

CENTERPIECE

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NEWSLETTER OF THE WEATHERHEAD CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY



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From the Director

he year 2011 has begun with an array of events that have justly captured the attention of humanity worldwide. The Weatherhead Center recently sponsored a series of gatherings that convened our intellectual community to discuss critical "local" issues of global importance. As scholars, our hope is to continually engage not only with theory and scholarly trends, but to engage world events with a depth and breadth of experience and understanding that only a diverse research community can provide.

Events in the Middle East and Northern Africa have provided one common theme around which our

research community has recently convened. The theme of democratic change in Egypt and elsewhere has sparked discussion about the experience of demanding peaceful change at the street level. In March, the WCFIA co-sponsored a screening of the powerful film documentary, We Are Egypt, the story of the struggle for democracy in Egypt that led to the historic uprising in January and February 2011. The screening was followed by commentary from Harvard Kennedy School professor and WCFIA Faculty Associate Tarek Masoud and filmmaker Lillie Paquette.

In addition, the Harvard Graduate School of Education and the WCFIA co-hosted a lecture by Sahar El-Nadi, creator and director of the award-winning intercultural communication project, "Don't Hate, Educate." Her lecture was yet another opportunity to bring into our midst eyewitness accounts of the processes most of us saw unfold only in the newspapers. These are, of course, enriching opportunities to inform our research with the perspectives of those with on-the-spot experience.



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The Program on U.S.-Japan Relations: Crisis in Japan 15 Also, in the middle of April, the Center's Program on Transatlantic Relations organized a seminar entitled "After Libya: A Revival of the Age of Intervention?" in which Associate Bjoern Seibert, a policy adviser for the Policy Planning and Advisory Staff of the German Federal Ministry of Defense in Berlin moderated a discussion among Barry Posen, Ford International Professor of Political Science and director of the Security Studies Program at MIT; Roger Owen, A.J. Meyer Professor of Middle East History in Harvard's Department of History; and Weatherhead Center Fellow and US Air Force Colonel, Dagvin Anderson. The debate focused on the strategic advisability and the ethics of NATO's imposition of a no-fly zone and its subsequent intervention to support the rebellion against Libyan President Muammar el-Qaddafi.

The tragic triple disaster in Japan has also spawned a wide array of activities that inform our affiliates and the broader Harvard community. Long one of our most vibrant programs, the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations worked alongside Harvard students to organize a "Harvard for Japan Week" (March 21–26, 2011). This week included both an informational as well as a humanitarian dimension. We applaud and support the students and staff who organized a donation drive that has so far raised over \$100,000 to go to the Japanese Red Cross Society. Kotaro Tamura, Research Associate of our Program

on U.S.-Japan Relations, also spoke at a very well-attended seminar on "How Will Japan Recover from the Great Earthquake?" Then on March 23, the Tsai Auditorium was packed for a panel discussion entitled "Crisis in Japan: The Way Forward." The event was sponsored by the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations, the Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies, the Harvard University Asia Center, and the Takemi Program in International Health at the Harvard School of Public Health (HSPH). In addition, our own affiliate, lain Miller, who taught school along the rugged Sanriku Coast of northeastern Japan in 1990, described in knowing detail in the *New York Times* how Japan has attempted to apply technological solutions to the forces of nature they face. Unfortunately, he notes, no one anticipated quite the wave experienced on March 11, 2011.

We are a Center devoted to basic research in the social sciences in international and transnational affairs. The past few months have provided ample opportunities for us to think about how what we study connects with developments—positive and disastrous—around the world. Hopefully, our research can contribute in some way to understanding and addressing such issues. We are grateful for the broader intellectual community of scholars, advocates, and practitioners who help us find common ground to do so successfully.

Beth A. Simmons, Center Director

Cover: Our building at 61 Kirkland Street. This location houses the Fellows Program and the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations. Photo credit: Megan Countey



Book Award Named for Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate

The Middle East Studies Association (MESA) announced a new book award named for Professor **Roger Owen** of Harvard's Center for Middle Eastern Studies (CMES). The Roger Owen Book Award will recognize work on the economics, economic history, or political economy of the Middle East and North Africa in the modern period and will be awarded biennially to a single recipient.

Professor Owen's research focuses on the economic and political history of the Middle East since 1800 and theories of imperialism including military occupations.

Presidential Grand Award Presented to Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate

Turkish President Abdullah Gül presented a Presidential Grand Award in Culture and Arts to Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate **Cemal Kafadar** for history. Kafadar is the Vehbi Koç Professor of Turkish Studies in the Department of History, and his research focuses on the social and cultural history of the Middle East and southeastern Europe in the early modern era.

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Awarded Deutsche Bank Prize in Financial Economics for 2011

Professor **Ken Rogoff** of the Department of Economics has recently been awarded the Deutsche Bank Prize in Financial Economics for 2011.

The prize honors an internationally renowned researcher in the fields of finance, money, and macroeconomics, whose work has led to practice and policy-relevant results. The prize jury praised Rogoff for his "pioneering contributions," notably his work on the origins of crises. The prize, which is sponsored by the Deutsche Bank Donation Fund and awarded by Goethe University's Center for Financial Studies, carries a cash award of €50,000. The prize holder is also appointed as a Distinguished Fellow of the Center for Financial Studies. Josef Ackermann, CEO of Deutsche Bank, will present the prize at an academic symposium in Frankfurt in September 2011.

Weatherhead Center Advisory Committee Member Creates Fellowship Fund

The Weatherhead Center and the Harvard Kennedy School are establishing the **Kenneth I. Juster** Fellowship Fund to support the research of outstanding students specializing in international and global affairs. Kenneth I. Juster (pictured right) has devoted much of his education, professional activities, and nonprofit endeavors to international affairs. As a student, practicing attorney, senior government official, business executive, and trustee of nonprofit organizations, he has been deeply engaged in promoting international understanding and advancing international relations.



The Kenneth I. Juster Fellowship Fund will provide students with opportunities for field research in the areas of international relations, international trade and economic affairs, international development, international negotiation and dispute resolution, and global governance and affairs. Recipients will be known as Juster Fellows, and at the Weatherhead Center all of the grantees will be undergraduates of Harvard College.

Rogoff's main field of research is international finance, and has strong political economy and macroeconomic themes. Some of the issues he has studied include international financial crises, central bank independence, exchange rates, current account imbalances and political budget cycles.

Former Undergraduate Associate Publishes Thesis in Journal

Former Undergraduate Associate (2009–2010) **Joanna Naples-Mitchell** had her thesis published in a special issue of the *International Journal of Human Rights* on the role of UN Special Rapporteurs. The article "Perspectives of UN Special Rapporteurs on their Role: Inherent Tensions and Unique Contributions to Human Rights" can be found in the second issue of 2011.

Harvard University Welcomes Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate as Professor of Economics

The Department of Economics is pleased to announce that **Gita Gopinath** has been granted tenure as a professor of economics. Professor Gopinath's research focuses on international macroeconomics and trade.

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate awarded Duncan Black Prize for 2011

Professor **Kenneth Shepsle** is the winner of the 2011 Duncan Black Prize for the best article in *Public Choice* in 2010. The paper, co-authored with Abhinay Muthoo of the University of Warwick, is "Information, Institutions, and Constitutional Arrangements."

Professor Shepsle has written numerous articles on formal political theory, congressional and parliamentary politics, public policy, and political economy.

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Awarded Honorary Degree

Professor **Michael Herzfeld** of the Department of Anthropology has received an honorary doctorate from the University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki, Greece.

Professor Herzfeld gave his acceptance address in the form of a conference keynote speech, in Greek, on "The Social Production of Difference in the Global Hierarchy of Value: Stereotypes and Transnational Experience in Greece and the Balkans." Professor Herzfeld is the author of several books about Greek society and culture and has conducted research there for many years.

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Named Dean of Social Science

Peter V. Marsden, professor of sociology, has been named the new Harvard Faculty of Arts and Science's dean of social science, effective January 1, 2011.

Marsden's research interests are centered on social organization, especially formal organizations and social networks. He has ongoing interests in social science methodology and in the sociology of medicine.

Weatherhead Center Affiliate Awarded the Johan Skytte Prize

The 2011 Johan Skytte Prize was awarded to Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate **Pippa Norris** and Ronald Inglehart, emeritus professor in sociology at the University of Michigan, for their collaborative work investigating and highlighting the importance of human values and value change for political behavior and societal life. They share the prize for "contributing innovative ideas about the relevance and roots of political culture in a global context, transcending previous mainstream approaches of research."

Continued on page 16

NAFTA and the Politics of Labor Transnationalism Tamara Kay



When NAFTA went into effect in 1994, many feared it would intensify animosity among North American unions, lead to the scapegoating of Mexican workers and immigrants, and eclipse any possibility for cross-border labor

cooperation. But far from polarizing workers, NAFTA unexpectedly helped stimulate labor transnationalism among key North American unions and erode union policies and discourses rooted in racism. The emergence of labor transnationalism in North America presents compelling political and sociological puzzles: How did NAFTA, the concrete manifestation of globalization processes in North America, help deepen labor solidarity on the continent? In addition to making the provocative argument that global governance institutions can play a pivotal role in the development of transnational social movements, this book suggests that globalization need not undermine labor movements: collectively, unions can help shape how the rules governing the global economy are made.

(Cambridge University Press, 2011)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Tamara Kay is an associate professor of sociology and co-director of the Transnational Studies Initiative at the Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations in the Harvard Kennedy School.

Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World

Maya Jasanoff



At the end of the American Revolution, sixty thousand Americans loyal to the British cause fled the United States and became refugees throughout the British Empire. This groundbreaking book offers the first global histo-

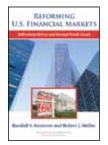
ry of the loyalist exodus to Canada, the Caribbean, Sierra Leone, India, and beyond. Following extraordinary journeys like the one of Elizabeth Johnston, a young mother from Georgia, who led her growing family to Britain, Jamaica, and Canada, questing for a home; black loyalists such as David George, who escaped from slavery in Virginia and went on to found Baptist congregations in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone; and Mohawk Indian leader Joseph Brant, who tried to find autonomy for his people in Ontario, Liberty's Exiles challenges conventional understandings about the founding of the United States and the shaping of the postrevolutionary world. Based on original research on four continents, this book is at once an intimate narrative history and a provocative new analysis—a story about the past that helps us think about migration, tolerance, and liberty in the world today.

(Knopf, 2011)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Maya Jasanoff is an associate professor in the Department of History.

Reforming U.S. Financial Markets: Reflections Before and Beyond Dodd-Frank

Edited by Benjamin M. Friedman, co-authored by Randall S. Kroszner, Robert J. Shiller



Over the last few years, the financial sector has experienced its worst crisis since the 1930s. The collapse of major firms, the decline in asset values, the interruption of credit flows, the loss of confidence in firms and

credit market instruments, the intervention by governments and central banks—all were extraordinary in scale and scope. In this book, leading economists Randall S. Kroszner and Robert J. Shiller discuss what the United States should do to prevent another such financial meltdown. Their discussion goes beyond the nuts and bolts of legislative and regulatory fixes to consider fundamental changes in our financial arrangements.

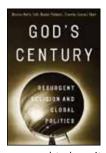
Benjamin M. Friedman is the author and/or editor of eleven other books, aimed primarily at economists and economic policymakers, as well as the author of more than one hundred articles on monetary economics, macroeconomics, and monetary and fiscal policy. Mr. Friedman has written extensively on economic policy, and in particular on the role of the financial markets in shaping how monetary and fiscal policies affect overall economic activity. Specific subjects of his work include the effects of government deficits and surpluses on interest rates, exchange rates, and business investment; appropriate quidelines for the conduct of US monetary policy; and appropriate policy actions in response to crises in a country's banking or financial system.

(MIT Press, 2011)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Benjamin M. Friedman is the William Joseph Maier Professor of Political Economy in the Department of Economics. Randall S. Krozner is the Norman R. Bobins Professor of Economics at the University of Chicago Booth School of Business. Robert J. Shiller is the Arthur M. Okun Professor of Economics at Yale University.

God's Century: Resurgent Religion and Global Politics

Monica Duffy Toft, Daniel Philpott, and Timothy Samuel Shah



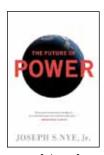
Is religion a force for good or evil in world politics? How much influence does it have? Despite predictions of its decline, religion has resurged in political influence across the globe, helped by the very forces that were

supposed to bury it: democracy, globalization, and technology. And despite recent claims that religion is exclusively irrational and violent, its political influence is in fact diverse, sometimes promoting civil war and terrorism but at other times fostering democracy, reconciliation, and peace. Looking across the globe, the authors explain what generates these radically divergent behaviors. In a time when the public discussion of religion is overheated, these young scholars use original analysis and case studies to show us both how and why religion's influence on global politics is surging. Finally, they offer concrete suggestions on how to both confront the challenges and take advantage of the opportunities posed by globally resurgent religion.

(W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 2011)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Monica Duffy Toft is an associate professor of public policy, and director of the Initiative on Religion in International Affairs at the Harvard Kennedy School. Daniel Philpott is a former Associate of the Weatherhead Center and an associate professor of political science and peace studies at the University of Notre Dame. Timothy Samuel Shah is a former Associate of the Weatherhead Center and the associate director of the Religious Freedom Project at the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs.

The Future of Power *Joseph S. Nye, Jr.*



In the era of Kennedy and Khrushchev, power was expressed in terms of nuclear missiles, industrial capacity, numbers of men under arms, and tanks lined up ready to cross the plains of Eastern Europe. By 2010,

none of these factors confer power in the same way: industrial capacity seems an almost Victorian virtue, and cyber threats are wielded by non-state actors. Politics changed, and the nature of power—defined as the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes you want—had changed dramatically. Power is not static; its story is of shifts and innovations, technologies and relationships.

Joseph Nye is a long-time analyst of power and a hands-on practitioner in government. Many of his ideas have been at the heart of recent debates over the role America should play in the world: his concept of "soft power" has been adopted by leaders from Britain to China, and "smart power" has been adopted as the bumper-sticker for the Obama Administration's foreign policy. This book is the summation of his work, as relevant to general readers as to foreign policy specialists. It is a vivid narrative that delves behind the elusive faces of power to discover its enduring nature in the cyber age.

(PublicAffairs, 2010)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Joseph S. Nye is the former director of the Center for International Affairs, the Sultan of Oman Professor of International Relations at the Harvard Kennedy School, and a University Distinguished Service Professor.

Understanding Global Trade Elhanan Helpman



Global trade is of vital interest to citizens as well as policymakers, yet it is widely misunderstood. This compact exposition of the market forces underlying international commerce addresses both of these concerned groups,

as well as the needs of students and scholars. Although it contains no equations, it is almost mathematical in its elegance, precision, and power of expression.

Understanding Global Trade provides a thorough explanation of what shapes the international organization of production and distribution and the resulting trade flows. It reviews the evolution of knowledge in this field from Adam Smith to today as a process of theoretical modeling, accumulation of new empirical data, and then revision of analytical frameworks in response to evidence and changing circumstances. It explains the sources of comparative advantage and how they lead countries to specialize in making products which they then sell to other countries. While foreign trade contributes to the overall welfare of a nation, it also creates winners and losers, and Helpman describes mechanisms through which trade affects a country's income distribution.

The book provides a clear and original account of the revolutions in trade theory of the 1980s and the most recent decade. It shows how scholars shifted the analysis of trade flows from the sectoral level to the business-firm level, to elucidate the growing roles of multinational corporations, offshoring, and outsourcing in the international division of labor. Helpman's explanation of the latest research findings is essential for an understanding of world affairs.

(Harvard University Press, 2010)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Elhanan Helpman is the Galen L. Stone Professor of International Trade in the Department of Economics.

In Conversation With... Muhammet Bas

Interview by Kristin Caulfield & Megan Countey



he environmental catastrophes that have recently hit New Zealand and Japan offer not only lessons for the future, but also crucial data for Assistant Professor of Government Muhammet Bas. With a background in game theory, Bas's research will provide scholars and practitioners the necessary tools in approaching future catastrophic events or conflict.

Muhammet Bas identifies three main areas of his research.

The first area involves developing statistical models for analyzing strategic interaction in international relations, using these methods in empirical analysis, and for designing and conducting experiments. Bas points out that the existing theoretical literature on interstate conflict suggests that uncertainty is one of the cause of wars. For this reason, he developed a model that helps measure the levels of uncertainty and the likelihood of suboptimal choices in a variety of interactions.

Bas's second area of research focuses on the relationship between the diffusion of new weapon technologies and how that may create incentives for conflict. For example, how did the introduction of firearms change the relative balance of military capabilities between involved actors? In the long run, how did that affect the overall likelihood of conflict? Another important topic for Bas is the issue of arms control. What factors increase the likelihood of successful arms control, and what conditions make it more difficult for arms control to work? When a state has a monopoly over a given technology, what incentives does that state have to prevent other states from developing it as well? How does the uncertainty about future technologies influence actors' behavior?

His third area of research is the relationship between environmental shocks, climate change, and conflict. How do events such as earthquakes create incentives for conflict? How does the uncertainty about future environmental shocks change the likelihood of conflict? Bas also studies the resource-scarcity aspect of environmental change and how it might cause conflict among actors.

In addition to these three areas, Bas is involved in side projects on other topics such as the effect of International Monetary Fund programs on economic growth and the link between political instability and interstate conflict.

In an office accented with sprouting plants, an oversized computer screen, and a large white-board with an experimental computer code drafted in blue marker, *Centerpiece* sat down with Muhammet Bas to talk about his research.

In your undergraduate studies, what influenced you to pursue doctoral studies?

I studied political science and international relations in college. I'm from Turkey, and the college admission system is a bit different. Everyone takes a standardized college admissions test, and you're competing against more than a million students. Before you take the exam, you have to rank the departments and universities you want to attend. If you get a score that is high enough, you go to your first choice. The reason I got into the political science program is because I wanted to be a diplomat. When I was studying political science I got more interested in the academic aspect, so instead of being a diplomat I wanted to study political science. I took one course on game theory with my former professor, Ali Carkoglu. There were only three students in the class—it was a very unusual course for the college I attended. I became interested in game theory and quantitative analysis, so he suggested that I apply to the University of Rochester for graduate school. I did, and got accepted. That's how it happened.

The idea of game theory is quite striking—the sides, players, models, and strategies. What aspect of your research is the most appealing to you?

It's a combination. The modeling enterprise is a combination of all of those, and together they give you a better chance of understanding interactions and can help produce policy implications. Formal models may not always prevent or successfully predict a specific conflict, but they are valuable because they give us a more rigorous way of understanding and explaining the situation being faced. They can help form better predictions, and sometimes can help produce policy implications. From my own research, for instance, if there are third parties who are interested in maintaining peace in areas being affected by environmental disasters, they might consider offering humanitarian aid. But by doing so, they should keep the distribution of resources in line with the distribution of power among different actors in the region, otherwise they may create new incentives for conflict.

How often are historical events versus current events used as models in your research?

Usually in empirical research there is a lag in terms of the availability of reliable data—a one—or two-year lag—so the events in Libya, Egypt, or New Zealand are very new events. They have created new opportunities for research, but relatively accurate data is still unavailable.

Sometimes you have to collect your own data. If you can't do that, one strategy is to wait a little while so that data sources become more accurate. I usually use current cases as motivations for research—cases establish a puzzle. Once a theory for the puzzle is developed, one can go back to other cases, historical or more recent, and see if one's theory works in explaining them.

Have you encountered any surprises when you applied models to reallife scenarios?

Yes. When you look at a case using your model, you might come up with different explanations that you didn't anticipate. For instance, consider the Soviet Union's development of nuclear weapons back in the 1940s. The United States had a monopoly over the technology, and they had the option of preventing the Soviet Union from developing nuclear weapons, but the administration did not use this option. The model I created with one of our graduate students, Andrew Coe, produces a novel explanation for this choice. It's possible that the United States wanted to prevent the Soviet Union from developing nuclear weapons, but they also had incentives to delay taking any action. Prevention is very costly, so the United States may have wanted to delay it. But while the United States was waiting, the Soviet Union could have developed the technology sooner than predicted. It's a surprising implication from the model that we didn't anticipate. It also contradicts most of the existing literature.

You mention in your research that the situation where neither side has a given technology can create more conflict.

That was an interesting finding too. Usually you would expect that if one state has the monopoly over a technology, the situation would be more conflict prone—because of their military advantage, they might want to prevent the other state from acquiring the technology. But sometimes, when neither state has a given technology, there might still be incentives for conflict. States tend to focus on the future and the possibility of one of them developing the technology. If one state is significantly more likely to get there first, it can cause fighting in the present.

With environmental shocks, is it just scarcity of resources that creates conflict?

If an environmental shock puts groups in a region below their survival threshold, and they don't have enough resources to stay alive, they will fight over the remaining resources. That's not too surprising. But we also find that there might be cases in which there are enough resources to keep everyone alive after an environmental distress, but groups still fight because one group is more powerful than the other, and that group might not be willing to transfer resources to the other side for their survival. In

other words, a mismatch between power and needs can also create conflict.

Are there any new research directions that you're contemplating?

A lot still needs to be done on these three areas. Even though I have other research interests for the future, I want to fully explore them and make sure I have enough to say in these areas.

Has your research evolved since you came to Harvard?

Yes, it has. Coming to Harvard, and especially becoming an affiliate of the Weatherhead Center, made me more interested in substantive areas of research like the environmental sources of conflict, and arms diffusion and control.

Who are the scholars that have influenced you most?

When I was in college, the first couple of books I read that use game theory, *The Strategy of Conflict* by Thomas Schelling and Robert Axelrod's *The Evolution of Cooperation*, were good introductions to political analysis using game theory. These two were very influential in developing my interests.

More recently, Jared Diamond's book, *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed*, was one of the reasons I got more interested in environmental questions.

Do you have any advice for graduate students interested in these topics? Do you see environmental change as an up-and-coming area of study?

People have been doing research on [environmental change], but the conflict aspect of it is relatively new. It will probably get more interesting in the future. Maybe I'm partial to this because it is my focus, but I believe it's one of the important areas of research for all of us.

What are your personal interests and hobbies?

My most recent hobby is my five-month-old son. I look forward to going home every night and spending a few hours with him. Changing diapers is my most recent hobby!

Will your work in conflict issues and strategy be useful in raising your son?

Sometimes it can be very useful in theory—but you could study poker, and know everything about it, and still be a terrible bluffer. I don't know if that will work or not. I hope it works. That would be very useful.

Muhammet Bas is a Faculty Associate of the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, and an assistant professor of government. Photo credit: Megan Countey

Photo Essay: Events

Undergraduate Thesis Conference February 10–11, 2011

The Weatherhead Center Undergraduate
Thesis Conference featured panels organized
by regional or disciplinary themes and was
chaired by Faculty Associates, Graduate Student
Associates, and former Affiliates. The Center's
Undergraduate Associates presented their
thesis research findings, answered questions,
and received comments and general feedback.





Top: Beth A. Simmons, Weatherhead Center Director, made the welcoming remarks at the Undergraduate Associate Thesis Conference.

Above: Krishna Prabhu (Social Studies) presented "Learning to Doctor: Teamwork, Social Cohesion and Health Care in South Africa" as part of a panel about public health, public safety, and public policy. The session was chaired by Vincenzo Bollettino, executive director, Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, and former Affiliate of the Weatherhead Center.

Photo credits this section: Meaan Counter



Andy Harris (left), Weatherhead Center Graduate Student Associate, chaired a panel entitled "Borders, Conflicts, and Human Rights: Reconciling African Peoples" and commented on Ahmed Mabruk's (History) presentation, "Un Púlpito Profano: The Claretian Mission and the Creation of an Inferior Ethnic Group in Twentieth-Century Spanish Guinea."



Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate William C. Clark, convened a panel focused on environmental conservation. Presenters included: Jennifer McKee (Government) on "The New Relationship of Sustainable Trade and Conservation in Environmental Governance"; Eliza A. Lehner (Social Studies) on "Conceiving the Impact: Connecting Population Growth and Environmental Degradation"; and Tannis R. Thorlakson (Environmental Science and Public Policy) on "Agroforestry's Role in Helping Subsistence Farmers Adapt to Climate Change: A Case Study of Western Kenya."



Top: In a panel concerning transnationalism, Tess Margaret Hellgren (Social Studies) presented "Bharatanatyam: Tracing a Transnational Tale." Bottom: The panel was chaired by Peggy Levitt, professor, Department of Sociology, Wellesley College; co-director, Transnational Studies Initiative, Harvard University; and former Affiliate of the Weatherhead Center. Other presenters included: Christopher W. Higgins (Social Studies) on "When Elephants Fight, the Grass Still Suffers: The Place of Everyday People in the Sino-African Relationship"; and Stephany Lin (Social Studies) on "Making Place: Second-Generation Turkish Women in Copenhagen."

Middle: Rebecca Gruskin (History) presented "Jordanian Reactions to the 1994 Jordanian-Israeli Peace Treaty: A Study in the Making of Public Opinion" during a panel focused on securing domestic peace.





Discovering Diverse Mechanisms of Migration: The Mexico-US Stream from 1970 to 2000by Filiz Garip

Filiz Garip is a Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate, and assistant professor of sociology. iverse mechanisms lead individuals to migrate to the United States. These mechanisms are captured in various migration theories developed in multiple disciplines. In neoclassical economics, higher wages in destinations propel migration of individuals who expect to earn more there. In new economics of migration, uncertainty in the origin economy leads to migration from households that face risks to domestic earnings. In cumulative causation theory, the growing web of social ties between origin and destination fosters migration of individuals who are connected to prior migrants.

Recent research argues that the various causal configurations, implied by different theories, are not mutually exclusive. Income-maximizing migrants can coexist alongside migrants who seek to diversify risks, or those who join family or friends because of social ties to destination. My work, supported by a Junior Faculty Synergy Semester Grant from the Weatherhead Center, provides a novel empirical strategy to identify the diverse mechanisms underlying migration. This strategy involves cluster analysis, an inductive and data-driven method, to discover the distinct causal configurations that characterize different migrant types.

This approach provides a new perspective to understand the migrant stream between Mexico and the United States. This stream, the largest in the world today, has continuously increased in recent decades, leading to a migrant population of 8.4 million by 2000. During this period, the economic, social, and political conditions in the two countries changed drastically. These changes also shaped the character of the migrant stream, leading to a Mexican population that is diverse in backgrounds and objectives in the United States.

Applying cluster analysis to the Mexican Migration Project (MMP) data, from about 17,000 first-time migrants over a 30-year period from 1970 to 2000, my study identifies four distinct types of migrants based on individual, household, and origin community characteristics. These types corresponded to specific theoretical accounts and gained prevalence at specific time periods depending on the economic, social, and political conditions in both countries. Below, I describe the major trends characterizing the Mexico-US migration context and establish their connection to the prevalence of different migrant types in my data.

The Context of Mexico-US Migration and the Prevalence of Migrant Types

Starting in the 1960s, Mexico experienced a prolonged decline in agricultural productivity. This decline led to a shortage of job opportunities and the worsening of liv-

ing standards for low-income families in rural regions. Through the 1970s, the reductions in arable land and declining prices of agricultural products pushed the country into a deep agricultural crisis. The increasing mechanization of agriculture in this period contributed to further displacement of farm workers, most of whom migrated to internal or international destinations. The workers that migrated to the United States filled farm jobs, which, following the Bracero Program, had come to be defined as immigrant jobs and socially unacceptable to US citizens.

In my data, the majority of migrants in the 1970s were male household heads from rural areas with little education and few assets, who sought to increase their earnings by moving to the United States. This group, which I label the *income maximizers*, were particularly strained by the economic conditions in Mexico at the time. In neoclassical economics theory, income maximizers are expected to migrate from a low-wage origin to a highwage destination to increase their earnings. This proposition implies that the share of income maximizers in the data should respond to changes in Mexican or US wages.

The upper-left panel of Figure 1 displays the percentage of income maximizers alongside the average hourly US wages over time. The values for the former series are shown in the left-hand side y-axis, and the values for the latter (converted to US dollars in year 2000) are shown in the right-hand side. The two trend lines follow a similar path. Income maximizers attained their largest share, comprising 40 percent of the sample, in 1970 when US wages were high, around \$15.00 per hour. The share of income maximizers receded to 30 percent in 1980, when the US wages had declined to \$13.50 per hour, and eventually dropped to 10 percent in 1990 when the US wages obtained their lowest value of \$12.50 per hour.

Along with the decline in agriculture, a number of conditions in the Mexican economy changed in the late 1970s. In 1976, after two decades of stability, the Mexican peso was devalued 45 percent in terms of the dollar. In the early 1980s, oil prices plummeted globally and caused a sharp decline in Mexico's revenues from oil exports. This decline, coinciding with two peso devaluations in 1982, led to a significant drop in wages and a sharp increase in inflation and interest rates. These conditions hit the Mexican middle class particularly hard. The 1982 crisis also caused a shift in Mexico's development model, and led to the state's withdrawal from the agriculture sector and reduction of agricultural subsidies. As a result, middle-income rural families that owned small agricultural units faced serious setbacks.

In my data, the majority of migrants in the 1980s originated from households with substantial assets, land in

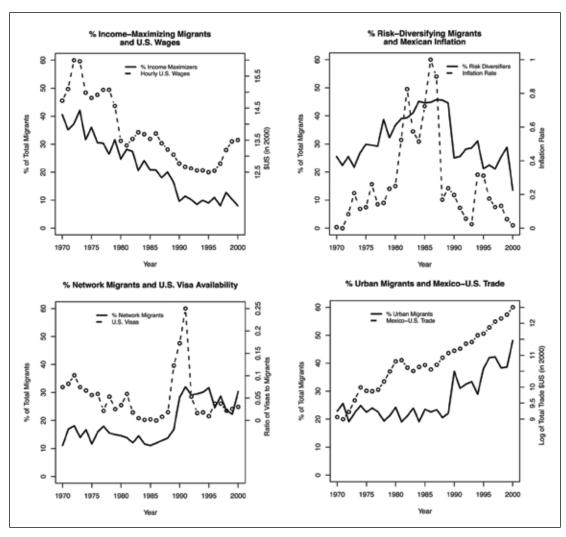


Figure 1. Trends in the Context of Mexico-US Migration and the Prevalence of Migrant Types.

particular, in rural communities. These migrants, which I call the *risk diversifiers*, experienced the pronounced effect of the economic downturn, and, as predicted by the new economics of migration theory, moved to the United States to diversify the risks to their subsistence.

The upper-right panel of Figure 1 juxtaposes the trends in the percentage of risk diversifiers and the Mexican inflation rate, a proxy for the economic uncertainty in the country. The two trend lines closely follow one another. Risk diversifiers attained their largest share, making up about half of the sample, in 1985 when the Mexican inflation rate was at its highest value of 60 percent. As the inflation rate dropped to 10 percent in 1990, the share of risk diversifiers plunged to 25 percent.

In addition to signaling the start of the economic recession in Mexico, the early 1980s marked a period of political backlash against undocumented migration in the United States, which culminated in the passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) in 1986. IRCA, on the one hand, increased border enforcement and sanctions on employers hiring undocumented migrants. On the other hand, it legalized 2.3 million Mexican migrants in the United States. While the employer

sanctions discouraged the migration of men for work, the legalizations increased migration by women and dependent children for family reunification.

In my data, a large share of migrants in the post-IRCA period contained women with family or community ties to prior US migrants. This group, which I call *network migrants*, exemplifies a prediction of cumulative causation theory: past migration creates social ties to destination, which facilitates more migration.

The lower-left panel of Figure 1 shows side by side the percentage of network migrants and the ratio of available visas to Mexican migrants. The two lines spike in the same period immediately following IRCA. Although the ratio of visas dropped after 1990, the network migrants retain their level owing to higher incentives for the relatives of the newly legalized Mexicans to migrate as well, albeit without documents.

The passage of IRCA in 1986 coincided, ironically, with Mexico's admission into the Generalized Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which accelerated the trade flows between Mexico and the United States at an unprecedented rate. The implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994 further

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Programs

FELLOWS PROGRAM: WHO'S WHERE



Fellows 2010–2011. Photo credit: Martha Stewart.

We ask that Fellows contact Kathleen Molony (kmolony@wcfia.harvard.edu) with updates on their whereabouts.

Fellows Program alumni have served in various capacities and in many places throughout the world since their days at Harvard. They have pursued distinguished careers in many professional areas including diplomatic service, military, politics, journalism, business, academia, and the nonprofit sector.

Fellows currently serving in the United States:

Lieutenant General **William J. Troy** (2000–2001) is Director of the Army Staff at the Pentagon. Army Brigadier General **Charles Hooper** (2005–2006) is the Deputy Director for Strategic Planning and Policy at the Honolulu-based United States Pacific Command. **Stephen A. Clark** (2005–2006), United States Air Force, was recently promoted to Brigadier General. He has been assigned to Headquarters Air

Force Special Operations Command, Hurlburt Field (FL) as Director of Plans, Programs, Requirements and Assessments.

Two recent Japanese Fellows, **Hajime Hayashi** (2007–2008) and **Takeo Akiba** (2008–2009), are currently serving in senior positions at the Embassy of Japan in Washington, DC. Mr. Hayashi is Minister for Economic Affairs, and Mr. Akiba is Minister for Political Affairs.

Several German consulates in the United States are headed by former Fellows. **Friedrich Löhr** (2007–2008) has been Consul General in Boston since 2008. Both members of the class of 2008–2009, **Onno Hückmann** serves as Consul General in Chicago, while **Peter Rothen** heads up the San Francisco consulate.

Also serving as Consuls General in the United States are **Junichi Ihara** (2004–2005), Japan, in Los Angeles; **Alaa K. Issa** (2006–2007), Equpt, in Houston; and **Reyna Mendivil Torres** (2005–2006), Mexico, in Fresno (head of office as Consul).

Liliana Ferrer (2004–2005) is Officer for Congressional Affairs at the Embassy of Mexico in Washington, DC, and teaches in the Bachelor of Arts in Liberal Studies (BALS) Program at Georgetown University. Also at Georgetown, as a PhD candidate in the BALS Program is **Joseph Gregory Kaufmann** (2001–2002), retired United States Army Colonel. **Jeffrey Davidow** (1982–1983), former US Foreign Service Officer, is President of the Institute of the Americas at the University of California at San Diego.

Following a distinguished career in the foreign service, **Roberto Toscano** (1987–1988) is currently a Public Policy Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC. He served as Italy's Ambassador to India from 2008 to 2010.

A number of other Fellows are or were recently in the Boston area. **Amparo Anguiano** (2006–2007) is Deputy Consul, Consulate General of Mexico. **Renée Haferkamp** (1993–1994, 1994–1995) has returned for successive fall terms to Harvard, where, as a senior scholar at the Center for European Studies (CES), she continues to organize an excellent seminar series with prominent EU leaders. **Bodo Liesenfeld**, Germany, and **Sean Flannery**, United States, both from the class of 2009–2010, are currently Associates of the Weatherhead Center. **Michèle Stanners** (2008–2009), Canada, is earning a master's degree in theological studies from the Harvard Divinity School, and **Sophie Becker** (2008–2009), a Swedish diplomat, is currently working with Partners in Health.

Several former Fellows are teaching at local universities: **Carlos Blanco** (2001–2002), Venezuela, is Visiting Professor of International Relations, Boston University; **Paul Hare** (2004–2005), United Kingdom, is Lecturer in International Relations, also at Boston University; **Antonia Chayes** (1984–1985) is Professor of the Practice of International Politics and Diplomacy at Tufts University's Fletcher School. **Luise Drüke** (1988) is Co-Chair of UN Studies at Suffolk University and is affiliated with the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative where she is working on her research project, *Mobilizing for Refugee Protection*, to mark the 60th anniversary of UNHCR and of the 1951 Refugee Convention.

Trudy Rubin (1975–1976) continues to write the award-winning "Worldview" column for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

John Limbert (1991–1992) has been Distinguished Professor of International Affairs at the US Naval Academy since 2006, following a long and distinguished career in the US foreign service.

Following his retirement in September as Associate Vice Chancellor for International Programs at the State University of New York (SUNY), **Robert Gosende** (1978–1979) was appointed the John W. Ryan Fellow in International Education for the 2010–2011 academic year.

Fellows in Europe:

Nicole Clase (1999–2000) moved to London last summer to assume her new assignment as Sweden's Ambassador to the United Kingdom. **Altay Cengizer** (2007–2008) is Turkey's Ambassador in Dublin. **Marc Lortie** (1997–1998) became Canada's Ambassador to France in 2007 following three years in Madrid as Canada's Ambassador to Spain. **David Reddaway**

(2002–2003) has held three ambassadorial assignments since leaving the Fellows Program in 2003. He is currently British Ambassador to Turkey (following Canada and Ireland).

German Ambassador **Peter Gottwald** (2002–2003) is Commissioner of the Federal Government for Arms Control and Disarmament. A senior Japanese diplomat, **Yukiya Amano** (2000–2001) is the current Director General of the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

Sir John Sawers (1995–1996), a career diplomat, was appointed Chief of the British Intelligence Service MI6 in 2009. At the time, he was the United Kingdom's permanent representative to the United Nations.

Kamalesh Sharma (1984–1985) is the current Secretary General of the Commonwealth of Nations having served previously as the High Commissioner for India in London.

General **Ari Puheloinen** (1996–1997) is Finland's Chief of Defence. **Katarina Engberg** (1986–1987) is Deputy Director General in the Swedish Ministry of Defence and a member of the EU's Steering Group for Climate Change and International Security. **Jon Day** (1999–2000) has recently been named as the new 2nd Permanent Under-Secretary to the UK Ministry of Defence.

George Papandreou (1992–1993) is Prime Minister of Greece.

Jaakko Laajava (1985–1986) was appointed Under-Secretary of State for Foreign and Security Policy in 2010 following five years in London as Finland's Ambassador to the United Kingdom. **Armando Barucco** (2006–2007) is serving in Brussels as the Permanent Representation of Italy to the European Union.

Two former Fellows are currently in Iceland. **Caroline Dumas** (2003–2004) is France's Ambassador in Reykjavik, while **Timo Summa** (2007–2008) heads the EU office there. Mr. Summa, who is Finnish, is involved in negotiations about Icelandic membership in the European Union.

Frederic Maerkle (1999–2000) is Counselor for Scientific, Technological and Environment Affairs at the US Embassy in Paris.

Fellows serving in Asia and Australia:

Nirupama Menon Rao (1992–1993) is an Indian Foreign Service (IFS) officer and the current Foreign Secretary of India—the second woman to hold that position. Before her current assignment, she spent three years in Beijing as India's first female ambassador to China. **Shigekazu Sato** (1994–1995), Japan, is Ambassador to Australia. **Michael Small** (2003–2004) is Canada's High Commissioner in Canberra.

Following her return to Beijing last summer, Senior Colonel **Yunzhu Yao** (2009–2010) was promoted to Major General in the People's Liberation Army. She is also a senior researcher at the Asia-Pacific Office in the Department of World Military Studies at the Academy of Military Science.

François Gauthier (2004–2005), a French diplomat who served as Consul General to Boston from 2005–2009, was appointed Ambassador to Uzbekistan last summer.

Preparing at home for his next assignment as Croatia's Ambassador to Brazil, **Drago Štambuk** (2001–2001) recently completed five years in Tokyo as Ambassador to both Japan and Korea. A physician by training, Dr. Štambuk is also a widely published and acclaimed poet.

Kenji Hiramatsu (2003–2004) is Ambassador and Director General for Global Issues at Japan's Foreign Ministry.

Meidyatama Suryodiningrat (2007–2008) is one of Indonesia's leading journalists. As Editor in Chief of the *Jαkarta Post*, he comments widely on social and political issues and on foreign policy.

Kishore Mahbubani (1990–1991) is Dean and Professor in the Practice of Public Policy of the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore.

Stanley Kao (1996–1997) is head of the economic division of Taiwan's foreign ministry.

Fellows serving in Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa:

Following four years at the Egyptian Permanent Mission to the UN in Geneva, **Khalid Emara** (2002–2003) was appointed Deputy Assistant Foreign Minister in Cairo, with primary responsibility for international economic affairs. **Tamim Khallaf** (2008–2009) has returned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where he is working on non–proliferation, following a secondment to the President's office.

Geraldo Alckmin (2006–2007), Brazil, became Governor of the state of São Paulo on January 1, 2011, having served previously as the governor from 2001 to 2006. **Jamal Khokhar** (2002–2003) was appointed Canada's Ambassador to Brazil in August 2010.

Imelda Cisneros (1996–1997) is President of ACCS Consultores (Venezuela), a management consulting firm. Senator **María de los Ángeles Moreno Uriegas** (2003–2004), Mexico, is also Secretary of Permanent Commissions of the Latin American Parliament. She was the first woman in Mexico to be elected president of a political party (PRI).

Winston Dookeran (1993–1994) was appointed Trinidad and Tobago's Minister of Finance in May 2010.

Based in South Africa, **N. Justin Chinyanta** (2008–2009), Zambia, serves as Executive Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Loita Capital Partners International. **Masilo Mabeta** (2003–2004) is South Africa's Ambassador to the Union of Comoros.

THE HARVARD ACADEMY FOR INTERNATIONAL AND AREA STUDIES: 25TH ANNIVERSARY



Above: Former Dean Henry Rosovsky, donor Dr. Ira Kukin, current Chairman Jorge Domínguez, and Dean Michael Smith toasted to the 25th anniversary of the Harvard Academy at Loeb House.

Right: Harvard Academy Scholars, Senior Scholars, Graduate Fellows, and guests gathered to mark the Harvard Academy's 25th anniversary.

Photo credits this page: Martha Stewart Loeb House was the setting for the celebration of the Harvard Academy's 25th anniversary on February 8, 2011. Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS) Dean Michael Smith joined former FAS Dean Henry Rosovsky, the Academy's founding benefactor Dr. Ira Kukin, Harvard Academy Chairman Jorge Domínguez, and a large group of celebrants, to hear a congratulatory toast offered by Dean Smith as well as the traditional talk by one of the Harvard Academy Scholars, Elizabeth McGuire. In its 25th year, Dean Smith noted, the Harvard Academy has been home to 110 Scholars, the majority of whom are tenured faculty in leading research universities in the United States and worldwide. The Harvard Academy's mission is to provide two-year research fellowships to advanced graduate students and recent PhD recipients in the social sciences and history who have area expertise in a non-Western country or region.



THE PROGRAM ON U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONS: CRISIS IN JAPAN



The Panel discussion, "Crisis in Japan: The Way Forward," examined the aftermath of the earthquake and tsunami that struck Japan on March 11, 2011. Photo credit: Hilary Holbrow

For more information on the Digital Archive of Japan's 2011 Disasters, please visit: http:// jdarchive.org/.

The Program on U.S.-Japan Relations sponsored a panel, "Crisis in Japan: The Way Forward," to examine the consequences of the devastating earthquake and tsunami that struck northeastern Japan on March 11, 2011. The panel was co-sponsored by the Edwin O. Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies, the Harvard University Asia Center, and the Takemi Program in International Health at the Harvard School of Public Health.

Takeshi Hikihara, Boston's consul general of Japan, provided an overview of the Japanese government's response to the disaster, and the ongoing crisis at the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant. Yoji Koda, retired vice admiral of Japan's Maritime Self-Defense Force (MSDF), explained the details of the mobilization of the SDF and the U.S.-Japan cooperation in rescue and relief efforts. Michael Reich, Taro Takemi Professor of International Health Policy, examined the current government's crisis management capabilities, destruction of communities in affected areas, and the importance for public officials to provide consistent and reliable information on highly technical issues (such as radiation). Kotaro Tamura, an Associate of the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations and a former Japanese Diet member, addressed the disaster's economic repercussions and advocated the need for decentralizing Japan's political structure for reconstruction efforts.

The panel was convened by Andrew Gordon, director of the Reischauer Institute and Lee and Juliet Folger Fund Professor of History, who announced a new digital archiving project to capture and store the numerous forms of electronic communication which have occurred after the earthquake and tsunami. Susan Pharr, director of the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations and Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics, moderated the panel discussion.

The panel was part of the Harvard for Japan Week (March 21–26), organized by students to spread awareness of Japan's recent earthquake and tsunami. Together with the Reischauer Institute and the Harvard Foundation, the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations co-sponsors and supports the ongoing fundraising and volunteer activities of the Harvard for Japan initiative.

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promoted the economic integration between the two countries. The Mexican economy, which appeared solid at the signing of NAFTA, experienced a severe economic crisis in December 1994. Following a peso devaluation, the country defaulted on its foreign debt, and within a year saw its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) shrink by 6 percent and its unemployment rate double. Around the same time, the United States was in the midst of the longest sustained period of job growth in its history. The economic differentials between the two countries once again ensured the continued flow of migrants. Different than prior years, migrants in the post-NAFTA and post-crisis era included many educated professionals who were admitted for short-term labor.

In my sample, the majority of migrants in the 1990s were highly educated, worked in manufacturing, and lived in urban areas. Labeled as the *urban stream*, these migrants are not anticipated in any migration theory, but could represent an extension of the globalization arguments, which predict increasing migration flows due to growing economic, cultural, and ideological linkages between countries. Extending this argument to the Mexican case, we can expect the educated individuals in urban areas to migrate in response to the increasing economic and cultural ties to the United States, especially after NAFTA, and given the dire economic conditions in Mexico at the time. This hypothesis implies that the proportion of the urban stream should increase with expanding connectivity between Mexico and the United States, captured, for instance, by the trade flow.

The lower-right panel of Figure 1 compares the trends in the percentage of urban migrants and the logarithm of the Mexico-US trade. The two series show little movement until 1986, when both began to move rapidly upward. Urban migrants became the largest group in 1990 and continually increase thereafter, mirroring the rapid uptake in Mexico-US trade.

These temporal patterns suggest that each migrant type, corresponding to a distinct theoretical narrative, gains prevalence under specific economic, social, and political conditions. *Income maximizers*, representing the neoclassical narrative, were most prominent in the 1970s when the US wages are at their highest. *Risk diversifiers*, personifying the new economics of migration theory, gained majority in the 1980s when the Mexican inflation rate was at its peak. *Network migrants*, symbolizing the cumulative causation theory, obtained their highest proportion in the 1990s when visa availability is at its highest. *Urban migrants*, characterizing the globalization predictions, proliferated following the increasing Mexico-US ties after NAFTA. Thus, my results demonstrate that different mechanisms mobilize different migrant types under different conditions.

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The prize is awarded annually by the Skytte Foundation at Uppsala University to the scholar who it considers to have made the most valuable contribution to political science. It is among the most prestigious prizes relating to the field and carries an award of SEK 500,000 and a medal.

Norris is the Paul F. McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics at the Harvard Kennedy School and is a political scientist focusing on democracy and development, public opinion and elections, political communications, and gender politics.

Weatherhead Center Affiliates Receive John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Award

Sven Beckert, the Laird Bell Professor of History, and **Lorenz Martin Lüthi**, former Olin Fellow (2004–2005), received John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation awards in the humanities. In its eighty-seventh annual competition for the United States and Canada the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation awarded 180 Fellowships to artists, scientists, and scholars. The successful candidates were chosen from a group of some 3,000 applicants.

Professor Beckert's research and teaching focus on the history of the United States in the nineteenth century, with a particular emphasis on the history of capitalism, including its economic, social, political and transnational dimensions. Lorenz Lüthi is an associate professor of history of international relations at McGill University and his research focuses on the Cold War, communism, the Soviet Union, and Communist China.

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Receives the Joseph Cardinal Bernardin Award

Reverend **J. Bryan Hehir**, priest of the Archdiocese of Boston, Parker Gilbert Montgomery Professor of Religion and Public Life at Harvard, and Secretary for Health Care and Social Services for the Archdiocese of Boston will receive the Joseph Cardinal Bernardin Award on June 10, 2011. The Cardinal Bernardin Award is given to an individual whose work embodies the spirit of the Catholic Common Ground Initiative.

Professor Hehir was recognized for his widespread collaboration in the church and secular realm, working to maintain a common ground between all peoples. His research and writing focus on ethics and foreign policy, and the role of religion in world politics and in American society.