named one of six Walter Channing Cabot Fellows at Harvard. A Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate and the Charles H. Carswell Professor of East Asian Languages and Civilizations, Bol is a historian of later imperial China. He also chairs the China Historical GIS, a geographic information system covering two thousand years of China's history. Bol was honored with a Cabot Fellowship for *Neo-Confucianism in History* (Harvard University Press, 2008), a study of Neo-Confucianism in China during the Song, Yuan, and Ming dynasties.

Also an honoree is Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate and the Dunwalke Associate Professor of American History, **Vincent Brown**. Brown studies the political implications of cultural practice within a broad sweep of American history, focusing especially on the history of slavery and the African diaspora. He has been awarded a Cabot Fellowship for his book *The Reaper's Garden: Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery* (Harvard University Press, 2008), which has received the 2009 Merle Curti Award, the 2009 James A. Rawley Prize, and the 2008–2009 Louis Gottschalk Prize. *The Reaper's Garden* is about the perception and role of death in cultural and political life in Jamaica, which was the hub of the British Empire in early America.

## APSA Awards

These Weatherhead Center affiliates received awards at the 2009 national meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA).

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate **Elizabeth J. Perry** received the 2009 Perspectives on Politics award for "Chinese Concepts of Rights: From Mencius to Mao—and Now." (*Perspectives on Politics*, 6(1): 37–50, March 2008). A member of the WCFA Executive Committee, Perry is the Henry Rosovsky Professor of Government.

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate and assistant professor of government and social studies in the Department of Government, **Jens Meierhenrich**, was awarded the Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award for *The Legacies of Law: Long-Run Consequences of Legal Development in South Africa, 1652–2000* (Cambridge University Press, 2008). This award for the best book published in the United States during the previous calendar year on government, politics, or international affairs is supported by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation.

## Harvard Names University Professors

**Gary King** has been named University Professor, Harvard's highest professorial distinction. A Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate and the David Florence Professor of Government, King is a highly influential scholar of empirical methods for social science research. He assumes the Albert J. Weatherhead III University Professorship, previously held by former Center Director Samuel Huntington (1927–2008).

## Harvard Professor Receives the Mirra Komarovsky Award

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate and the M. E. Zukerman Professor of Sociology, **Mary C. Waters**, received the 2009 Mirra Komarovsky Award for her book, *Inheriting the City: The Children of Immigrants Come of Age* (Harvard University Press, 2008). The honor was awarded by the Eastern Sociological Society at their recent annual meeting in Baltimore.

## ASA Best Paper Award

Former Graduate Student Associate **Christopher Bail**'s article, "The Configuration of Symbolic Boundaries against Immigrants in Europe," was awarded the Best Student Paper Award at the 104th American Sociological Association (ASA) Annual Meeting, Political Sociology section. The paper was published in the February 2008 *American Sociological Review* 73:1, 37–59.

## Harvard Professor Awarded Honorary Degree from Trinity College

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate and the Thomas W. Lamont University Professor in the Department of Economics, **Amartya Sen**, was one of five recipients given an honorary degree from Trinity College Dublin on July 10, 2009.

## Harvard Professor Awarded Banco Herrero Foundation prize

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate and professor of economics, **Pol Antràs**, received the 2009 Banco Herrero Foundation prize for a researcher younger than 40 years of age for his outstanding educational trajectory and research.

## Karl Kaiser Receives the Commander's Cross

**Karl Kaiser** (below, left, pictured with former Weatherhead Center Fellow and German consulate general to Boston, Friedrich Löhr) was awarded the Officer's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1998 by Federal President Roman Herzog. The Order of Merit was created in 1951 to reward prominent merits obtained for the Federal Republic of Germany. In December 2009, Kaiser's decoration was elevated to the Commander's Cross for his continuing outstanding merits in transatlantic relations and security policy. Kaiser, who directs the Program on Transatlantic Relations at the Weatherhead Center, was commended by Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle for his "constant, committed, and unfailingly nonpartisan advice" and his endeavors, over many decades, "to translate his knowledge and insights quickly and effectively into concrete recommendations for action."





## Dispatches: Undergraduate Researchers in the Field

Twenty-three Harvard College juniors received summer travel grants from the Weatherhead Center to support their thesis research on topics related to international affairs. Since their return in September, the Weatherhead Center has encouraged these Undergraduate Associates to take advantage of the Center's research environment. During the 2010 spring semester, the students will present their research in a conference (February 18–20) that is open to the Harvard community. Four Undergraduate Associates write of their experiences in the field:



**Sarah Hinkfuss**

Environmental Science and Public Policy  
Williams/Lodge International Government and  
Public Affairs Fellow

*Traveled to Ayn al-Basha, Jordan, to research  
the incidence of water tariffs on households.*

Fresh water has always been close to home for me since my early days growing up on the east side of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on a bluff along Lake Michigan. Since childhood, water has been the center of my personal environmental identity, particularly the water of Lake Michigan. I learned early on to respect the water's depth, power, mystique, and also to take its availability for granted.

I traveled to Amman, the capital and most populated area in Jordan, because I was interested in the efficiency of water pricing and how prices interact with the city's water leakage issues, considering the key challenge currently facing the country's water supply. Water leakage (also termed "non-revenue water") in Amman and the surrounding areas is upwards of 50%—this means that for every 100L of water that is brought from the catchment, treated, and distributed, only 50% is actually delivered to customers and paid for. Moreover, due to water scarcity, water is only supplied two of seven days a week. There have been many engineering projects to improve the water leakage situation from the infrastructure side, including replacing pipes and improving leak repair and maintenance. However, socioeconomic-based household level approaches to improve the volume of non-revenue water have yet been attempted because there is very little understanding of the



household's relationship with its water supply.

Across Jordan the price of water is an extremely political—even religious—issue. The Jordanian equivalent of the U.S. Cabinet sets the water tariff. (Note, the water charge is a "tariff," and not a "price," because God gives water to the people and so people cannot charge for water. The tariff is charged because there is a cost to bringing the water up from ground reservoirs, cleaning it, distributing it, etc.)

Based on the idea that the lowest members of society should be able to afford water, the water price for those households that consume 0 to 20m<sup>3</sup> per three month period is highly subsidized. Every household pays for 20m<sup>3</sup> of water (per water meter) regardless of whether they consume less than 20 because the government feels that any less than 20m<sup>3</sup> is insufficient to meet the household's needs. For every cubic meter consumed above 20m<sup>3</sup>, the price of each

m<sup>3</sup> consumed is more expensive. From the private sector to the public sector, everyone involved in setting the tariffs and other components of the water supply claims that the purpose of this tariff structure is to support poor families.

My project studies to what extent the assumption is true that the current water pricing and policy structure supports poor households. I chose a pilot area to study to focus on just northwest of Amman, the capital of Jordan. The area, called Ayn al-Basha, is between the wealthy outskirts of Amman and a radical and poor Palestinian refugee camp (one of the largest in Jordan), Baqa'a Camp. The residents of Ayn al-Basha are generally a mix of wealthy old Jordanian families that owned olive orchards in the area and poor Palestinian families that have moved out of the camp. I conducted a

household survey of over 250 randomly selected households in the pilot area. I asked questions about the demographic background of the household, water use, and water satisfaction. I conducted all of the interviews with three local students who are fluent in English and Arabic. It was an incredible opportunity to meet and see into the lives of 250 families.

Following graduation I am interested in building my econometric skills and understanding of the private sector by working for an economic consulting firm for a couple of years, and then going on to graduate school for development economics or natural resource economics. Following my graduate studies, I hope to return to the region to work on issues relating to the environmental and social sustainability of water supply and demand.



## Elizabeth Nichols

Joint Degree Program in History and Literature  
and History of Art and Architecture  
Williams/Lodge International Government and  
Public Affairs Fellow

*Traveled to Morocco and Paris to conduct  
comparative urban studies.*

My summer research trip began in Fes, Morocco, and ended in Paris. I spent about ten days in Fes where I stayed in the middle of the old medina, in a beautiful courtyard house, which was owned by an English man and his Moroccan wife. I began my exploration of the medina by simply wandering around, noting observations, sketching, and taking photographs. Wandering around the medina, allowing myself to get lost, was one of the most rewarding experiences of the trip, particularly since I was investigating the “medina as a way of living” and the psychological dimension of the urban experience.

While in Fes, I also investigated the rehabilitation and preservation efforts that were taking place in the city. Among the highlights of this research was a fascinating conversation with David Amster of the American Language Institute of Fes. He was the first Westerner to move to the medina and now undertakes numerous preservation projects. I learned about his philosophy of preservation and the historical and social tendencies that have motivated his work as well as his projection for potential future gentrification and demographic shifts. In addition, I met with a variety of government agencies, such as ADER-FEZ, which work directly with urban projects in the medina. From those agencies, I was able to obtain documents, studies, photographs, and maps that would be valuable sources for further work on the subject.

From Fes, I traveled to Marrakech for a few days. It was interesting to see how this predominately tourist city on the edge of the Sahara compared to Fes. Whereas the city of Fes retains a high level of industry, Marrakech's economy is largely driven by tourism.

I eventually left Morocco for Paris, where I studied the neighborhood of La Goutte d'Or,



where several events were taking place. Among these was La Goutte d'Or En Fête, a local celebration of the community, which accentuated its village-like or small town characteristics. Others included a series of expositions, conferences, and concerts concerning the idea of “[Mé]tissage” sponsored by the Association Mémoire de L'Avenir. In addition to attending these events as well as art exhibitions, conferences, concerts, and slam poetry performances, I also visited local socio-cultural spaces and multi-functional organizations that support the vitality and health of the community. One such socio-cultural space was Saraaba, a restaurant that also holds concerts, exhibitions, slam poetry events, and conferences pertaining to the neighborhood and more specifically to African and Antillais culture. I researched a community-based organization called L'ECHOMUSEE, a local version of an ecomuseum that exhibits the artwork of local artists and held ateliers for members of the community. I also visited Les Xerographes, a local publishing company that has published a number of works by local residents, including poetry, photographs, and diverse recipes representing various cultural backgrounds. Another organization entitled Espoir Goutte d'Or sparked my attention. This association works with drug addicts from the area, providing psychosocial support through several ateliers that use creativity as a methodology to help participants socially reintegrate into the community.

As I walked around the neighborhood, visited the diverse markets featuring unique foods from Africa and the Antilles, photographed the graffiti and murals in the neighborhood, talked to local artists and inhabitants, and visited a variety of

community organizations, I was struck by the creativity that animated the streets of the neighborhood and shed a new light on an urban space that is notorious for crime, drugs, and poverty.

My summer research turned out to be a fascinating and enlightening experience that propelled me into my thesis project, the topic of which became much more focused as a result. I am grateful for the opportunity that the Weatherhead Center provided me, as this trip was valuable not only for my thesis project but also for many aspects of my academic and intellectual life.



## Elizabeth Powers

Sociology

Canada Program Fellow

*Traveled to Toronto to research the formal and informal support networks for South Asian immigrant women.*

I arrived in Toronto at the end of June and stayed for about a month. I had never been to Toronto so it was exciting to explore and learn about a new city. On day one I traveled to “Little India,” a section of the city filled with South Asian clothing shops and restaurants. In the shops I admired the beautiful clothing and bright fabrics. I spoke with the women working at some of the shops to





learn about the community. Most women did not have time to participate in a formal interview, but some shared general knowledge about South Asian communities in Toronto.

In addition to exploring “Little India,” I also volunteered at the South Asian Women’s Center (SAWC) while in Toronto. I joined the Sewing Project at the SAWC, a group of five South Asian immigrant women who use donated fabrics to create dresses, bags, skirts, curtains, and saris. I love to sew so this group was perfect for me! We designed and sewed together for ten hours each week. My friends from the sewing group and social workers at the SAWC invited me to volunteer at other SAWC groups. I helped facilitate the Senior’s Group, Wellness Group, and English Classes.

While in Toronto I conducted 21 interviews in total. I interviewed twelve women who participate in SAWC groups, five women who are social workers at SAWC, and four women who were working in Little India or in restaurants.

Many of the immigrant women discussed how they struggled in Canada and saw their lives as sacrifices for their children. Some said that they were working hard as cashiers or trying to find jobs in factories, etc., but they hoped that their children would be able to go to university and attain professional jobs. Nearly all of the women had arranged marriages. A number of the women immigrated to Canada because their new husbands lived there. Some women discussed how they

felt discriminated against in Canada while others praised Canada’s social services and welfare.

Interestingly, the many clients identified individuals from the SAWC as their only friends. All four of the women I interviewed at work said that they do not have friends or a social life; they just work and raise their family.

I am hoping to focus on the question of friendship patterns in my thesis. Does the difference between the formal support networks for South Asian immigrant women in Toronto and Boston affect their friendship patterns? While women in Toronto can go to the SAWC, a building with twelve full-time employees who speak seventeen languages, women in Boston have more limited options. One organization, Saheli: Friendship for South Asian Women, is a group of South Asian women who run computer and literacy classes in public libraries in the area.

This fall, I conducted nineteen interviews with women connected to Saheli. I have been volunteering at their computer classes and learning about Saheli. In general, women who use Saheli’s services are much less likely to make close friends through the organization than women at the SAWC.

I really appreciated the opportunity given to me by the Weatherhead Center to conduct thesis research and learn from South Asian immigrant women this summer and fall.



## Megan Shutzer

Social Studies

Rogers Family Research Fellow

*Traveled to Africa to study the effects of Operation Rudi Nyumbani.*

I arrived in Kenya and spent my first two weeks in Nairobi talking to as many people (government, NGOs, newspapers) as I could find who knew about Operation Rudi Nyumbani (Operation Return Home), the government mission to close Internal Displacement (IDP) camps a few months after the 2008 election violence. At the time I was hunting for something interesting and a bit narrower that I could focus on in addition to the report I had already seen that documented

the human rights abuses that were widespread throughout the operation. I decided I needed to go into the field on a short fact-finding mission to further hone my topic.

There was a place in Nakuru that caught my eye. It was a place called Pipeline (named after the oil pipeline in the area but eerily reminiscent of the colonial pipeline in which the British detained most of the Kikuyu population), where over 6,000 IDPs had pooled government money and bought sixteen acres of land together.

I spoke with the Pipeline Committee and did semi-structured interviews with Pipeline members—mostly asking people about their families’ history, where their parents were born, how they ended up in the Rift Valley, etc. At the end of the week, I went to Molo and got an extensive tour from the head of the Red Cross sub-branch. We were able to see the differences between the places where people had refused to leave the original IDP camps, the transit camps (where people had moved in groups from the original IDP camp to places near their farms), other self-help groups, and random groups of tents by the side of the highway or near the police stations.

I found that during Operation Rudi Nyumbani, in the South Rift many people formed self-help groups in order to purchase land. Motivations included the desire to own land, fear of returning home, and access to the government allocation of 25,000 Kenyan shillings (KES) for landowners to rebuild their homes. It appears that these groups may have formed spontaneously without the direction and assistance of government or NGOs, although the district commissioner of Nakuru promoted the idea of self-help groups among Kikuyu IDPs. In contrast, in the North Rift, there are no self-help groups, but instead there is a parallel phenomenon of transit camps—groups of IDPs that left the main camps and returned to their home areas but preferred to live in groups rather than on their farms. Most fear insecurity and hostility from the home communities. There are no transit camps south of Molo.

I was surprised to see very little assistance in the self-help group relocation sites. Out of the 21 sites, only two have had assistance rebuilding houses. Most sites have not received food aid since March 2009, and others claim that they have never gotten any food aid. (One group, ALKO, suggests their exclusion from food aid may be based on their ODM political affiliation.)

Some self-help groups have not been assisted because they have had problems with their committees. Pipeline residents have approached the

district commissioner to present their problems of corruption and mismanagement. As a result, most assistance to Pipeline has been stopped and diverted elsewhere. According to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Pipeline is not unusual.

Currently there are several groups working on housing projects in the North Rift. This kind of assistance is supposed to encourage people to return to their homes. It also targets landowners and excludes businesspeople and renters. The government resettlement process has focused on landowners at the expense of people who do not own farms. It has also excluded IDPs who did not flee to camps but rather moved in with family or friends (estimated 300,000). They are termed “integrated IDPs” and have yet to be paid the 10,000 KES, although the government says it will do so. There is a great focus on rooting out fake IDPs and assisting only the genuine ones. Integrated IDPs often suffer because they can be confused for “fake” IDPs. This problem exists because many people saw being an IDP as a profitable identity during the start of Operation Rudi Nyumbani, creating an economy of IDP-ness. Many other IDPs claim that they have not yet

been paid the government’s allocation of 10,000 KES or 25,000 KES. The government acknowledges this shortcoming. However, government representatives often comment that anyone who has not been paid is not actually a “genuine” IDP.

Having now returned to Cambridge, I am working on placing my research within the context of Kenya’s specific history and a framework of social theory, as well as a discourse on human rights and displacement. What originally caught my eye about Operation Rudi Nyumbani was a Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC) report documenting the failure and the human rights abuses of Operation Rudi Nyumbani. I hope to move beyond the limitations of simply asking whether the operation was a failure and to look instead at what Operation Rudi Nyumbani succeeded in doing—not necessarily for the displaced—but for Kenya’s elite. My hypothesis is that the human rights abuses that occurred during the operation are merely the side effects of the underlying priorities driving it: namely, the dissipation of Kenya’s opportunity to address historical land injustices, ethnic inequalities, and corruption in order to preserve an inegalitarian status quo.




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Sarah Hinkfuss (*page 4*)

Surveying: Boy standing in front of his family’s well. They collect rainwater from the roof in the winter and then use the water during the summer. There is no on-site water treatment mechanism.

Elizabeth Nichols (*page 5*)

Graffiti artist at work during the Paris Hip-Hop “Block Party” at Jardins d’Eole on Rue Aubervillies in the 18e arrondissement of Paris. Many graffiti artists spray painted over recent creations, transforming the walls into a creative palimpsest and attesting to the ephemeral quality of the graffiti.

Liz Powers (*page 6*)

Hindu’s Chariot Festival through downtown Toronto, July 2009.

Megan Shutzer (*left*)

Pipeline Self-Help Group, Nakuru, Kenya.

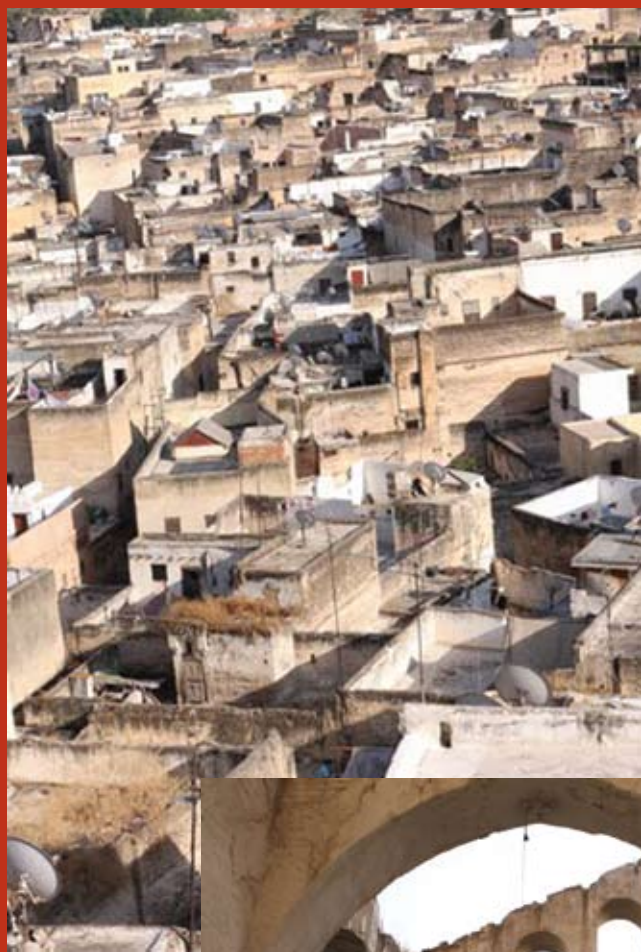


# Photo Essay: Dispatches

Elizabeth Nichols

Below: A view of Fes-el-Bali, or the old medina, from the rooftop of a courtyard house that was renovated by an American woman who runs a restoration business in the city. The image reveals the typically labyrinthine arrangement of urban space in the medina.

Arches of the Makina area in Fes-al-Bali, or the old medina in Fes. Bab-el-Makina has been the site of the annual Sacred Music Festival, which enlivens the otherwise abandoned area. This site is a topic of conversation among urban planners and designers who would like to reintegrate the space into the city.



Above: An example of the graffiti that covers an over 100-meter-long wall along Rue Ordener in the neighborhood of La Goutte d'Or in the 18e arrondissement of Paris. The wall has been transformed into an opportunity for expression and communication for many inhabitants of the multicultural neighborhood, restoring agency and dignity through creative appropriations of urban space. The words "Paris is not a dream" are stenciled onto the wall, pointing to the hidden, and often nefarious, realities of the celebrated city of Paris.



Above: During the Paris Hip-Hop "Block Party" at Jardins d'Eole on Rue Aubervilles in the 18e arrondissement of Paris, many performers celebrated Parisian hip-hop culture by break dancing and transforming walls into colorful graffiti creations.





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Sarah Hinkfuss

Top left: Key Informant Interviews: Two neighborhood children cooling off by playing in the spring water. This spring is publicly owned and unprotected.

Top right: Key Informant Interviews: Within the building is a privately owned spring. This protected source of water is used for a garden shop, sold to tankers and on a farm.



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Elizabeth Powers

Hindu's Chariot Festival through downtown Toronto, July 2009.



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Megan Shutzer

Pipeline Trash Project, Nakuru, Kenya.



# What is the Sustainability of the World's Food and Farming Systems?

by Amanda Pearson



Amanda Pearson is the director of publications at the Weatherhead Center. She has an MSc. from the London School of Economics and will be an MPH candidate in health policy at George Washington University in 2010. Photo courtesy of the United Nations

**F**ood security and sustainable food systems are complex topics that stand at the intersection of many disciplines. Although agricultural scientists such as Nobel Peace Laureate Norman Borlaug (1914–2009) were at the forefront of the “Green Revolution” and its attention to global food security starting in the 1940s, the challenge goes far beyond crop science alone. The Green Revolution spread technologies that assisted developing countries in improving their food production. Such technologies, which had not been widely used outside industrialized nations, included irrigation projects, expanded use of pesticides, fertilizers, and other inputs, and adoption of new crop varieties. But food security is not limited to an understanding of agricultural productivity, or even human nutrition. Parallel components include sociopolitical and economic factors that disrupt the global food supply by impinging on both food production and distribution.

This fall the Weatherhead Center launched “The Sustainability of the World’s Food and Farming Systems,” a faculty workshop co-chaired by Weatherhead Center Associate Robert Paarlberg (Department of Political Science, Wellesley College), Noel Michele Holbrook (Department of Organismic and Evolutionary Biology), and John Briscoe (School of Engineering and Applied Sciences, and Harvard School of Public Health). The purpose of the workshop is to reconsider the earth’s potential to feed the human population in light of both short-term and long-term constraints. After several decades with very low prices, the year 2008 saw a sudden spike in

global food prices. An April 2008 cover of the *Economist* featured the “Silent Tsunami,” about the wave of food-price inflation that was causing worldwide public protests. Turmoil in the international food markets and soaring food prices sparked riots, and civil strife grew, most notably in politically fragile countries such as Haiti and Cote d’Ivoire. The president of the World Bank, Robert Zoellick, warned that in poor countries, where food purchases normally take up half to three-quarters of a person’s income, “There is no margin for survival.”

Workshop participants represent diverse disciplines. This was by design, because as Paarlberg commented at the outset, “a responsible treatment of the topic requires assessment by both natural scientists and social scientists,” including climatologists and environmentalists, as well as experts in medicine, public health, public policy, business administration, and engineering. The Weatherhead Center is well positioned to bring disparate perspectives to bear on urgent and contentious global issues, and “in recent years the issue of sustainable food and farming has arisen as such an issue.” Moreover, the workshop is intended to be a forum for exploring possible collaborations across schools among the faculty who are participants in the workshop. “It’s this sort of collaboration that motivates the Weatherhead Center,” notes Steve Bloomfield, the Weatherhead Center executive director and workshop participant.

The first two presentations to this workshop in fall 2009 were by “food experts,” Derek Byerlee from the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations and Mark Rosegrant from the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI). A third presentation was from Connie Veillette, senior staff member at the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the lead staff member responsible for shaping the Global Food Security Act of 2009.

One way to appreciate what it means to be “food secure” is to understand the inverse: food insecurity is, according to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, “limited or uncertain availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods or limited or uncertain ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways.”<sup>1</sup> And one aspect of food security is to address chronic deficits of diverse dietary options and prevent the emergence of structural hindrances to food security.

## Feeding the World in 2050: The Technology Challenge

Despite increasing from 1 billion up to 6 billion over the past two centuries, the human population maintained



adequate nourishment thanks to dramatic gains in food production made possible with modern science. As the world's population is predicted to reach 9 billion by 2050, will food production keep pace? Derek Byerlee, recently a senior agricultural specialist at the World Bank and currently a consultant to FAO, noted: "Getting the right kind of help is not so easy, partly because food is not a one-solution-fits-all problem and partly because some of the help needed now risks making matters worse in the long run." For example, if institutions such as the World Food Programme provide free food-aid shipments to populations at risk, these emergency food imports can also destabilize local markets and discourage local production.

In his October 2009 presentation to the workshop, Byerlee posed three questions about the future of food production: Has there been a structural shift in global food markets? What yield growth is needed to 2050? What are the technological prospects for closing yield gaps and raising yield potential?

#### Has There Been a Structural Shift in Global Food Markets?

Some argue that the increased food prices of 2008 mainly reflected changes in demand rather than problems of supply. Variables that influence demand include population growth, income growth, meat consumption, livestock feed, and new investments in biofuels programs that convert cereals to fuel. Variables that influence supply include the potential land available for farming, water scarcity, nonrenewable inputs usage, climate change, and stagnation in technological research.

Byerlee argues that biofuels represent a significant structural shift, because they are increasing the demand for food products: seventy percent of all increased corn production globally between 2004 and 2007 was diverted to biofuel use. This diversion resulted from a combination of high energy prices plus policies in both the United States and Europe to mandate or subsidize increased biofuel production. There is hope that the second generation of biofuels will decrease this demand on food and feed grains, but Byerlee questions when they will come on stream, and believes first-generation biofuels will be in use until 2025. "If you look back five years ago, very little of our agriculture feed stock or products were going to biofuels. It took off rapidly around 2002. That consumption really picked up over the past couple of years, since 2007–2008, on grain consumption, sugar cane, and vegetable oils." Brazil, the EU, and the United States together accounted for over 90% of global biofuel production in 2006.<sup>2</sup>

#### Is There Still Room to Improve Global Food Yield?

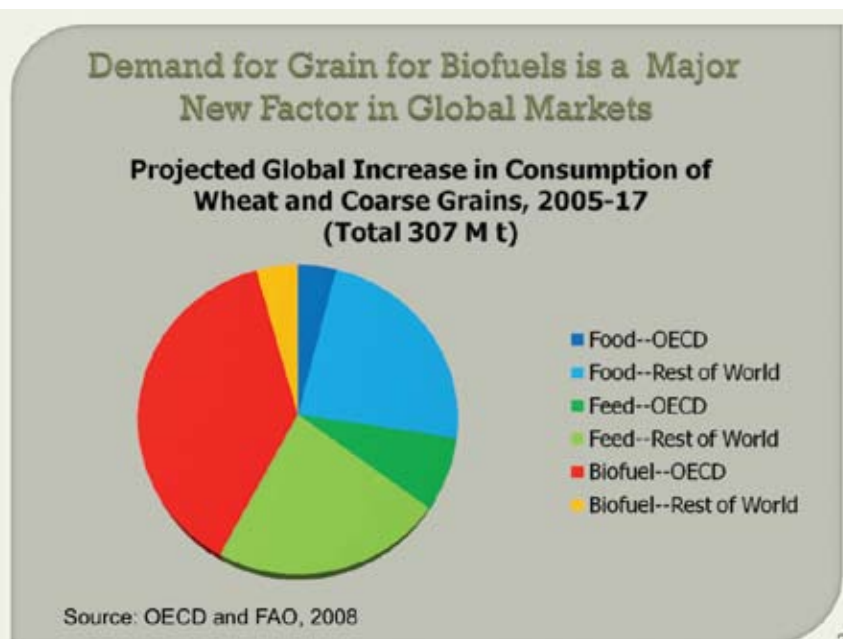
There are indeed gains to be made in improving global food yields, argues Byerlee, who admitted to "cautious

optimism," especially with regard to smallholder farmers in developing countries. Among other reasons, diminished marginal returns have not yet been realized. It is more efficient to "boost grain yields in Africa from two tons per hectare to four than it would be to raise yields in Europe from eight tons to ten."<sup>3</sup> Byerlee contends that technology is crucial, because increasing yield rather

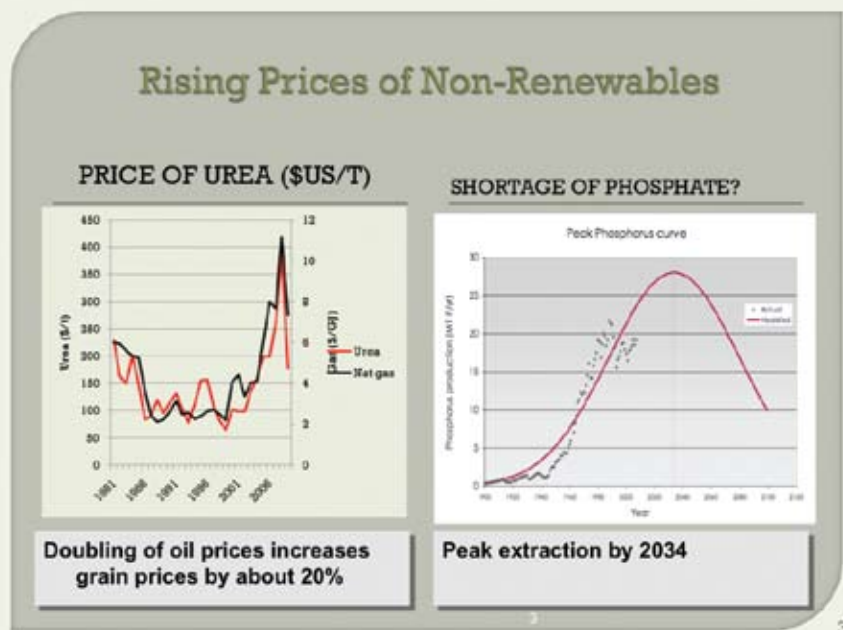
Biofuels: Part of the sustainable food debate revolves around biofuels, as some dispute the suggestion that conversion of crops to biofuels has a major impact on food prices.

Rising Prices of Non-Renewables: A recent article in *Nature* outlines the "disappearing nutrient," phosphate, and its potential impact on food security. (*Nature* 461: 716–718, October 8, 2009.)

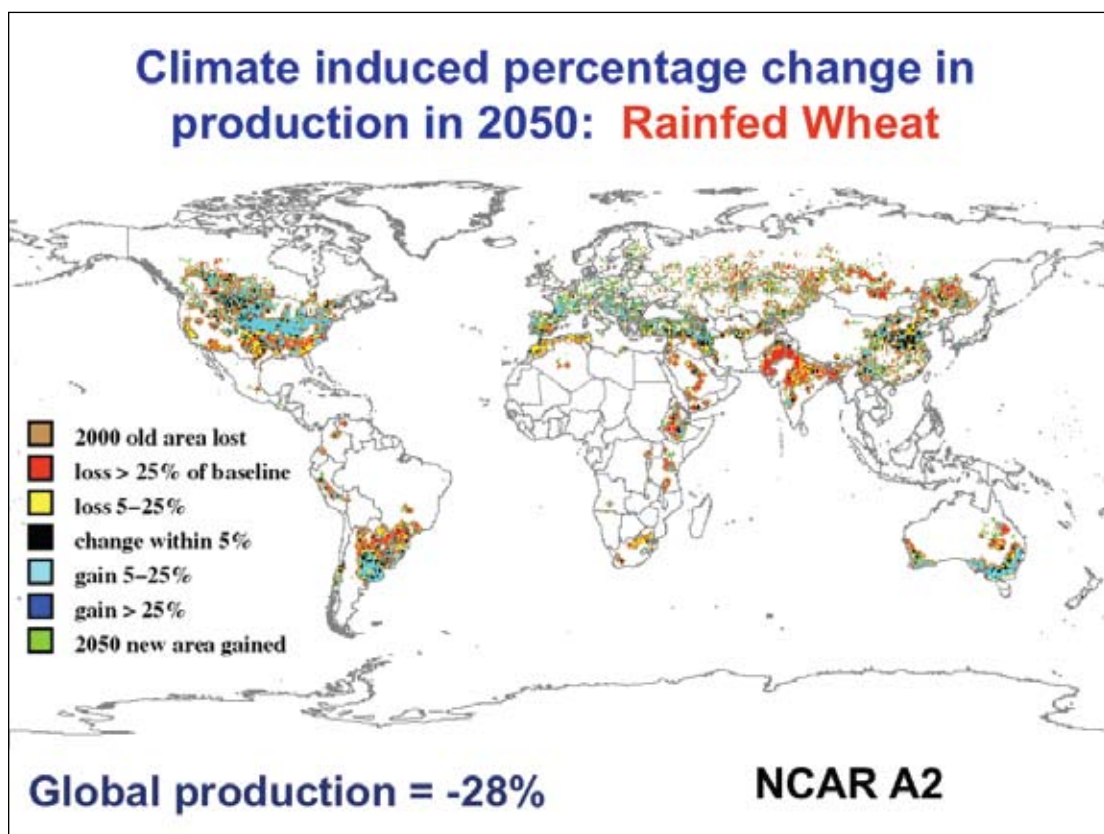
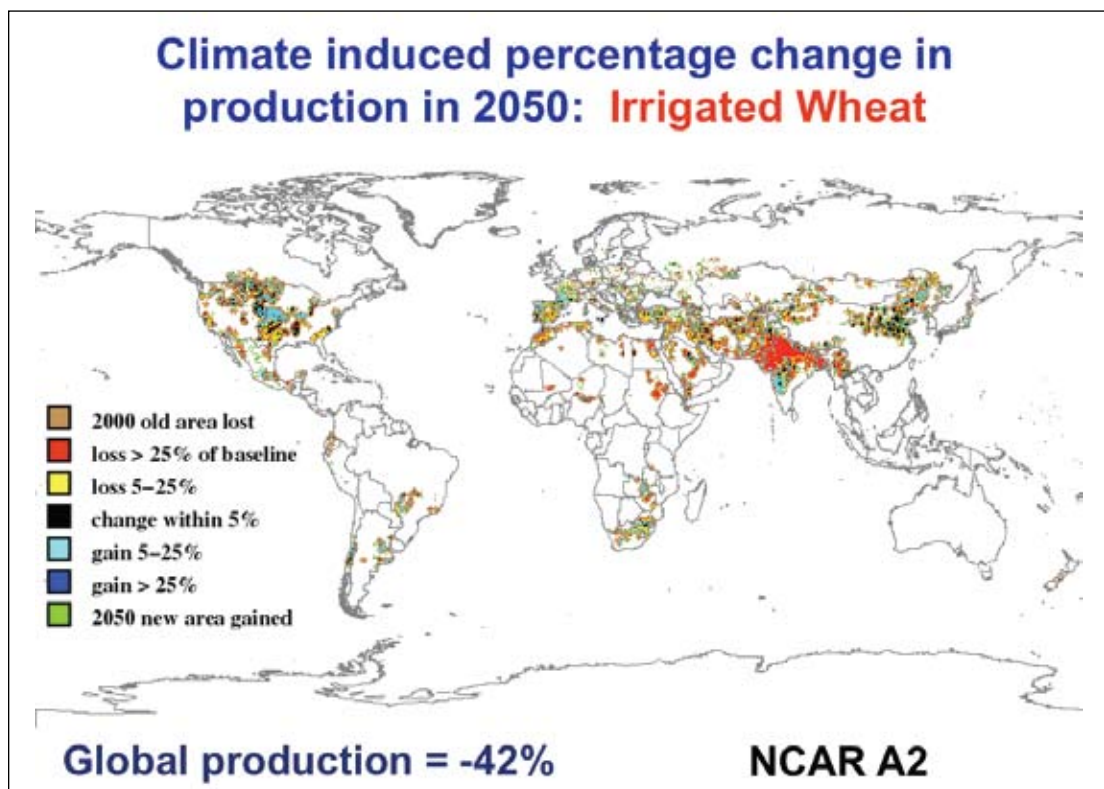
Slides courtesy of Derek Byerlee



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Slides courtesy of Mark Rosegrant



than bringing more land under cultivation is the way to feed the world in the future. With irrigation, agricultural areas that are currently rainfed hold promise for improving yields, as do parts of Africa that currently lack road infrastructure and have low rates of fertilizer use. However, both Holbrook and Samuel S. Myers (Harvard Medical School) questioned whether physiological and environmental constraints on crop production will allow sustainable yields high enough to feed 9 billion people in 2050. The full realization of the potential that technical scientists identify might be prevented by economic constraints, cautioned the social scientists.

In previous centuries, agricultural research gave high returns, but this was due to cheap fertilizer and ready options to breed plants that could transform more fertilizer into harvested food by improving plant architecture, crop duration, and the timing of crop development. Whether research for realizing the remaining potential for raising food production will give comparable returns is highly uncertain.

Paarlberg asked in his proposal to the Weatherhead Center if a single strategy for technology improvement should be followed "both in those poor countries where calorie and micronutrient deficits remain significant and rich countries where over-nutrition and obesity are a growing health problem." Echoing this line of inquiry, Walter Willett (Harvard School of Public Health) questioned the focus on improving grain yields as the best way to address a sustainable food system. Certainly, the solution of "more grain" does not satisfy dietary diversity, which is one of the components to food security.

## Impacts of Climate Change on Agriculture and Costs of Adaption

Mark Rosegrant from IFPRI made the second presentation to the workshop. Rosegrant is the director of IFPRI's Environment and Production Technology Division and the developer of the widely referenced IMPACT-WATER model, used for generating projections and scenarios for global and regional food demand, supply, trade, and prices, while taking into account both climate change and local water constraints.

Can food production keep pace with population growth and escalating dietary demand at an acceptable cost to the natural environment? Is it possible to have an environmentally sustainable system of specialized, capital-intensive farming systems? Integrating location-specific biophysical and socioeconomic modeling is critical to answering that question, proposes Rosegrant, because climate change will vary depending on an area's levels of precipitation and temperature. "There is a need to reconcile macro-level economic models that operate through equilibrium-driven relationships with detailed models of dynamic biophysical processes (crop models) to provide more realistic modeling of climate change." Components of the model include two scenarios: the wetter one is proposed by NCAR (National Center for Atmospheric Research) and the drier one by CSIRO (Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation). Crop models simulate plant growth by crop and variety (e.g., maize, variety IB00041), day-by-day, in response to variables such as temperature, precipitation, characteristics of the soil, and use of nitrogen fertilizers.

A resident of the Kibati camp of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) collects food rations distributed by the World Food Programme. North Kivu, Democratic Republic of the Congo. Photo courtesy of the United Nations



Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon (right) listens to Lars Peder Brekk, Minister of Agriculture and Food of Norway, inside the Global Seed Vault in Longyearbyen, Norway, established early last year to protect seed samples from around the world against the threats of climate change, disease, and disasters.

*Photo courtesy of the United Nations*



The policy recommendations that emerge from Rosegrant's work include major new investments—more than \$7 billion annually—designed to make smallholder farmers more resilient in the face of climate change. At the regional level in sub-Saharan Africa, much of this funding would go for infrastructure such as rural roads, whereas in South Asia more would be focused on agricultural research and irrigation efficiency, especially in water-stressed areas where adopting water-efficient technologies to harvest water and conserve soil moisture is needed.

Among Rosegrant's suggested policy measures would be to improve the efficient use of land, water, and ecosystems by reducing water, energy, and fertilizer subsidies. Government intervention—subsidies, price controls, export restrictions, lower tariffs, or incentives to leave land fallow—contributes in significant ways to agricultural resilience.

An exchange between Ashutosh Varshney (Department of Political Science, Brown University) and Rosegrant at the conclusion of the presentation captures the importance of having representatives from various disciplines collaborate on such complex topics as food security:

"There is this whole science side to agriculture ... But there's this whole other side, which is best summed up as political economy. You might want to consider what some political economy factors might do. I don't have a global scenario in mind, but in the places that I know reasonably well—India and China—there are some remarkable figures. For example, agricultural GDP growth rates in India are down 16% from the 1980s. Agricultural GDP growth rates in China are down around 20%. However, 55–60% of China's population is still partly or entirely dependent

on agriculture. And 60–65% of India's population is still partly or entirely dependent on agriculture. So what is statistically a small fact, in political economy terms can be a huge fact: two thirds of India and slightly less than two thirds of China is still rural-based. China's Gini coefficients are touching .5, and India's interpersonal Ginis are about .45. This kind of inequality that is emerging, urban versus rural and interpersonal, is probably going to generate a kind of politics that could be fairly catastrophic, at least in democratic systems that have the option to mobilize. Whether or not science comes to these predictions about 2050, there is a huge unknown: what will rising Gini coefficients do to the way policies are formed?"

Rosegrant acknowledged the elephant in the room and the unknowns represented by political economy: "The biggest thing we missed in our earlier work that started in the 1990s was the collapse of the Soviet Union, which threw off our predictions." ●

<sup>1</sup> "Food Security in the United States: Measuring Household Food Security." USDA. <http://www.ers.usda.gov/Briefing/FoodSecurity/measurement.htm> (accessed December 10, 2009).

<sup>2</sup> Koning, Nick, and Arthur P. J. Mol. "Wanted: Institutions For Balancing Global Food and Energy Markets." *Food Security* (2009) 1:291–303.

<sup>3</sup> "The New Face of Hunger." *Economist*, April 17, 2008.



### Harvest Time

by Laurence H. Winnie

The fall 2009 *Centerpiece* coincides with one of the most important times of the year for the Harvard Academy—its selection process for pre- and postdoctoral fellowships.

#### The Academy

The Harvard Academy is one of several programs of the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. Like each of them, we have our special mission. The Academy was founded in 1986 to support young scholars in the social sciences who have learned about, worked in, and researched a country or region outside the West. Henry Rosovsky (dean of Harvard's Faculty of Arts and Sciences from 1973 to 1991) and our founding benefactor Dr. Ira Kucin intended to add to the body of political scientists, economists, anthropologists, sociologists, social psychologists, and historians whose work is grounded in a non-Western culture, region, language, or history. It's an exciting idea, because it means that there is a steady stream of faculty uniting theory with culture and history.

#### Hopeful Arrivals

Autumn is an important time for the Academy, because we receive applications from advanced graduate students and recent Ph.D.'s (within the last three years) who are doing fascinating, original, groundbreaking research in non-Western areas of the world. Every October (now the invariable date is October 1), we receive applications for the next academic year. Applications usually begin arriving only within a few days of the deadline; our mailbox swells, and then, twice a day, has cartons of mail arrayed around it to meet the sudden flow. For a few days, it seems like the Academy is one of the most mailed addresses in zip code 02138.

Since there is no restriction on nationality, applications come from all over the world (in all kinds of envelopes) and are filled with the hard work, the deep learning, and the hopes of the applicants. I know when I am reading them that, in a way, the applications, and the finalists whom we will eventually meet, represent important trends in various disciplines in the social sciences.

#### Swimming in the Pool

There are so many envelopes in our office that it has been the practice for some time to hire temporary staff to help with the application process—just to open the envelopes



2009–2010 Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies. Photo credit: Martha Stewart

would take a week for me and Program Officer Kathleen Hoover. Instead, with meticulous and careful support, the ocean of paper is channeled into folders and labeled, put in one of several bins, and tracked. It's a great deal of work for our small office. The waves of mail rise and crash over us, and then subside.

#### Ebb & Flow

We of course estimate each year what the total number of applications will be. We stare at the piles, consider the flow from last year, look at how many boxes are already filled, and check the wind direction. Each year, the Academy appoints four to five new Academy Scholars (we have about ten total at any one time; they receive two years of support). In 2008, the Academy received 308 applications for the four available fellowships; this year we had to borrow extra boxes from the Weatherhead Center to accommodate 351.

#### Foreign Places

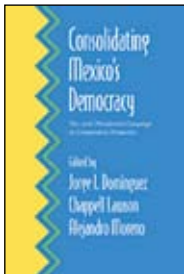
All applications are read. The executive officer of the Harvard Academy and its eleven Senior Scholars are the laborers in this task. Each folder tells an interesting story; almost every one includes a narrative from the field, of learning about a new culture, region, and language. They burn bright with the often hard-won familiarity of that other place: interviews, archives, and officials; one and sometimes several foreign languages; and on occasion civil conflicts even color these files. There are tales of travel, the excitement of new worlds discovered, both

Laurence H. Winnie is the executive officer of the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies.

*Continued on page 18*

### Consolidating Mexico's Democracy: The 2006 Presidential Campaign in Comparative Perspective

Edited by Jorge I. Domínguez, Chappell H. Lawson, and Alejandro Moreno



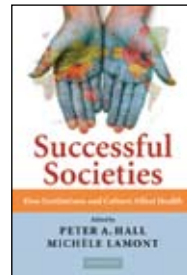
In 2006, Felipe Calderón narrowly defeated Andrés Manuel López Obrador in Mexico's hotly contested presidential election. Mexico's 2006 presidential race demonstrated the importance of contested elections in democratic consolidation. *Consolidating Mexico's Democracy* is at once a close examination of this historic election and an original contribution to the comparative study of elections throughout the world. The contributors to this volume—preeminent scholars from the fields of political science and government—make use of extensive research data to analyze the larger issues and voter practices at play in this election. With their exclusive use of panel surveys—where individuals are interviewed repeatedly to ascertain whether they have changed their voter preference during an election campaign—the contributors gather rich evidence that uniquely informs their assessment of the impact of the presidential campaign and the voting views of Mexican citizens. The contributors find that, regardless of the deep polarization between the presidential candidates, the voters expressed balanced and nuanced political views, focusing on the perceived competence of the candidates. The essays here suggest the 2006 election, which was only the second fully free and competitive presidential election allowed by the Mexican government, edged the country closer to the pattern of public opinion and voting behavior that is familiar in well-established democracies in North America and Western Europe.

(John Hopkins Press, 2009)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Jorge I. Domínguez is the Antonio Madero Professor of Mexican and Latin American Politics and Economics in the Department of Government and vice provost for international affairs.

### Successful Societies: How Institutions and Culture Affect Health

By Peter A. Hall and Michèle Lamont



Why are some societies more successful than others at promoting individual and collective well-being? This book integrates recent research in social epidemiology with broader perspectives in social science to explore why some societies are more successful than others at securing population health. It explores the social roots of health inequalities, arguing that inequalities in health are based on not only economic inequalities but also the structure of social relations. *Successful Societies* develops sophisticated new perspectives on social relations, which emphasize the ways in which cultural frameworks as well as institutions condition people's health. The book reports on research into health inequalities in the developed and developing worlds, covering a wide range of national case studies, and includes research on the ways in which social relations condition the effectiveness of public policies aimed at improving health.

(Cambridge University Press, 2009)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Peter A. Hall is the Krupp Foundation Professor of European Studies in the Department of Government. Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Michèle Lamont is the Robert I. Goldman Professor of European Studies.

### Inventing Equal Opportunity

By Frank Dobbin



Equal opportunity in the workplace is thought to be the direct legacy of the civil rights and feminist movements and the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964. Yet, as Frank Dobbin demonstrates, corporate personnel experts—not

Congress or the courts—were the ones who determined what equal opportunity meant in practice, designing changes in how employers hire, promote, and fire workers, and ultimately defining what discrimination is, and is not, in the American imagination.

Dobbin shows how Congress and the courts merely endorsed programs devised by corporate personnel. He traces how the first measures were adopted by military contractors worried that the Kennedy administration would cancel their contracts if they didn't take "affirmative action" to end discrimination. These measures built on existing personnel programs, many designed to prevent bias against unionists. Dobbin follows the changes in the law as personnel experts invented one wave after another of equal opportunity programs. He examines how corporate personnel formalized hiring and promotion practices in the 1970s to eradicate bias by managers...how in the 1980s they answered Ronald Reagan's threat to end affirmative action by recasting their efforts as diversity-management programs; and how the growing presence of women in the newly named human resources profession has contributed to a focus on sexual harassment and work/life issues. *Inventing Equal Opportunity* reveals how the personnel profession devised—and ultimately transformed—our understanding of discrimination.

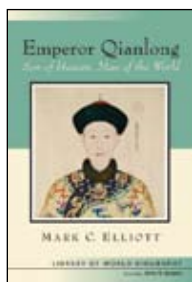
(Princeton University Press, 2009)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Frank Dobbin is professor of sociology.



## Emperor Qianlong: Son of Heaven, Man of the World

By Mark C. Elliott



During the 64 years of Qianlong's rule, China's population more than doubled, its territory increased by one-third, its cities flourished, and its manufactures—tea, silk, porcelain—were principal items of international commerce. Based on original Chinese and Manchu-language sources, and drawing on the latest scholarship, this is the biography of the man who, in presiding over imperial China's last golden epoch, created the geographic and demographic framework of modern China.

This accessible account describes the personal struggles and public drama surrounding one of the major political figures of the early modern age, with special consideration given to the emperor's efforts to rise above ethnic divisions and to encompass the political and religious traditions of Han Chinese, Mongols, Tibetans, Turks, and other peoples of his realm.

In addition to becoming familiar with one of the most remarkable figures in world history, readers will find that learning about Emperor Qianlong will add greatly to their appreciation of China's place in the world of the eighteenth century and will deepen their understanding of China's place in the world today.

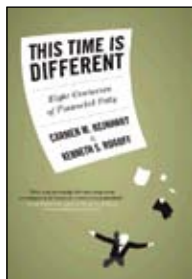
(Prentiss Hall, 2009)

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Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Mark C. Elliott is the Mark Schwartz Professor of Chinese and Inner Asian History in the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations.

## This Time is Different: Eight Centuries of Financial Folly

By Carmen M. Reinhart and Kenneth S. Rogoff



Throughout history, rich and poor countries alike have been lending, borrowing, crashing—and recovering—their way through an extraordinary range of financial crises. Each time, the experts have chimed, “this time is different”—claiming that the old rules of valuation no longer apply and that the new situation bears little similarity to past disasters. This book proves that premise wrong. Covering 66 countries across five continents, *This Time Is Different* presents a comprehensive look at the varieties of financial crises, and guides us through eight astonishing centuries of government defaults, banking panics, and inflationary spikes—from medieval currency debasements to today's subprime catastrophe. Carmen Reinhart and Kenneth Rogoff, leading economists whose work has been influential in the policy debate concerning the current financial crisis provocatively argue that financial combustions are universal rites of passage for emerging and established market nations. The authors draw important lessons from history to show us how much—or how little—we have learned.

Using clear, sharp analysis and comprehensive data, Reinhart and Rogoff document that financial fallouts occur in clusters and strike with surprisingly consistent frequency, duration, and ferocity. They examine the patterns of currency crashes, high and hyperinflation, and government defaults on international and domestic debts—as well as the cycles in housing and equity prices, capital flows, unemployment, and government revenues around these crises. While countries do weather their financial storms, the authors prove that short memories make it all too easy for crises to recur.

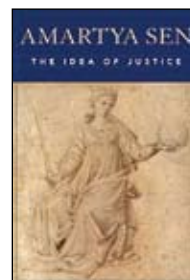
(Princeton University Press, 2009)

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Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Kenneth S. Rogoff is the Thomas D. Cabot Professor of Public Policy in the Department of Economics.

## The Idea of Justice

By Amartya Sen



Social justice: an ideal, forever beyond our grasp, or one of many practical possibilities? More than a matter of intellectual discourse, the idea of justice plays a real role in how—and how well—people live. And in this book the distinguished scholar Amartya Sen offers a powerful critique of the theory of social justice that, in its grip on social and political thinking, has long left practical realities far behind.

The transcendental theory of justice, the subject of Sen's analysis, flourished in the Enlightenment and has proponents among some of the most distinguished philosophers of our day; it is concerned with identifying perfectly just social arrangements, defining the nature of the perfectly just society. The approach Sen favors, on the other hand, focuses on the comparative judgments of what is “more” or “less” just, and on the comparative merits of the different societies that actually emerge from certain institutions and social interactions.

At the heart of Sen's argument is a respect for reasoned differences in our understanding of what a “just society” really is. People of different persuasions (e.g., utilitarians, economic egalitarians, labor right theorists, no-nonsense libertarians) might each reasonably see a clear and straightforward resolution to questions of justice. And yet, these clear and straightforward resolutions would be completely different. In light of this, Sen argues for a comparative perspective on justice that can guide us in the choice between alternatives that we inevitably face.

(Harvard University Press, 2009)

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Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Amartya Sen is the Thomas W. Lamont University Professor in the Department of Economics.

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*Continued from page 15*

intellectual realms and real ones, past or present, unknown or now known in new ways. The hard work of learning about and researching and living in another culture is evident in almost every folder.

### Cambridge Interview

A preliminary reading of each submission and two selection meetings reduces the 351 applications to the last ten. These are the candidates who will be interviewed. From wherever they are, the finalists are flown to Harvard at the Academy's expense for a brief thirty-minute dialogue with the Senior Scholars and executive officer. The interview day is especially important to us all. Every reader has some notion, however vague, of what the person is like whose file he or she has read. When we finally meet the candidates, sometimes the relation between the project and the person is striking. The interview is also, more crucially, the opportunity to see how each applicant understands and explains both what they have done and what it means. Here, in person, you get to see how someone's mind works. It's one of the fundamental touchstones of academic life: interviewing a candidate.

Though all of the applicants work in the social sciences and history, they still speak in slightly different languages: one can hear the accents of the historians, the inflections of the anthropologists, and the very particular jargon of the economists and political scientists. It's also very satisfying when the candidates discuss ideas borrowed from other disciplines. Sometimes historians use economic terms as the best way to speak about their subject, sometimes the anthropologists take on the accents of the social psychologists. And, yes, they literally speak in accents of different cultures and languages. Candidates may have earned their graduate degree at MIT, Berkeley, London School of Economics and Political Science, or the University of Toronto. And though they may have a U.S. graduate degree, they may be a foreign national. For example, of the ten Academy Scholars this year, five are not U.S. citizens; they were born in Argentina, Canada, Greece, Poland, and Turkey.

### Sitting In

The final candidates are of very high quality. I am always struck by how relaxed they are. Perhaps it's because they have explained their work before in front of probing, questioning elders. Perhaps it's because they thoroughly know their field and the value of their recent work in it. Perhaps it's also because so many of them genuinely are at home in the rapid give-and-take of the short interview. This comes through with almost all of the candidates. But these finalists show more: they enjoy the intellectual surprises uncovered by their work. They are excited by the unexpected and they are witty, and even funny, about their experiences either doing their research or discussing their results. It's important that they be at home in this arena. If they are good, and worthy of two years of support from the Academy for their intellectual work, they will likely be spending their professional lives in it.

### New Scholars, New Year

I would like to say that my job is to make as hard as possible the decision about which of these ten candidates are interviewed, by doing whatever I can to have an embarrassment of riches from which to choose. Those selected to be Academy Scholars will have their lives changed by what happens this fall. I look forward to seeing the new people, who will not appear in Cambridge until the late summer. They will bring with them that vital thing: new intellectual horizons. Phone calls and emails are exchanged. Letters go out. The nights are getting colder. The harvest is in.