

Newsletter of the
Weatherhead Center for International Affairs

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Cope, Adapt, Thrive: Ensuring Our Shared Future on a
Hot and Hostile Planet

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Dispatches: Undergraduate Researchers in the Field

Weatherhead

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Left: Richard English shakes hands with Moisés de Freitas Cunha at English's book talk for *Does Counter-Terrorism Work?*
Right: Tjada D'Oyen McKenna and Melani Cammett listen to the audience at the Jodidi Lecture. Credit: Bethany Versoy

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Erin Goodman
Executive Director

MESSAGE FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

One thing that has come into stark relief this fall is that there are disparate perspectives on the issues confronting our nation and our world, including perceptions of threats to democracy, the environment, immigration, and shifting international alliances. At the Weatherhead Center, we pride ourselves on presenting pluralistic and innovative approaches to these issues. We do so by supporting cross-disciplinary collaborations through our six research clusters; welcoming visiting affiliates from all over the world and from different ideological backgrounds; and striving to organize events and activities that are balanced in their collective viewpoints.

On October 24, we hosted Tjada D'Oyen McKenna '96 MBA '02, CEO of Mercy Corps, who delivered the Jodidi Lecture on the topic of "Cope, Adapt, Thrive: Ensuring Our Shared Future on a Hot and Hostile Planet." She spoke about how climate change and conflict are inextricably linked, and how pervasive both are in our increasingly fractured world. She also shared some stories of life in the field at Mercy Corps, engaged in a conversation with moderator Melani Cammett, and answered questions from the audience. Read an excerpt from her Jodidi Lecture, one of our two features this issue.

Our other feature, Dispatches, recounts the summer travel experiences of four of our undergraduates who traveled to Jamaica, Georgia, India, and Rwanda to research their thesis projects. We enjoy hearing their tales of meeting new people, conducting interviews, and asking big questions, and we hope you do, too. Our two dozen Undergraduate Associates will participate in our annual thesis conference in early February, where they share their projects with our Weatherhead community.

Our two-part Weatherhead Forum series focused this fall on the US presidential elections. On October 9, we heard from Timothy Colton, Ziad Daoud, Diana Durán Nuñez, and Rana Mitter about the potential geopolitical impact of a Trump or Harris administration, particularly in regards to Russia, the Middle East, Latin America, and China. On November 6, panelists Daniel Ziblatt, Pippa Norris, and Joshua Kertzer all shared their early thoughts on what comes next in a Trump administration, touching on major themes of democracy resilience and foreign policy concerns. Several of us gathered to watch the November Forum in our conference room in the Knafel building and it was a wonderful way to ground ourselves in our educational mission and engage intellectually rather than emotionally on the momentous results. These two events, along with all our past Forum events, are available on our YouTube channel.

In an effort to engage with our local diplomatic corps, on November 20—together with the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies—we cohosted a panel featuring four European consuls general on the topic of the future of transatlantic relations and NATO at 75. The overarching takeaway of the discussions was that despite the uncertainty involved in transatlantic relations at this time, there has also been a high degree of resilience between the US and the European Union in the past.

Here at the Weatherhead Center we'll continue to educate and amplify knowledge gained through the good work that we support. We have issued a call for proposals for new three-year interdisciplinary research clusters to run from fall 2025 through spring 2028, and we look forward to engaging our community and facilitating research that aims to advance our society.

I hope you all have had a productive fall semester, and can enjoy a restorative break over the winter before we resume operations in the next calendar year.

Sincerely,
Erin Goodman

Cover: A well at Qutb Shahi tombs, which were built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Read more about Samir Duggasani's experience on page 18. Credit: Samir Duggasani

Of Note



James A. Robinson Wins Nobel Prize in Economics

Former Faculty Associate **James Robinson**, Rev. Dr. Richard L. Pearson Professor of Global Conflict Studies and a University Professor at the Harris School of Public Policy at the University of Chicago, is one of three recipients (with Daron Acemoglu and Simon Johnson of MIT) of the Sveriges Riksbank Prize in Economic Sciences in Memory of Alfred Nobel 2024. The three laureates received the prize in economics for their ability to help people understand differences in prosperity between nations. Every year the Nobel Foundation, a private institution established in 1900, awards prizes in six different fields: physics, chemistry, medicine, literature, peace, and economic sciences. The 2024 Nobel Prize award ceremonies take place on December 10, also known as Nobel Day, in Oslo and Stockholm.

Michèle Lamont Wins Kohli Prize

Former Center Director **Michèle Lamont**, Robert I. Goldman Professor of European Studies and professor of sociology and of African and African American studies at Harvard University, is the 2024 recipient of the Kohli Prize for Sociology. Sponsored by the the Kohli Foundation for Sociology, the prize is awarded annually to scholars who make

significant contributions to the field. Lamont was recognized for her “scholarly work on boundaries, inequalities, and social worth.”

Egor Lazarev’s Book Wins Several Awards and Honorable Mentions

Former Academy Scholar **Egor Lazarev**, now assistant professor of political science at Yale University, is the recipient of several awards for his book, *State-Building as Lawfare: Custom, Sharia, and State Law in Postwar Chechnya*, including the 2024 Wayne S. Vucinich Book Prize (sponsored by the Association for Slavic Studies, East European, and Eurasian Studies [ASEEES] and the Stanford University Center for Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies) and the 2024 Gaddis Smith International Book Prize (sponsored by the Yale Macmillan Center). Lazarev’s book also received honorable mentions for the Luebbert Best Book in American Political Science Association Comparative Politics and this year’s Davis Center Book Prize (sponsored by Harvard University’s Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies).

Caroline Elkins Wins NYU/Axinn Foundation Prize

Faculty Associate **Caroline Elkins**, professor of history and of African and African American studies at Harvard University and the Thomas Henry Carroll/Ford Foundation Professor of Business Administration at Harvard Business School, is the recipient of the 2024 NYU/Axinn Foundation Prize. The award, established by the Axinn Foundation in partnership with NYU’s Graduate

School of Arts and Science, “honors an American writer of artistic literary narrative nonfiction whose published book or books are of exceptional quality and societal import.” Elkins is the author of *Legacy of Violence: A History of the British Empire* and the Pulitzer-Prize-winning *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain’s Gulag in Kenya*.



Theda Skocpol Wins the Khaldun Award

Faculty Associate **Theda Skocpol**, Victor S. Thomas Professor of Government and Sociology at Harvard University, is the recipient of the 2024 Khaldun Award. The award, given by the Comparative Historical Sociology section of the American Sociological Association, is meant to recognize a “lifetime of outstanding contributions to the subfield of comparative-historical sociology.” Skocpol’s work, notes the committee, covers an unusually broad spectrum of topics including both comparative politics and American politics. She is widely cited and has won many awards over the course of her long and illustrious career.

Matthew Anzarouth Wins Rhodes Scholarship

Canada Program Undergraduate Research Fellow **Matthew Anzarouth**, an AB candidate in the Committee on Degrees in Social Studies at Harvard College, is the recipient of a 2025 Rhodes

Scholarship for Canada and plans to study political theory at Oxford. He is one of three international students at Harvard to win the prestigious scholarship. Anzarouth received a grant from the Weatherhead Center's Canada Program for summer research toward his senior thesis on Canadian federalism, with a focus on Quebec language conflict and Indigenous self-determination claims.

Hardeep Dhillon Receives Vicki L. Ruiz Award

Former Graduate Research Associate **Hardeep Dhillon**, now assistant professor of Asian American history at the University of Pennsylvania, is the recipient of the 2024 Vicki L. Ruiz Award for her article, "The Making of Modern US Citizenship and Alienage: The History of Asian Immigration, Racial Capital, and US Law," *Law and History Review* (February 2023). The award, funded by the Western History Association, is given to the best article in a peer-reviewed journal on race in the American West to honor Dr. Ruiz's significant contributions to the field of Western history.

Wendell Nii Laryea Adjetej Wins Governor General's History Award

Former William Lyon Mackenzie King Postdoctoral Fellow **Wendell Nii Laryea Adjetej**, now associate professor of post-Reconstruction US and African diaspora history and William Dawson Scholar at McGill University, is the recipient of the 2024 Governor General's History Award for Scholarly Research for his book, *Cross-Border Cosmopolitans: The Making of a Pan-African North*

America. The award, administered by the Canadian Historical Association (CHA) in partnership with Canada's National History Society, celebrates the achievements of people from across Canada who share a vision and passion for history, and for making a difference in their communities. The CHA praised Adjetej's book as "a remarkable work" and "a necessary and welcome contribution."



Gabriela Soto Laveaga Elected to the Academia Mexicana de la Historia

Faculty Associate **Gabriela Soto Laveaga**, Antonio Madero Professor for the Study of Mexico at Harvard University, has been elected as a member of the Academia Mexicana de la Historia, one of the highest honors a historian of Mexico can receive. According to the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard, her election "not only recognizes Soto Laveaga's significant contributions to the field of Mexican history but also underscores her influence in the broader historical and academic communities. Her work continues to bridge geographical and disciplinary divides, making her a respected figure both in Mexico and internationally."

Michael McElroy Wins William Bowie Medal

Faculty Associate **Michael McElroy**, Gilbert Butler Professor of Environmental Studies at the

Harvard John A. Paulson School of Engineering and Applied Sciences, is the winner of the 2024 William Bowie Medal—the highest honor conferred by the American Geophysical Union (AGU). The award, established in 1939, goes to an experienced senior scientist who is an established leader in their field, with outstanding contributions to fundamental Earth and space science. The medal was established "in honor of William Bowie for his spirit of helpfulness and friendliness in unselfish cooperative research." Among many other projects at Harvard, McElroy heads up the Harvard-China Project on Energy, Economy, and Environment, which has collaborated for more than twenty years with colleagues in China.

APSA Award Winners in European Politics and Society

Graduate Student Associate **Andrew O'Donohue**, PhD candidate in the Department of Government, is a recipient of the Best Paper Award, European Politics and Society (Section 2I), from the American Political Science Association (APSA), for the paper "Law versus Democracy: Minoritarian Courts, Audience Costs, and Democratic Backsliding in Turkey." The Best Article Award in the same section, given for the best article dealing with European politics and society, goes to Advisory Committee Member **Anna Grzymala-Busse** for her article, "Tilly Goes to Church: The Religious and Medieval Roots of European State Fragmentation."

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New Books

Presenting Recent Publications by Weatherhead Center Affiliates

Reconstructions in Middle East Economic History: Essays in Honor of Roger Owen

Routledge

Edited By **Don Babai** / Former Faculty Associate / Lecturer and Research Associate, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University

Urban Power: Democracy and Inequality in São Paulo and Johannesburg

Princeton University Press

By **Benjamin H. Bradlow** / Former Postdoctoral Fellow / Assistant Professor of Sociology and International Affairs, Princeton University

Landscape Fieldwork: How Engaging the World Can Change Design

University of Virginia Press

By **Gareth Doherty** / Faculty Associate / Associate Professor of Landscape Architecture, Harvard Graduate School of Design

Does Counter-Terrorism Work?

Oxford University Press

By **Richard English** / Advisory Committee Member / Professor of Politics, Queen's University Belfast

Labors of Love: Gender, Capitalism, and Democracy in Modern Arab Thought

Stanford University Press

By **Susanna Ferguson** / Former Academy Scholar / Assistant Professor of Middle East Studies, Smith College

Soda Science: Making the World Safe for Coca-Cola

University of Chicago Press

By **Susan Greenhalgh** / Faculty Associate (Emerita) / John King and Wilma Cannon Fairbank Research Professor of Chinese Society, Harvard University

The 1946 General Strike in Senegal: The Sources of Militant Unionism

In French; Editions Présence Africaine

By **Omar Guèye** / Former Visiting Scholar / Professor of History, Cheikh Anta Diop University, Dakar-Senegal

Struggling for Time: Environmental Governance and Agrarian Resistance in Israel/Palestine

Stanford University Press

By **Natalia Gutkowski** / Former Academy Scholar / Postdoctoral Fellow, Martin Buber Society of Fellows in the Humanities and Social Sciences, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

The Ancient Shore

Harvard University Press

By **Paul J. Kosmin** / Faculty Associate / Philip J. King Professor of Ancient History, Harvard University

Race and Inequality in American Politics: An Imperfect Union

Cambridge University Press

Coauthored by **Taeku Lee** / Faculty Associate / Bae Family Professor of Government, Harvard University

The Precariousness of Freedom: Slave Resistance as Experience, Process, and Representation

Captus Press

By **Charmaine A. Nelson** / Former William Lyon Mackenzie King Visiting Professor of Canadian Studies / Provost Professor of Art History, University of Massachusetts Amherst

What We Can't Burn

Westwood Press

Coauthored by **Tom Osborn** / Former Undergraduate Associate / Cofounder and CEO, Shamiri Institute

and **Eve Driver** / Former Undergraduate Associate / Consultant and Journalist

Semiconductor Sovereignty

In Korean and in English; Nanam

Coauthored by **Young-Sun Park** / Former Fellow / Journalist and Politician

WWW • For a full list of "New Books" visit the Centerpiece online:
wcfa.harvard.edu/publications/centerpiece

Empire of Purity:
The History of Americans'
Global War on Prostitution
Princeton University Press

By **Eva Payne** / Former Graduate
Student Associate / Assistant
Professor of History, University of
Mississippi

Chernobyl Roulette: War in
the Nuclear Disaster Zone
W. W. Norton

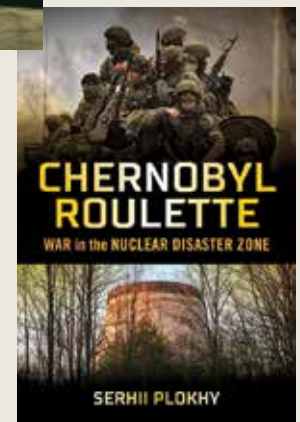
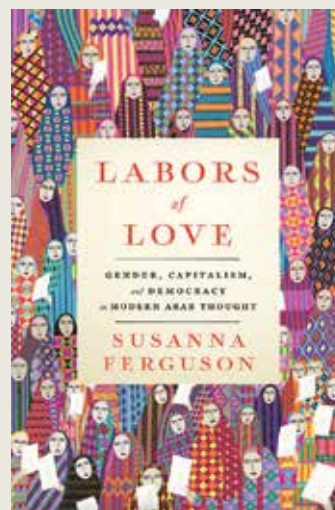
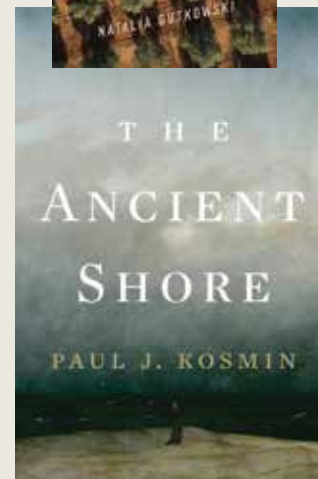
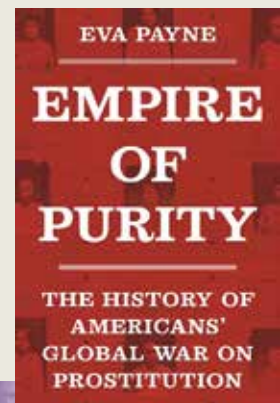
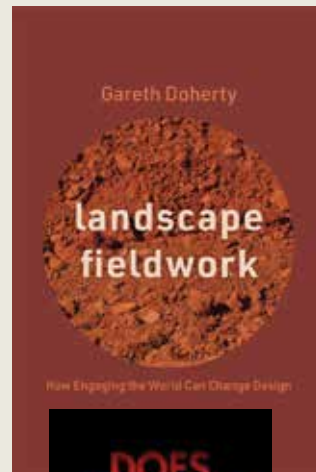
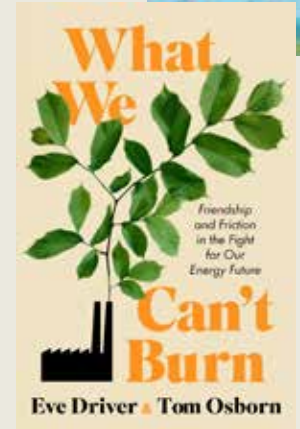
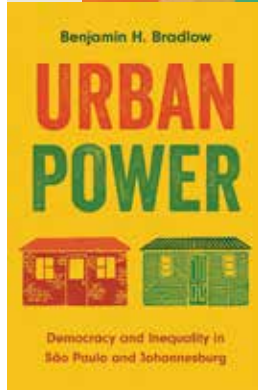
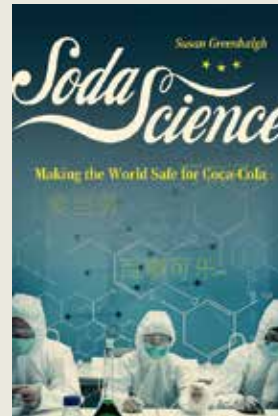
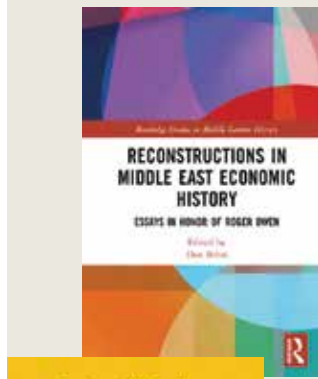
By **Serhii Plokhy** / Faculty Associate
/ Mykhailo S. Hrushevs'kyi Professor
of Ukrainian History, Harvard
University

Handbook of Social
Infrastructure: Conceptual
and Empirical Research
Perspectives
Edward Elgar Publishing

Coedited by **Anna-Theresa Renner**
/ Former Joseph A. Schumpeter
Fellow / Assistant Professor, Vienna
University of Technology

A Century of Global
Economic Crises:
Monetary Policy in
Search of An Anchor
Palgrave Macmillan

By **Lúcio Vinhas de Souza** / Former
Fellow / Director of the Economics
Department and Chief Economist of
BusinessEurope



Cope, Adapt, Thrive: Ensuring Our Shared Future on a Hot and Hostile Planet

edited by Lauren McLaughlin



On Thursday, October 24, 2024, Tjada D'Oyen McKenna delivered the Samuel L. and Elizabeth Jodidi Lecture in Tsai Auditorium in Cambridge. Weatherhead Center Director Melani Cammett moderated the conversation. McKenna, a member of the Weatherhead Center Advisory Committee, is Chief Executive Officer of Mercy Corps, where she leads a team of 6,000+ humanitarians who provide immediate relief and help communities forge new paths to prosperity in the face of disaster, conflict, poverty, and climate change. Below is an excerpt of McKenna's talk, edited for clarity and length. Watch the entire lecture on our YouTube channel.

Good evening, everyone. It truly is my pleasure to do this today and to be back here. This opportunity is especially meaningful for me. I truly never would have imagined that I'd be doing this more than twenty-five years ago when I was living in my freshman dorm—not very far away from here.

What I want to share with you today is a message of urgency and optimism—the urgency of ensuring that amid these siren voices of isolation, we continue to focus on our shared future as a global community and a community of human beings, that we take urgent action together as a result.

I also want to share with you today an optimism that we can make progress happen even in the face of the climate crisis and increasing conflict. The numbers are overwhelming and can feel hopeless. But as a practitioner, I get to see the change in real people's lives.

So the optimism that I hope to share today is not an empty hope, but the result of seeing firsthand the real and tangible impact that my team at Mercy Corps and organizations like ours are helping to deliver every day on the frontlines of climate change and conflict in more than forty countries around the world.

So let me begin with the urgency of the moment we find ourselves in today, on the cusp of the second quarter of the twenty-first century. Looking back over my 15–20 years in this space, I am struck by how different this moment feels in comparison with when I was completing my own studies here more than a quarter century ago.

Then, coming up into 2000, amid a global wave of increased trade, aid, and debt relief, we were beginning to witness incredible progress in what had previously been viewed as intractable challenges. The global mobilization behind the Millennium Development Goals, agreed in 2000 and concluded in 2015, helped to deliver arguably the greatest global progress for the greatest number of people ever in human history.

More than a billion people emerged from extreme poverty. The number of children without access to primary school worldwide fell by almost half. In just a few years, countries across Africa made improvements in infant, child, and maternal survival rates that had taken decades to achieve in Europe. Access to intra-antiretroviral treatment saved millions of lives that would otherwise have been lost.

The progress was not inevitable. It was hard-won and there were setbacks. In 2008, a global crisis driven by the surging prices of wheat, rice, and other cereals triggered



Tjada D'Oyen McKenna. Credit: Bethany Versoy

panic, instability, and hunger around the world. I joined the Obama administration to launch a global hunger initiative aimed at tackling that crisis.

By the time I had left the administration in 2015, we had, together with partners across the world, made such progress in addressing hunger that as we developed the successor to the Millennium Development Goals—the Sustainable Development Goals—we collectively set our sights on this audacious goal of ending extreme hunger by the year 2030. And we really thought that was possible. So in just seven years, from 2008 to 2015, we were able to go from the depths of crisis to the heights of ambition.

Yet today we face a global inflection point. The achievements of recent decades are in grave jeopardy, both because of the shocks of COVID, climate change, and conflict, and because of the unraveling of the global solidarity that led to the incredible rise in living standards that we saw at the end of the last century and the beginning of this one.

The COVID pandemic was a truly global emergency that led to the deaths of nearly sixteen million people worldwide and disrupted economic, social, and family life on every continent. COVID was a global problem. But as we all know too well, not everyone suffered equally. We saw this in our communities. We saw this in our

country, that those who had been the most marginalized amongst us suffered the most in COVID. And we saw that play out on a global scale as countries hoarded vaccines and testing. For those who were on the brink of poverty, the pandemic had the additional impact of rolling back years of progress. Extreme poverty increased in 2030 for the first time in decades. Today, more than 300 million people around the world face acute hunger—almost 200 million more than before the pandemic.

As we began to emerge from the shadow of COVID, the twin threats of climate change and conflict are now increasingly the pressure that's put on the world's most vulnerable people, those who live in fragile states. Fragility is defined by the combination of exposure to risk and a lack of a coping capacity to manage, absorb, or mitigate those risks. Fragile states are home to a quarter of the world's population, some 1.9 billion people. But as many as three-fourths of people living in extreme poverty live in these fragile states.

When I started my career in this space, ending extreme poverty—the magic bullet, if there was one—was seen as helping smallholder

farmers in sub-Saharan Africa and India increase their incomes. That was too simplistic.

Fragile states are where it has been hardest to make and maintain progress in tackling poverty. And we've got to be looking at fragile states if we want to end extreme poverty. And climate change and conflict are making those challenges to progress even greater still.

Each month since June 2023 has ranked as the planet's hottest on record. Climate change is a lived reality for us all. We see it here in the US with annual raging fires and heat waves that have left no state untouched, more intense hurricanes and flooding, as we've seen recently with the devastation in North Carolina and Florida. But the climate crisis has the most severe impact on vulnerable communities in the countries that not only have contributed the least to the problem, but also have the fewest resources to cope with climate change or adapt to a hotter world.

At the same time, we have seen a global resurgence of conflict even beyond the wars in Ukraine and the Middle

East that dominate our newsfeeds. Last year saw the highest number of state-based conflicts since 1946, and these wars are increasingly being waged with too little care for the protection of civilians. In fact, the past three years were the most violent and deadly for civilians since before the turn of the century.

Conflict and climate change each cause devastation, but they are increasingly converging to create ever-escalating challenges for vulnerable communities. Climate change and conflict go hand-in-hand, and they escalate one another. Climate change increases competition for resources. It strains social safety nets. It gives people more opportunities to be disappointed in those charged with saving them and being there for them in times of emergencies.

It isn't by chance that the world's most worrisome hotspots are also mired in conflict alongside the devastating impacts of climate change. The compounding effects of climate change and conflict have created an epic crisis of displacement. One hundred and twenty million people have been forced to flee their homes worldwide, and as

many as 339 million people around the world rely on humanitarian assistance to survive—more than twice as many as five years ago.

Every year for the past decade, we've been able to say, sadly, this is the worst number of disasters, the worst number of displaced people. It just increases. So the urgency of this moment could not be greater. Yet, just as the need for international cooperation and commitment is greater than it has been in any time in this century, we are, instead, seeing a global retreat into nationalism and populism.

This year we'll see more people go to the polls than at any year in history—almost half of the world's population. Around the world, from Indonesia to Europe, from South Africa to the United States, voters are saying that they are most concerned about their cost of living and affordability.

In the West, parties that offer anti-immigrant and nationalist policies in response are surging in popularity, even while economists in those same countries argue that aging demographics mean that a decline in immigration

“We have to recognize that our world is so interconnected, our futures are bound together with people we have never met who look different from us, who are on the other side of the world. Because in a world of pandemics, climate crisis, and conflict, there is no us and them.

There is only us.”

– Tjada D'Oyen McKenna

will actually increase the economic challenges facing those same countries.

In Japan, decades of popular and political objection to immigration have shown the impact of those trends. With birth rates at a record low, and almost one third of citizens over the age of 65, Japan is struggling to meet the cost of a struggling working age population.

At the same time, we are seeing retrenchment across countries from the international cooperation and collaboration that yielded such progress in the past twenty-five years. As politicians and publics turn inwards, leaders and governments have slashed funding for foreign aid and assistance development.

UK aid is predicted to shrink to not 0.36 percent of its gross national income, which is the lowest proportion it has seen since 2007. Even worse than that, a substantial portion of UK aid is actually being used to fund hosting refugees in [other] countries—so diverting from the citizens that it was designed to protect. France's draft budget is shrinking from six billion dollars to five billion euros, which is a 12.5 percent decrease. And Germany also is looking at slashing one billion euros from its aid budget.

People have increasingly withdrawn from international trade, aid, and debt relief agreements. Yet, this withdrawal is just as shortsighted as anti-immigration rhetoric. Cooperation has been the greatest engine of economic growth and advancement for all countries, not just the world's poorest. And as the COVID pandemic showed us all, today's greatest challenges do not respect borders.

When Russia invaded Ukraine, our team was out within that same week about what the invasion of Ukraine would mean for food prices in Lebanon. Many countries across Africa and the Middle East worried about the food price crisis as a breadbasket became a war zone.

Right now, we are working to help civilians in Sudan fighting the war. And where we are in the Sahel in Niger, we are running across Russia's the Wagner Group—which has renamed itself Africa Corps, to our great chagrin. We're looking at Iranian and Russian missiles dealing with disinformation from other countries.

These things do not respect borders, and great power competition is playing out all over the world, in these myriad of conflicts.

Our hotter and more hostile world requires a bold new agenda for a shared humanity. Neither conflict nor climate change can be ignored or addressed by individual nations acting alone and in self-interest. Addressing

conflict and climate change requires not a retreat from global collaboration, but a recognition that in a world so interconnected, our futures are bound together with people we have never met—human beings with their own stories, human beings that are increasingly sharing their stories across social media. There are no mysteries around what is happening.



An audience member asks a question during the Q&A.
Credit: Bethany Versoy

I went to Poland about two weeks after Russia invaded Ukraine. And I saw a scenario there that I wish for every displaced person or refugee in the world. In the early stages, you see mostly middle-class people streaming out with their pets and with all their belongings. There were tents set up with food. There were even pet tents set up alongside tents with strollers. There were welcome centers set up.

And as I walked into one, it was like a bazaar. It was like there were booths from each country. So the Netherlands—free housing for six weeks; France—there's all kinds of—every country was making their pitch to these refugees coming in from Ukraine to come to their country and organize transportation for them...

We have to recognize that our world is so interconnected, our futures are bound together with people we have never met who look different from us, who are on the other side of the world. Because in a world of pandemics, climate crisis, and conflict, there is no us and them. There is only us.

WWW • Watch the full lecture on the Weatherhead Center YouTube channel:
youtube.com/@HarvardWCFIA

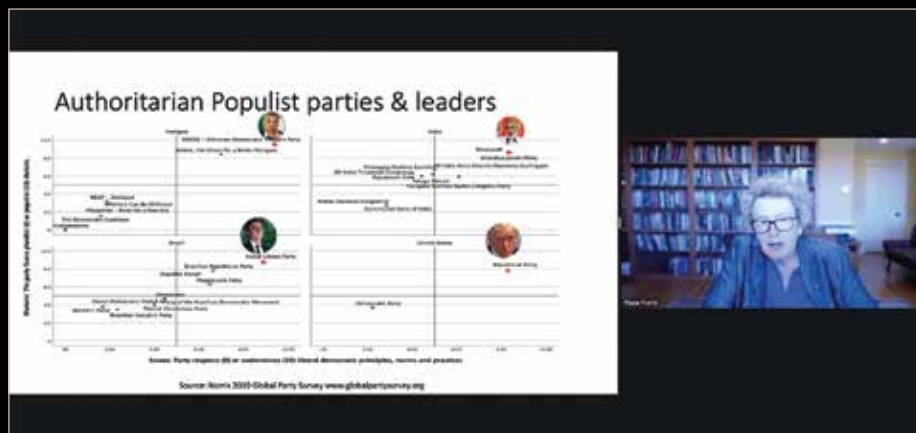
Photos Fall 2024 Events



Weatherhead affiliates gathered on August 26 and 27 for our 2024–2025 orientation that started with introductions, followed by informative panels by library professionals, staff, and faculty, and concluded with a BBQ for all affiliates and their families. Credit (left to right): Bethany Versoy, Lauren McLaughlin, and Bethany Versoy



The Weatherhead Forum titled “Geopolitical Stakes of the 2024 US Presidential Election” was held on October 9. It featured Timothy Colton, Ziad Daoud, Diana Durán Nuñez, and Rana Mitter, and was chaired by Center Director Melani Cammett. Credit: Lauren McLaughlin



On November 6, the Weatherhead Forum titled “What’s Next? Breaking Down the US Presidential Election Results” was held online. It featured speakers Joshua D. Kertzer, Pippa Norris (shown here), and Daniel Ziblatt, and was chaired by Center Director Melani Cammett. Credit: Lauren McLaughlin



Comedian Katie Boyle performed for a packed audience along with the Harvard College Stand-Up Comic Society for the Center's eighth annual International Comedy Night on October 8, held at the Smith Center during Harvard's Worldwide Week. Credit: Lauren McLaughlin



On October 10 and 11, the conference titled *The Politics of Victimization: Citizenship, Agency, and Contestation Among Victims of Violence* was held and convened by Faculty Associate Yanilda González and Eduardo Moncada from Barnard College. Credit: Sarah Banse



On November 20, the Weatherhead Center and Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies sponsored the event *Navigating the Transatlantic Relationship in a Changing World*. It featured Boston-based consuls general of France, Germany, Greece, and Spain, and was chaired by Faculty Associate Christoph Mikulaschek. Credit: Michelle Nicholassen



On November 25, the Weatherhead Center hosted a Thanksgiving luncheon for its affiliates. Credit: Lauren McLaughlin



On October 23, Richard English gave a book talk on his new book, *Does Counter-Terrorism Work?* Richard English is a member of the Weatherhead Center Advisory Committee and is director of the Senator George J. Mitchell Institute for Global Peace, Security, and Justice at Queen's University Belfast. Credit: Bethany Versoy



Dispatches

Undergraduate Researchers in the Field

Every spring, a select group of Harvard College students receive travel grants from Weatherhead to support their thesis field research on topics related to international affairs. The Center has encouraged these Undergraduate Associates to take advantage of its research community by connecting with graduate students, faculty, postdocs, and visiting scholars. Four Undergraduate Associates write of their experiences last summer:



CHRISTINA NEHEMIE CHAPERON

Department of Sociology. Research interests: Coloniality of gender; French and British postcolonial territories in the Caribbean; female participation; anticolonial resistance and memory; transnational feminism; and cultural traditions.

According to the Argentinian philosopher Maria Lugones, “coloniality of gender” posits gender in postcolonial territories as a byproduct of colonization. In essence, many modern-day gender norms and gender structures in postcolonial territories are deeply impacted by colonization practices.

Lugones first used the term to describe the impact of European colonization on Indigenous peoples in North and South America. Still, her theory has been applied to several regions in the world, such as Asia and Africa. For my research, I wanted to extend this concept to the Caribbean—this summer I visited Kingston, Jamaica—and explore the differences between former English and former French colonies.

After my first two interviews this summer, I began thinking more about the mythologization of female revolutionaries in folklore and oral histories in Jamaica and Haiti. One of my respondents mentioned the way Nanny of the Maroons, guerilla fighter and leader of the escaped enslaved people, is remembered in Jamaican culture as a mythical leader who caught British bullets in her buttocks. This narrative with mystical powers reduces the credibility of Nanny as a proper historical figure and leader in the anticolonial fight in Jamaica.

In subsequent interviews this fall, I have heard similar stories of women during the Haitian Revolution possessing mythological attributes and often remembered in legends as opposed to history textbooks. For example, Cécile Fatiman was a *mambo* (Vodou priestess) who was a leader in the Haitian Revolution but is regarded more as a spiritual figure than an actual soldier.

While in Jamaica I visited the National Library of Jamaica, the Institute of Jamaica, and the National Archives of Jamaica. Although the resources in the National Archive didn't correlate too closely with my topic, it was still fascinating to touch documents from centuries ago and read through interesting primary sources like radio emission transcripts and court documents.

I interviewed three gender activists while in Jamaica. Two of my interviewees were native to Jamaica and more than seventy years old, which means they witnessed Jamaica's independence in 1962. The other interviewee was in her forties and getting her master's degree at the University of West Indies. She is originally from the UK, which is also a unique perspective in relation to colonization in Jamaica.

I was also fortunate to visit a Rastafari jazz night with some of the contacts I made. The director of the Institute of Jamaica hosts jazz nights featuring a local Rastafari band at a popular restaurant in downtown Kingston. This evening was so interesting because the blend of brass instruments—trumpets, trombones, and French horns—along with African drums created a uniquely beautiful sound that was foreign to me. I also loved the introduction to Rastafari culture in a musical context, because it allowed me to draw parallels between the performance and traditional Haitian hymns that I'm familiar with. Though the lyrics were in Patois as opposed to Haitian Creole, the rhythms, melodies, and tempos were very similar. This performance was one of the highlights of my trip!



Aside from the research I conducted, this experience helped me feel comfortable and confident in myself because I traveled alone to a country I had never been to before, made great connections, and learned so much. This opportunity was a memorable experience in my overall growth.



SAMIR DUGGASANI

Departments of Government and of Computer Science.

Research interests: Political disinformation; AI in elections; content governance; technology policy; multiethnic democracies;

identity politics; and modern South Asia.

This summer, I spent three-and-a-half weeks in Hyderabad, the capital of southern India's Telangana state. A major tech hub for India, Hyderabad is also a highly competitive political atmosphere where major national parties compete alongside regional ones and the campaign spend is among the highest in the country. My plan was to conduct interviews with political consultants, politicians, party workers, artificial intelligence (AI) media firms, journalists, and civil society groups to get a sense of the use of political deepfakes in campaigns this election cycle.

In my interviews, I asked to join public political WhatsApp groups to eventually quantify the presence of generative AI content circulated on the platform and to understand how outreach activities are organized on the platform. It turns out that while there were a number of instances of high-profile deepfakes and novel uses of generative AI, the technology was not so widespread as to play a large role in campaigning this year. A consistent pattern in my first week's interviews brought me to another interest to which I would shift my attention: internet influencers and how political parties mobilize them for vote-getting.

The second week was much more successful and one of my meetings was a two-hour interview with an Indian National Congress social media organizer. Last minute, she invited me to a social media mobilization event the party was conducting for two candidates in the Kodad Assembly Constituency, which a government vehicle took me to early the next morning. On the three-hour ride there, I got to talk with the party's national social media mobilizer, who was in town for the event.

The event sought to educate party workers on how to use various social media platforms to advantage the party and its agenda. Eager party workers flooded a large event hall where they were encouraged by leadership to



follow, like, and repost all party content on WhatsApp, Instagram, X, and Facebook. I conducted informal interviews with some of these grassroots party workers in Telugu and learned just how intentional they were about engaging voters on social media. I was also amazed at the celebrity surrounding party leadership—most notably demonstrated by the hordes of party workers surrounding our vehicles.

My last week in Hyderabad continued to be just as fruitful, securing interviews with party workers and political consultancies—this time talking to people from India Political Action Committee, India’s largest and first major political consulting firm. By this point, I had a much clearer idea of the kinds of strategies political parties employed to reach voters on WhatsApp: working through local figures, obtaining numbers (often illegally) from phone providers, and grouping voters by polling station.

From my interviews, I gained access to twenty WhatsApp groups across four states and six political parties. I am now building a scraper to analyze the content in them, which will hopefully give me novel insights into the issues discussed, the tone of messages, and the presence of hate speech.

Outside of research, I reveled in exploring a city I had a lot of ties to but never really had been able to immerse myself

in. I used my free time to gorge on authentic Hyderabad biryani, tour famous landmarks built by Hindu and Muslim rulers, and witness the insanity of a South Indian movie on opening night. Safe to say I learned a lot this summer and laid the foundation for my senior thesis.



PETER N. JONES

Department of Government.

Research interests: Global governance; international development; municipal paradiplomacy; European security policy; Georgia and the

Caucasus; separatist movements; and media freedom.

In the Republic of Georgia, beauty is everywhere, reflecting a rich, perfectly preserved historical tradition. Fourth-century fortresses dot horizons with all the apparent banality of cell towers, nestled in the shadow of the imposing Caucasus Mountains. The food serves as a testament to long ago cultural fusions that occurred along the Silk Road (legends attribute the conception of *khinkali*, a classic national dish somewhat akin to a giant soup dumpling, to the thirteenth-century arrival of Genghis Khan’s invading Mongol empire). And wine, which many insist Georgia first created, is stored not in screw-top bottles but ancient clay pots, or *qvevri*, which monks bury in the cool, damp earth beneath monasteries.

The country matches its immense beauty with unending political complexity. Political turmoil has plagued the small nation since its independence from the Soviet Union in 1991. Recently, the pro-Western Georgian public has mobilized against the policy of its illiberal central government considered more aligned with Russia.



Initially, I expected to spend my summer researching one instance of this push and pull between civil society and government. But when the government suddenly overrode the wishes of the Georgian public and forced a



repressive law into effect—eliciting civil unrest—I knew it was time to pivot. Fortunately, I had a secondary area of interest less likely to be affected by the unfolding events in Georgia. This was subnational diplomacy, a practice carried out largely via sister city partnerships.

Sister cities have always fascinated me, as my hometown of Chicago often pays homage to its dozens of foreign sister cities. The relationships challenge the notion that foreign policy is the sole domain of federal governments, empowering municipal politicians to make meaningful international relationships.

A related puzzle emerged after the Russian invasion of Ukraine. When relations between Russia and the West declined, some municipalities chose to echo the condemnations of their central governments and suspend ties to sister cities in Russia and Belarus. Others did not. A host of US cities continued to stand with their Russian sisters, and several major Georgian cities maintained their relationships with municipalities in the invasion-complicit Belarus, at least on paper.

I set out to uncover why. I traveled to Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Batumi, and Khoni, covering the entire length of the

country twice—by train, *mashrutka* (shared minivans), and small propeller planes. I saw nooks of small Georgian towns discovered by few tourists, confused more than a few people with my unexpected Americanness, and spent hours in dilapidated municipal buildings evocative of Georgia’s Soviet times. I secured interviews with the top officials responsible for international relations in Tbilisi and Batumi (the country’s two largest cities) and met with the ever-charismatic mayor of Khoni, among other relevant actors in civil society and municipal development.

Within a wide assortment of relevant data, I found the possible existence of an intriguing interplay between municipal- and national-level politics. Several Georgian officials hinted that one reason they have balked at formally cutting off the Belarusian relationships is that it would constitute an “aggressive” move that could enable Belarusian President Alexander Lukashenko to recognize the Russian-occupied regions of Georgia as sovereign entities.

The work continued in the US upon my return. I spent August traipsing around the Midwest and conducting similar interviews, even driving out to the Illinois–Iowa border to meet with the government of Dixon, Illinois, and interviewing the mayors of Chicago, Gainesville, and Tallahassee.

I am grateful to have had such enlightening international research experience and look forward to reconciling these distinct cases as I examine this fascinating variation.



RAYHA KELLY MCPHERSON

**Department of Psychology.
Research interests: Clinical
psychology and psychological
treatment as it pertains
to minority populations,
especially Black Americans.**

In July 2024 I went to Kigali, Rwanda as part of my senior thesis research in psychology. My goal was to set up the implementation of a novel mindful movement-based resilience curriculum that I created for Rwandan adolescents suffering from PTSD or depression. Despite the reading I had done about the 1994 genocide of the Tutsi and the rapid bureaucratic and infrastructural developments that have been prioritized in the thirty years following, I did not know what to expect in, or of, Rwanda.

The plan for my senior thesis research was the product of collaborations I fostered in the months prior to my arrival in Kigali. In January 2024 I began Zooming with members of the University of Rwanda Center for Mental Health

and two dedicated Rwandan yoga practitioners, Emmanuel Manirarora and Alexis Havugimana, who founded a wellness and community support organization. Together we developed a sixteen-session protocol that integrates Trauma Center Trauma-Sensitive Yoga (TCTS) with culturally relevant practices. Most concretely, Emmanuel, Alexis, and I used postgenocide, Kinyarwanda-specific constructs to guide the week-by-week theme progressions: *kwihangana* describes patience/perseverance and the ability to withstand suffering from inner-strength; *gukomeza ubuzima* describes acceptance of struggle and a determined continuation of life/health; *kwongera kubaho* describes channelling inner peace as a reaffirmation of life after catastrophe; and *kwigirira ikizere* describes feelings of being capable, purposeful, and optimistic.

In July, the three of us attended a conference on peace, resilience, and transformational justice sponsored by the Aegis Trust, a UK-based NGO. The first day of the conference was held at the Kigali Genocide Memorial. This site held personal pain for Emmanuel and Alexis, given the impacts that the genocide had on them as Tutsi children. In the heat of the elegant outdoor amphitheater, we observed NGO representatives and government officials reflect on their humanitarian efforts. We heard from academics about the paths to effective reconciliation and models of restorative justice. We listened to survivors share their memories of witnessing the killings of their family members, neighbors, and friends; their journeys to safety; and the decades of suffering that held them as they sought validation, support, and societal belonging. Emmanuel, Alexis, and I sat with one another. We held hands, we stepped away from our seats to share glasses of tree tomato juice and check in on feelings that arose—or were strangely not arising. We consented to jointly existing in a brokenheartedness that was without judgment or frustration. They thanked me for caring for them, I thanked them for caring for me.

My visit was not limited to Kigali. Once in East Africa, I connected with Tom Osborn—a previous Weatherhead Center Undergraduate Associate—who cofounded the Shamiri Institute with my thesis cosupervisor Katherine Venturo-Conerly. I flew from Kigali to Kenya to stay



with Tom, explore the institute and their cost-effective and scalable mental health care models, and receive feedback on my own project. Tom organized a road trip, a hike with zebras, a wildlife-filled adventure through the Nairobi National Park, a boat ride to see hippos, and visits to artisan markets and local museums. We shared delicious and fun dinners (and dancing!) around Nairobi. It was amazing to see how a previous Harvard psychology undergraduate continues to think creatively and has balanced his work life with his personal life.

Living and working in Kigali as a non-Kinyarwanda-speaking outsider presented challenges that required me to act with flexibility, patience, and generous listening. Doing so allowed me to learn in a way that is only possible by exploring openly—and sometimes uncomfortably—in a new environment.

Page 14: Sunrise at Akagera National Park, Rwanda. Courtesy of Rayha Kelly McPherson

Page 16: Christina Chaperon and Judith Wedderburn, an advocate in the field of gender and development in Jamaica and the wider Caribbean for over thirty years. Courtesy of Christina Chaperon

Page 17: A Hindu temple dedicated to the Goddess Kali within Golconda Fort. Credit: Samir Duggasani

Page 17: Peter Jones takes in the view from the Jvari Monastery, a sixth-century Georgian Orthodox monastery near Mtskheta, one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world. Courtesy of Peter Jones

Page 18: Georgian students protest the civil-society-smothering Foreign Agents Law. Credit: Peter Jones

This page: Rayha Kelly McPherson (right) poses with former Undergraduate Associate Tom Osborn and friends on Mt. Longonot, Kenya. Courtesy of Rayha Kelly McPherson

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Weatherhead Research Cluster on Identity Politics

Global Scholars' Network on Identity and Conflict (GSNIC)

Northern Ireland was a fitting location for a gathering of scholars and practitioners deeply interested in the study of peacebuilding and reconciliation after violent conflict. The second annual Global Scholars' Network on Identity and Conflict (GSNIC) conference took place at Queen's University Belfast on September 20 and 21, 2024.

The conference, titled *Leaders Making Peace: Incentives Toward Post-Conflict Peacebuilding*, brought together scholars and practitioners from around the world to engage with several key questions: When and why do political elites and other key actors promote intergroup peacebuilding? Under what conditions do leaders compromise? What features of the polity, society, or economy incentivize them to cooperate or facilitate efforts to promote improved intergroup relations?

Presenters drew on experiences in postconflict settings, such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Lebanon, India, Pakistan, Japan, Spain, and the UK/Northern Ireland to analyze outcomes and consider patterns in successful and unsuccessful transitions. In conversation with GSNIC Chairs Melani Cammett and Richard English, economists, historians, political scientists, community leaders, and law enforcement and former government officials shared insights on ways to incentivize influential leaders to pursue peacebuilding. Panels were broken into thematic categories that reflect various dynamics in a peace effort, and speakers addressed topics such as: the risk-benefit analysis for parties in a conflict, institutional structures that may impede sustained peace, the powerful influence of regional actors, narratives and symbolism that can mitigate or reinforce identity group associations, and experiences with transitional justice programs.

Northern Ireland is considered a success story and its progression from three decades of conflict (known as the Troubles) to the Good Friday Agreement of 1998 is an instructive case for researchers. On the final day of the conference, attendees embarked on a guided walking tour recapping events in Belfast between 1971–1973, a period of peak violence. The guide shared photos of the tall barricades and checkpoints around the city center that one had to pass through to do everyday things like run errands and go to pubs. Today, Belfast is a peaceful city, attracting large numbers of tourists, though sectarian divisions still exist in nuanced and symbolic ways.

GSNIC is jointly directed by the Senator George J. Mitchell Institute for Global Peace, Security and Justice at Queen's University Belfast and the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard University, specifically through its Weatherhead Research Cluster on Identity Politics. Its mission is to understand the roots of violence waged in the name of religion or ethnic identity and to seek effective ways to deactivate intergroup conflict.



WWW • Visit the Weatherhead Research Cluster on Identity Politics and Global Scholars' Network on Identity and Conflict (GSNIC) websites: sites.harvard.edu/wrc22-identity-politics gsnic.wcfia.harvard.edu

Opposite: Mural on Skankill Road marking the West Belfast neighborhood that saw acts of violence during the Troubles.

Above: GSNIC hosted its second annual conference titled *Leaders Making Peace: Incentives Toward Post-Conflict Peacebuilding* on September 20 and 21, 2024.

Credit: Michelle Nicholassen

Student Programs



2024-2025 KENNETH I. JUSTER FELLOWS

The Weatherhead Center is pleased to announce its 2024-2025 class of Juster Fellows. Now in its fourteenth year, this grant initiative is made possible by the generosity of the Honorable Kenneth I. Juster, Harvard and Weatherhead Center alum, member of the Center's Advisory Committee, and former United States Ambassador to India. Juster has devoted much of his education, professional activities, public service, and nonprofit endeavors to international affairs, and is deeply engaged in promoting international understanding and advancing international relations. Juster grants support undergraduates whose projects may be related to thesis research but may have broader experiential components as well. These newly named Juster Fellows will be undertaking their international experiences this winter or spring.

Kendall Edward Carll (History) will travel to four cities in the US to investigate the American approach to China in the long 1990s, from the end of the Cold War to the start of the Global War on Terror.

Charlotte Grace Duesing (Biology and Global Health Policy) will travel to Indonesia to study the sociopolitical, cultural, and economic roles of coastal ecosystems in Southeast Asia.

Sebastian Ramírez Feune (Government and Economics) will travel to Australia to research Melanesian nationalism, Kanak resistance, and French colonization in the Pacific.

Kim Nahari (Philosophy and Computer Science) will travel to India to learn how different communities perceive and address conflict in their regions.

Nimrod Ravid (Economics) will travel to New York and Japan to understand how AI voice-agent compares to humans, and how it might shape the future of international trade.

Ashley Lennox Redhead (Electrical Engineering) will travel to Taiwan to explore the geopolitical and economic impact of Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company on global technology and international relations.



2023-2024 Juster Fellows meet with Kenneth I. Juster and his wife, Alyssa Bliss Juster, after having lunch together. Credit: Lauren McLaughlin

Hailee Byur Youn (Government and Economics) will travel to Northern Ireland to examine how political negotiation frameworks replaced traditional legal reforms in the Good Friday Agreement of 1998.

Aqib Feroz Zakaria (Government) will travel to Taiwan to research how semiconductor companies have reacted to the geopolitical shocks of recent US export controls and strengthened competition from Mainland China companies.

WWW • Learn more about our student programs by visiting the website wcfa.harvard.edu/students



INAUGURAL 2024-2025 HERBERT C. KELMAN FELLOWS

Congratulations to the inaugural recipients of the 2024 Weatherhead Center Herbert C. Kelman Research Grant: Tsiona Lida, Catherine Pitcher, and Michael Zanger-Tishler. The grants provide funding to promising graduate students whose research relates to Professor Kelman’s seminal work on the causes, prevention, or resolution of international or ethnic conflicts, especially the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Professor Kelman was a beloved member of the Weatherhead Center for many years, and his pathbreaking work produced important contributions to the potential resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Two of the student research projects are shared below.



Tsiona Lida, a PhD candidate in history, will use her grant to continue her dissertation research on the affective underpinnings of Jewish settlement in Palestine. She interprets the work of emotion in animating Jewish

attachment to land as well as in mediating historical conceptions of justice. Tsiona plans to conduct research on the chapters of her dissertation which explore how a sense of Jewish belonging and entitlement—to land, property, and safety—was destroyed and sown over the course of the Holocaust and the Nakba.



Michael Zanger-Tishler, a PhD candidate in sociology and social policy, will use his grant to support field research and conduct interviews for his dissertation on criminal justice in different countries and how the

data made available about the criminal justice system shapes the ways researchers discuss inequalities in the system. Michael is interested in how data shape the way we can change policies and debates around important societal issues like policing and mass incarceration. While in Jerusalem, he will interview academics, journalists, activists and government statisticians who create and work with data that affects their work and the types of claims they can make. He hopes to show how state structure and cultural differences shape what data are produced and how these are used in public debate.

Canada Program



IN MEMORIAM / JOY PARR (1949-2024)

Joy Parr, professor emerita at the University of Western Ontario, passed away on May 12, 2024. Parr was a Canadian historian known for her work in the fields of labor and gender history as well as the history of technology. She was a 1999 William Lyon Mackenzie King Chair in the Canada Program at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. To learn more about Parr and her eminent career, visit her website (www.joyparr.com).

WWW • Learn more about the Canada Program by visiting the website canada.wcfia.harvard.edu

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TITLES INCLUDE: Christian Feminists from Abroad Confront US Sexual Politics / How Digitization is Changing Urban Politics / Rare Films from Socialist Yugoslavia / Survival and Self-Determination in Northeast Syria / Student Protests and Lessons from the Anti-Apartheid Movement / Cities in Bangladesh Must Refocus to Combat Climate Change / Migrants Bring Opportunity to Boston and Beyond



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