



Weatherhead Center
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

CENTERPIECE

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HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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In Memoriam: Robert Richardson Bowie

The Weatherhead Center for International Affairs mourns the loss of Robert Richardson Bowie, the Center's founding director, who passed away on Saturday, November 2, 2013, at the age of 104.

Robert Bowie was born on August 24, 1909, and was a highly-respected American diplomat and scholar. After graduating from Princeton University in 1931, Bowie went on to attend Harvard University, receiving his law degree in 1934. He served in the US Army from 1942 to 1946 as a commissioned officer with the Pentagon and in occupied Germany from 1945 until 1946, after which he returned to Harvard to teach.

As the legal advisor to John J. McCloy, US high commissioner to Germany, Bowie authored some of the most crucial clauses of the agreement between the Allies and West Germany. In 2009, Bowie received the Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany. At the award ceremony, Ambassador Scharioth stressed the importance of Robert Bowie's work toward a united Europe based on Franco-German reconciliation.

From 1953 to 1957, Robert Bowie continued to support these causes as head of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, as a member of the Eisenhower administration. In 1957, as the newly appointed founding director of the Center for International Affairs, Bowie made the political, strategic, and economic aspects of US relations with Europe a central focus of Harvard's new research center.

Along with these great accomplishments, Bowie was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations; the Trilateral Commission; the American Law Institute; the American Academy of Diplomacy; and served as CIA chief national intelligence officer from 1977 to 1979.

Bowie founded the Center with the intention to address, "...the pressing need for widened knowledge and understanding: for more awareness of the nature and complexity of foreign affairs; for more informed and imaginative thinking." Former Center Director and Chairman of the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, Jorge I. Domínguez, reflected, "Bowie's belief in, and support for, research and its application to international affairs was strong and enduring. His belief in, and support for, the Center that he founded was thoughtful, ever-loyal, all-abiding, and generous." In his passing, we will continue to strive toward his vision and always keep his determination, wisdom, and deeply inquisitive nature in our hearts and our minds.

The Center plans a memorial gathering in his honor in the spring of 2014.

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Message from the Executive Director

In the *New York Times Sunday Review* on October 25, 2013, we were pleased to see an opinion piece by Chris P. Nielsen and Mun S. Ho entitled "Clearing the Air in China." (See <http://wcfia.harvard.edu/publications/clearing-air-china>.) Marshaling only the data that a short piece can allow, the article advocated the introduction of a carbon tax in China to curb carbon emissions and control air pollution, thus saving countless lives. Chris is executive director of the China Project at Harvard's School of Engineering and Applied Sciences, Mun is a visitor to the China Project, and their edited volume, *Clearer Skies Over China: Reconciling Air Quality, Climate and Economic Goals*, has just been released by MIT Press.

We took a special interest in this article because in 2010 the Center awarded a Weatherhead Initiative grant to principal investigators Professors Michael B. McElroy of the Harvard School of Engineering and Applied Sciences and Dale W. Jorgenson of the Department of Economics, which included Chris and Mun as well as the Harvard-based researcher Zhao Yu, and Tsinghua University-based Cao Jing and Wang Yuxuan, and Lei Yu of the Chinese Academy for Environmental Planning. The project was called "The Costs and Benefits of Carbon and Air Pollution Control in China: An Interdisciplinary and Analytical Framework."

In reacting to our recognition of the article in the *Times*, Chris had this to say: "Let me just clarify that WCFIA contributed centrally...I have always found the Center's focus on rigorous scholarship refreshing and validating. It has long been dead easy for us to go after cheap headlines on our topics, e.g., 'Harvard Study Says Chinese Air Pollution Kills 515,000 People a Year.' We have always resisted doing this because I don't think it's constructive to 'dumb down' issues and play to preconceptions just to get press. And yet sometimes I feel pressure to do exactly that, even within Harvard."

Chris went on to say, "It was gratifying to have support for the mission we truly want to emphasize: pushing the boundaries of what is known on our topics and presenting it in a form that helps to build useful knowledge, in China and internationally. This is how we want to have impact. Getting solicited for an article in the *Times* is exciting, but ultimately it's a means to an end: getting the right people to know about the substance behind the op-ed. By this I mean our book, which WCFIA's commitment literally made possible. So thank you and WCFIA once again for this."

The Weatherhead Initiative in International Affairs, designed in 1998 to "encourage and support large-scale and groundbreaking research," is a signal effort of research funding championed by the Center. We have so far supported one dozen Weatherhead Initiatives, with the last one, on Global History, introducing a new concept of still-deeper interdisciplinarity and inter-institutional cooperation through the model of its "research cluster," our requiring that a research team come together on campus to run seminars and at least one conference for a "residential" middle year or years of the project, and ultimately toward the production of scholarly publications as the funding winds down.

"Rigorous," indeed, is our watchword. While we appreciate, of course, applied and policy-relevant work, its foundation must be data collection and analysis that are theoretically sound, intellectually daring, and of interest across national boundaries.

It is no small thing to design a Weatherhead Initiative Research Cluster. Planning three or more years of research that should dominate the scholarly attentions of a combination of five or six (or more) members of the Harvard faculty, graduate students, visitors, and undergraduates is a daunting challenge. The Center's ability to find staffing and space within our Center for Government and International Studies can sometimes be constrained by other priorities around the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. Obligations toward teaching and service to any number of administrative callings can easily compromise commitment, and yet the opportunity to think big and fundamentally has attracted major research initiatives to the Weatherhead Center over the past fifteen years.

In 2014, we look forward to supporting another Weatherhead Initiative Research Cluster, perhaps with more than \$500,000 for a multiyear, groundbreaking scholarly purpose. Our hope, most certainly, is that it results, as Chris said, in "pushing the boundaries of what is known on our topics and presenting it in a form that helps to build useful knowledge." Acting Center Director Jeff Frieden's reaction? "We should get a copy of Chris's note engraved to put above the portal (if we had a portal)."

Somehow, we are going to get that portal.

Steven B. Bloomfield
Executive Director

Cover: Robert R. Bowie in April 1958, soon after he was named as the Center Founding Director. Photo credit: Harvard University Archives, call # UAV 605, Professor in Action Series, F2440 frame 8.

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Holds Film Screening in Italy

Michael Herzfeld, professor of anthropology and curator of European ethnology at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology had a screening of his film, *Roman Restaurant Rhythms* (Berkeley Media, 2011) at the Sardinia International Ethnographic Film Festival in Nuoro, Sardinia, Italy in September. The festival is organized by the Istituto Superiore Etnografico of Sardinia.

Former Harvard Academy Scholar Wins the Katzenstein Prize

Former Harvard Academy Scholar **Harris Mylonas** (2008–2009; 2011–2012), has won the Katzenstein Prize for his book, *The Politics of Nation-Building: Making Co-Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities* (Cambridge University Press, 2012). The Katzenstein Prize recognizes an outstanding first book in international relations, comparative politics, or political economy.

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Appointed Professorship by Department of Sociology

On May 8, 2013, **Martin K. Whyte** was appointed as the John Zwaanstra Professor of International Studies and of Sociology in the Department of Sociology. The Zwaanstra chair was established on behalf of John Zwaanstra IV, and recognizes outstanding work in international studies, particularly by a distinguished scholar of East Asia. Whyte is the first incumbent and, as Dean Michael D. Smith noted, “an honor richly deserved.”

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Receives Aaron Wildavsky Enduring Contribution Award

Theda Skocpol won the 2013 Aaron Wildavsky Enduring Contribution Award for her book, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Harvard University Press, 1992). The award is given for the best book or article published in the general area of public policy during the past twenty-plus years.

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Receives the 2014 Global Environment Award

John G. Ruggie, Berthold Beitz Professor in Human Rights and International Affairs at Harvard Kennedy School, was selected as the recipient of the 2014 Global Environment Award by the International Association for Impact Assessment (IAIA). Ruggie received the honor for producing the *UN Guiding Principles on Business & Human Rights*.

The Global Environment Award is intended to celebrate those who “have made a substantial contribution to the practice of environmental assessment, management or policy at a global scale, or have otherwise made a major contribution to promote environmental sustainability or environmental justice,” according to Greg Radford, IAIA President.

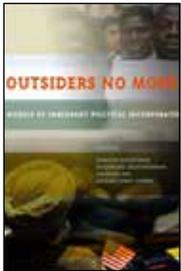
Ruggie will deliver the keynote address during the IAIA's 2014 annual conference in Viña del Mar, Chile, next April, where he will be presented with the award.

Former Weatherhead Center Fellow Appointed Fellowship at Brown University

Former Fellow **Nirupama Rao** (1992–1993), who finished her tenure as India's ambassador to the United States earlier in November, has been appointed a visiting fellow at the Watson Institute for International Studies for 2014. “Rao is the third recipient of the Meera and Vikram Gandhi Fellowship and the first full-year fellow,” says **Ashutosh Varshney**, who is the director of the Brown-India Initiative, the Sol Goldman Professor of International Studies and the Social Sciences, and Associate of the Weatherhead Center. The fellowship is meant to bring Indian policy-makers, reporters, and public intellectuals to the Brown campus.

Outsiders No More? Models of Immigrant Political Incorporation

By Jennifer L. Hochschild,
Jacqueline Chattopadhyay,
Claudine Gay, and Michael
Jones-Correa, eds.



Outsiders No More? brings together a multidisciplinary group of scholars to consider pathways by which immigrants may be incorporated into the political processes of western democracies. At a time when immigrants are

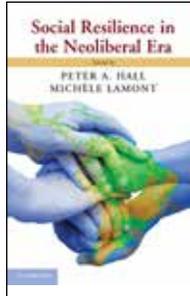
increasingly significant political actors in many democratic polities, this volume makes a timely and valuable intervention by pushing researchers to articulate causal dynamics, provide clear definitions and measurable concepts, and develop testable hypotheses. By including historians, sociologists, and political scientists, by ranging across North America and Western Europe, by addressing successful and failed incorporative efforts, this handbook offers guides for anyone seeking to develop a dynamic, unified, and supple model of immigrant political incorporation.

(Oxford University Press, 2013)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Jennifer L. Hochschild is the Henry LaBarre Jayne Professor of Government and a professor of African and African American studies at Harvard University. Jacqueline Chattopadhyay is an assistant professor of political science at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. Claudine Gay is a professor of government and of African and African American studies at Harvard University. Michael Jones-Correa is a professor of government at Cornell University.

Social Resilience in the Neoliberal Era

By Peter A. Hall and
Michèle Lamont



What is the impact of three decades of neoliberal narratives and policies on communities and individual lives? What are the sources of social resilience? This book offers a sweeping assessment of the effects of neoliberalism, the

dominant feature of our times. It analyzes the ideology in unusually wide-ranging terms as a movement that not only opened markets but also introduced new logics into social life, integrating macro-level analyses of the ways in which neoliberal narratives made their way into international policy regimes with micro-level analyses of the ways in which individuals responded to the challenges of the neoliberal era. The book introduces the concept of social resilience and explores how communities, social groups, and nations sustain their well-being in the face of such challenges. The product of ten years of collaboration among a distinguished group of scholars, it integrates institutional and cultural analysis in new ways to understand neoliberalism as a syncretic social process and to explore the sources of social resilience across communities in the developed and developing worlds.

(Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Peter A. Hall is the Krupp Foundation Professor of European Studies in the Department of Government at Harvard University. Michèle Lamont is the Robert I. Goldman Professor of European Studies and professor of sociology in the Department of Sociology, and a professor of African and African American studies at Harvard University.

A Journey With Margaret Thatcher: Foreign Policy Under The Iron Lady

By Robin Renwick



A Journey with Margaret Thatcher is an extraordinary insider's account of British foreign policy under Margaret Thatcher by one of her key advisers. Providing a close-up view of the Iron Lady in action, former high-ranking diplomat

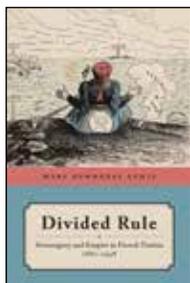
Robin Renwick examines Thatcher's diplomatic successes—including the defeat of aggression in the Falklands, what the Americans felt to be the excessive influence she exerted on Ronald Reagan, her special relationship with Mikhail Gorbachev and contribution to the ending of the Cold War, the Anglo-Irish agreement, her influence with F.W. de Klerk in South Africa and relationship with Nelson Mandela—and what she herself acknowledged as her spectacular failure in resisting German reunification. He describes at first hand her often turbulent relationship with other European leaders and her arguments with her Cabinet colleagues about European monetary union (in which regard, he contends, her arguments have stood the test of time better and are highly relevant to the crisis in the eurozone today). Finally, the book tells of her bravura performance in the run up to the Gulf War, her calls for intervention in Bosnia, and the difficulties she created for her successor. While her faults were on the same scale as her virtues, Margaret Thatcher succeeded in her mission to restore Britain's standing and influence, in the process becoming a cult figure in many other parts of the world.

(Bitback Press, 2013)

Weatherhead Center Fellow Robin Renwick (1980–1981) is a former diplomat and is now a crossbench member of the House of Lords.

Divided Rule: Sovereignty and Empire in French Tunisia, 1881–1938

By Mary Dewhurst Lewis



After invading Tunisia in 1881, the French installed a protectorate in which they shared power with the Tunisian ruling dynasty and, due to the dynasty's treaties with other European powers, with some of their imperial rivals. This "indirect"

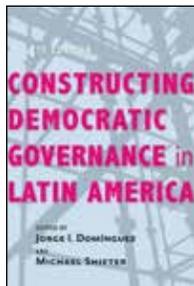
form of colonization was intended to prevent the violent clashes marking France's annexation of neighboring Algeria. But as Mary Dewhurst Lewis shows in *Divided Rule*, France's method of governance in Tunisia actually created a whole new set of conflicts. In one of the most dynamic crossroads of the Mediterranean world, residents of Tunisia—whether Muslim, Jewish, or Christian—navigated through the competing power structures to further their civil rights and individual interests and often thwarted the aims of the French state in the process.

(University of California Press, 2013)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Mary Dewhurst Lewis is a professor of history at Harvard University.

Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America

By Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter, eds.



After more than a century of assorted dictatorships and innumerable fiscal crises, the majority of Latin America's states are governed today by constitutional democratic regimes. Some analysts and scholars argue that Latin America weathered

the 2008 fiscal crisis much better than the United States. How did this happen? Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter asked area specialists to examine the electoral and governance factors that shed light on this transformation and the region's prospects. They gather their findings in the fourth edition of *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*.

Part I is thematic, covering issues of media, constitutionalism, the commodities boom, and fiscal management vis-à-vis governance. Part II focuses on eight important countries in the region—Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela.

Already widely used in courses, *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America* will continue to interest students of Latin American politics, democratization studies, and comparative politics as well as policymakers.

(The John Hopkins University Press, 2013)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate and Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies Chairman Jorge I. Domínguez is the Antonio Madero Professor for the Study of Mexico in the Department of Government and the vice provost for international affairs at Harvard University. Michael Shifter is the president of the Inter-American Dialogue and an adjunct professor of Latin American studies at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service.

The EU and Military Operations: A Comparative Analysis

By Katarina Engberg



This book is a comparative study that aims to answer the question: Under what circumstances does the EU undertake military operations?

Since 2003, the EU has carried out six military operations.

What accounts for this historic development? *The EU and Military Operations* examines the dynamics behind the EU's collective use of force and situates the EU in the context of a global division of labor with regard to military crisis management. It centers on the study of two main cases of EU military operations: the non-case when an operation was planned in the 2006 Lebanon War but did not occur, and the positive case of EUFOR RD Congo that same year.

Drawing upon these findings, the author creates an innovative analytical framework based upon the techniques of defense planning, and applies this to the case studies with the purpose of identifying the main driving and inhibiting factors behind the operations. Key findings derived from this analysis include the growing importance of local actors in facilitating or impeding the EU's deployment of military force and the enhanced role of regional organizations as security providers.

(Routledge, 2013)

Weatherhead Center Fellow Katarina Engberg (1986–1987) is the deputy director general of the Swedish Ministry of Defence.

Forging a Metropolis: State-led Urban Development in Xi'an, China

By Kyle Jaros



Kyle Jaros is a Sidney R. Knafel Dissertation Completion Fellow, Samuel P. Huntington Doctoral Dissertation Fellow, and Graduate Student Associate of the Center. He is also a PhD Candidate in the Department of Government. His research examines the political economy of regional and urban development in China.

The boom of big cities across China in recent years reflects not only market forces unleashed by reform and liberalization but also renewed—and, in some cases, intensified—state intervention in the economy. Policymakers in some provinces have effectively turned a long-standing policy of “strictly controlling the size of large cities”¹ on its head, promoting the build-up of their top metropolitan centers as a key part of their economic strategies. State-led efforts to transform Xi’an, the sleepy capital of Shaanxi province, into an “international metropolis” and regional “growth pole” epitomize this larger trend.

Xi’an’s experience over the past decade shows both the potential and the perils of China’s state-led urban development.² Strong support from the Shaanxi provincial government and various central government agencies has helped to fuel explosive economic, physical, and population growth in the city since the early 2000s. Between 2000 and 2011, Xi’an’s GDP surged from 69 billion yuan to 366 billion yuan, its built-up area expanded from 187 square kilometers to 343 square kilometers, and its urban population grew from 2.86 million to 3.91 million.³ But top-down interventions have also affected the character of Xi’an’s urban growth. While prioritizing Xi’an’s function as a regional economic engine and showcase, higher-level policymakers have been less attentive to the internal coherence of urban development. And pro-

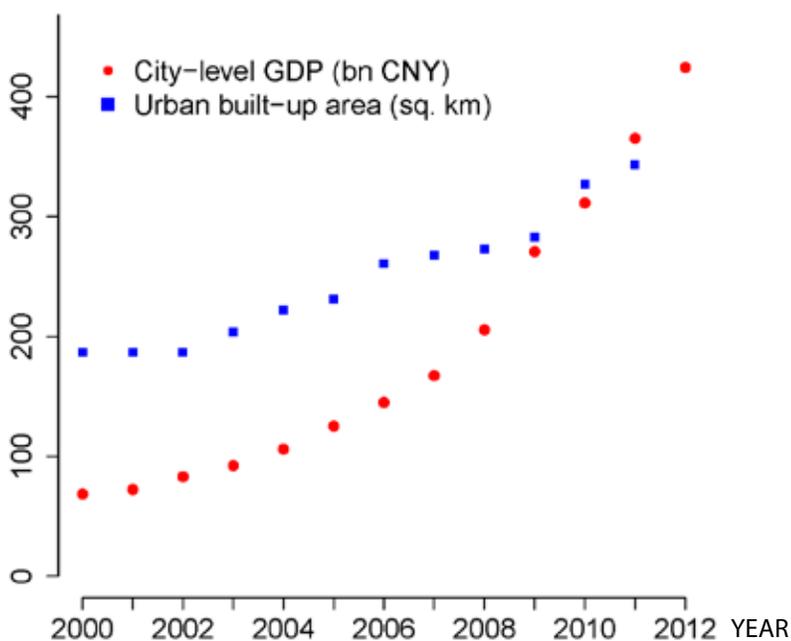
vincial efforts to orchestrate metropolitan development from above have set off fierce turf battles between different government tiers and actors. Even as higher-level interventions enable rapid development in Xi’an, they may compound urban ills such as sprawl, redundant construction, and fragmentation of governance.

Of course, national and regional governments have good reasons for supporting the development of their leading cities.⁴ A growing chorus of academics and policy experts has championed the productivity and competitiveness advantages of large cities. Especially for policymakers in stagnant or late-developing economies, building up the largest urban centers may offer a shortcut for achieving economic internationalization and industrial upgrading. In recent decades, national and regional governments around the world have taken measures to enhance the competitiveness of the Londons and Bangalores that link them to the global economy and house leading industrial sectors.⁵

While China’s metropolitan turn in development policy has come relatively late, it has also been unusually powerful. China’s provincial governments and central bureaucrats have powerful administrative means for steering development in space, including control over financial and fiscal resources, land-use quotas, preferential policies, and major infrastructure and industrial projects. Since the early 2000s, provincial governments across China as well as central state agencies such as the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC) have targeted policy support and state resources to build up major metropolitan areas that can thrive in a more open and competitive economy and drive the development of broader regions.⁶

But pro-metropolitan development strategies in China’s provinces aim to harness big cities as much as to empower them, and top-down interventions may clash with urban interests even as they boost metropolitan growth. Provincial governments seek to bulk up their leading metropolitan areas as regional economic engines and fiscal cash cows, and they invest heavily in building up metropolitan infrastructure and industry. Viewing major cities as economic assets, however, higher-level policymakers may neglect the internal quality and coherence of urban growth. Higher-level government actors also grow jealous of the fiscal and administrative clout amassed by booming cities. Provincial and central policymakers tend to favor approaches to metropolitan development that strengthen cities economically while simultaneously expanding higher-level influence over urban development.⁷ Rather than embracing the urban character and organization of top cities, top-down metropolitan development strategies work around it, forging outwardly

Xi'an's Rapid Growth: GDP and Built-Up Area, 2000–2012



competitive metropolitan areas rather than internally vibrant cities. Shaanxi's efforts to boost Greater Xi'an's size and economic profile embody these two sides of state-led urban development—both the power of higher-level actors to drive urban growth, and also the ways in which top-down efforts can distort development.

Shaanxi's extended crisis of economic competitiveness has created a strong impetus for metropolitan development. Located far inland, Shaanxi has long remained one of China's poorer provinces. Though Shaanxi served as an important base for state-owned industry after the Communist takeover, it has struggled to adapt to more competitive economic conditions since the 1980s. Entering the twenty-first century, Shaanxi's economy was buoyed by rapid energy-sector development and by a new national-level Open the West Campaign, but the province's urban and industrial development remained anemic.⁸ Industrial reforms in Xi'an progressed slowly, and the city lagged behind inland rivals like Chengdu and Wuhan when it came to market size and the quality of investment climate. By the early 2000s, provincial elites perceived an urgent need to make Shaanxi's core urban areas more competitive.⁹

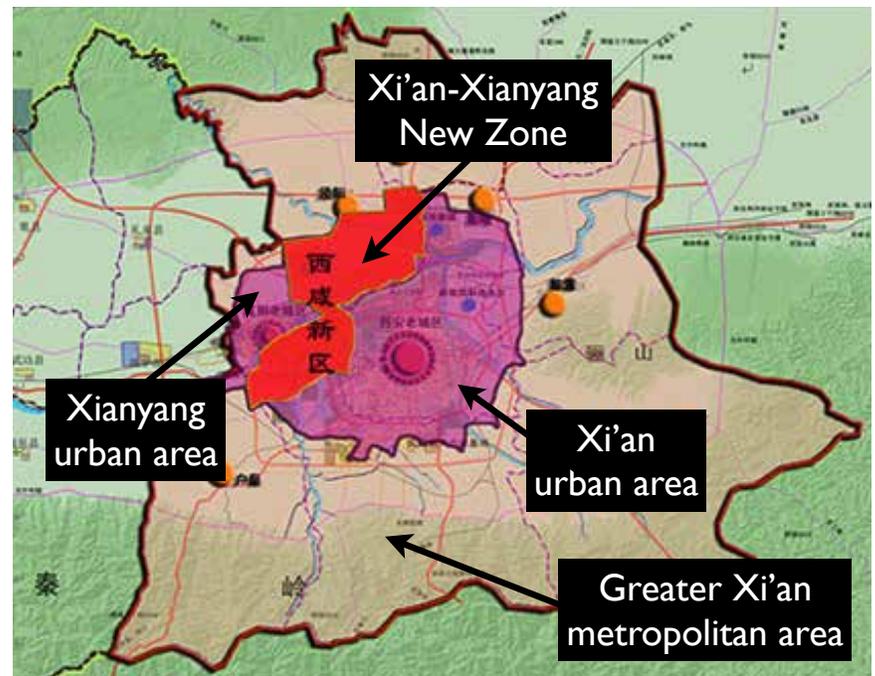
In response to such concerns, Shaanxi's government has launched a series of increasingly bold initiatives to build a stronger Xi'an metropolitan region and a "core growth pole" for its provincial economy. In 2002, provincial leaders announced a long-term strategy of economically and physically integrating Xi'an with the nearby city of Xianyang, and called for fostering a broader belt of high technology industry around Xi'an.¹⁰ Between 2004–2005, provincial leaders stepped up their support for Xi'an's economic development through the approval of new development zones and the rollout of stronger industry-promotion policies.¹¹ A more aggressive provincial strategy took shape following the 2007 arrival of Zhao Leji as Shaanxi's Communist Party chief. Zhao, a rising star in the Party establishment, signaled that building a larger, more competitive Xi'an metropolitan would be a top priority, and called for devoting more provincial policy support and investment to what was already by far the largest, wealthiest city in the province.¹² The new leadership also set about obtaining special policies from Beijing for development of the Guanzhong economic region around Xi'an.¹³ Negotiations with Beijing paid off as the State Council in 2009 designated the broader Guanzhong region as a special economic area and approved plans to accelerate Xi'an-Xianyang integration and build Greater Xi'an into a 10 million-person "international metropolis."¹⁴ This state-level recognition gave Shaanxi and Xi'an greater access to central resources as well as expanded scope for launching subnational policy initiatives.

At the center of Shaanxi's efforts to promote faster metropolitan development under these new central policies has been the creation of a mammoth Xi'an-Xianyang New Zone. In the months after it received central en-

dorsement for plans to build an integrated Xi'an-Xianyang "international metropolis," Shaanxi's leadership took advantage of its new policy mandate by marking out a 560 square-kilometer special development area along the Xi'an-Xianyang border.¹⁵ Lying within municipal boundaries but administered by the provincial government,¹⁶ the New Zone is intended to serve as the physical platform for Xi'an-Xianyang integration and as home to several of the new industrial and urban districts that will help constitute the Xi'an international metropolis.¹⁷ In the near term, New Zone construction is meant to facilitate quick economic and administrative breakthroughs. Long stymied by city-level resistance to economic and physical integration, provincial policymakers are using construction of new infrastructure and urban districts in the New Zone to stitch Xi'an and Xianyang together into a contiguous urban entity of larger size and higher profile. And, given the political difficulty and undesirability (from Shaanxi's standpoint) of having Xianyang absorbed into Xi'an administratively, construction of a provincially managed New Zone gives the provincial government a way to achieve its goal of enhancing Xi'an's size and profile while also asserting greater control over metropolitan development.¹⁸ To jumpstart development in the zone, Shaanxi has invested several billion yuan of start-up capital for infrastructure, made available enormous tracts of land, extended a sweeping array of preferential policies to investors, and kicked off several major investment projects in the zone.¹⁹

If construction of the Xi'an-Xianyang New Zone makes clear the power of higher-level actors in China to drive urban development, however, it is also symptomatic of the ways in which top-down interventions can distort ur-

Continued on page 16



Page 6: Xi'an's Rapid Growth: GDP and Built-up Area, 2000–2012. Data source: China Data Online. <http://chinadataonline.org>.

Page 7: State-led Urban Development: The Xi'an-Xianyang New Zone. Map image source: Website of Xianyang City <http://www.xianyang.gov.cn>. Labels by the author.

Photos: Events



Top: On September 19, 2013, The Center welcomed students of Harvard College at its annual Open House for Undergraduates. The open house is a chance for undergraduates to learn about Weatherhead Center opportunities including: travel grants for summer thesis research and winter session research/travel, thesis workshops, seminars on international topics, International Relations Council-WCFIA events, and grants for student groups. It is also an opportunity for students to meet the Weatherhead Center's faculty, Fellows, staff, IRC members, graduate students, and visiting scholars. *Photo credit: Megan Margulies*

Middle: Ikuo Kabashima (left), Governor of Kumamoto Prefecture, Japan, and a journalist speak after the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations Seminar entitled "The Political Economy of Kumamon: A New Frontier in Japan's Public Administration." The seminar was held on November 12, 2013. *Photo credit: Megan Margulies*



Bottom: Panelists at the conference, "The Global E.P. Thompson: Reflections on the Making of the English Working Class after Fifty Years." The conference was held on October 3-5 and made possible by a major Center conference grant and co-sponsored by the Program on the Study of Capitalism and the Weatherhead Initiative on Global History. *Photo Credit: Jessica Barnard*



WCFIA Program and Initiative Events

Through its formal programs, support for student research, and large scale initiatives, the Center links faculty, students, and practitioners and supports groundbreaking research in various disciplines involving international, transnational, global, and comparative national issues that may address contemporary or historical topics.

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WCFIA Lecture Series

The Samuel L. and Elizabeth Jodidi Lecture Series

The Jodidi Lecture is among the most prominent annual lecture series of the Weatherhead Center and is one of the most distinguished at the University. Established in 1955, the lecture series provides for the "delivery of lectures by eminent and well-qualified persons...for the promotion of tolerance, understanding and good will among nations, and the peace of the world."

The Warren and Anita Manshel Lecture in American Foreign Policy

The Warren and Anita Manshel Lecture in American Foreign Policy was established at the Center for International Affairs in 1993 by members of the Manshel family and by many of their friends. It stands as a memorial to the Manshels' longstanding commitment to public affairs and their desire to advance greater understanding of the international relations of the United States. The lecture series honors Warren Manshel's role as a founder of both *The Public Interest* and *Foreign Policy*, his service as ambassador to Denmark, and his deep involvement over many years in the work of the Center. It also serves to recognize Anita Manshel as Warren's full partner and enthusiastic supporter in these endeavors, which he so often acknowledged.



On November 12, 2013, Avraham Burg presented the Samuel L. and Elizabeth Jodidi Lecture. Burg, who is an Israeli author, political leader, activist, former speaker of the Knesset, and chairman for the Jewish Agency for Israel, focused his lecture on "Israel and Palestine: From Iconic Conflict to Iconic Solution or, Is It Time for New Paradigms?" Photo credits (this page): Megan Margulies



On October 16, 2013, Jean-Claude Trichet, former president of the European Central Bank and honorary governor of the Banque de France, presented the Warren and Anita Manshel Lecture in American Foreign Policy. Trichet's lecture was entitled, "The State of the Euro: Implications for Europe and the United States."

FOR OUR FULL EVENT CALENDAR, PLEASE VISIT
WWW.WCFIA.HARVARD.EDU/CALENDAR

TO WATCH OUR LECTURE SERIES VIDEOS, PLEASE VISIT
WWW.VIMEO.COM/WCFIA

Dispatches Undergraduate Researchers in the Field

Eighteen Harvard College students received summer 2013 travel grants from the Weatherhead Center to support their thesis research on topics related to international affairs. Since their return in August, the Weatherhead Center has encouraged these Undergraduate Associates to take advantage of the Center's research environment. Early in the 2014 spring semester, February 6–8, 2014, the students will present their research in a conference that is open to the Harvard community. Four Undergraduate Associates write of their experiences in the field:



Xanni Brown

Rogers Family Research Fellow. Committee on Degrees in Social Studies, Harvard College. *Causes and diffusions of recent mine worker protests in South Africa.*

Rock-Drill Operators and Radicals: Coalition-Building in South Africa after Marikana

The event that galvanized me and drew me to South Africa for my thesis research was the Marikana mine strike of August 2012. It seemed to represent the accumulated brutality and injustice of the global mining system, and to offer an opportunity for study that might not only ultimately advance the academic literature, but also serve to illuminate a tragedy ignored. My goal was to carry out research among union officials and miners to better understand how one particular wage strike began in a vastly hostile environment, and more importantly, how it inspired a wave of similar movements at mines across the country. However, the situation at the mine deteriorated—disputes between rival union factions grew more violent, and the union office building in Rustenburg became a site of contestation as one union sought to physically displace the other. These changes, in conjunction with the more accurate, firsthand accounts I received after arriving in Johannesburg, made me realize that my original plan was neither likely to produce relevant data in a summer nor would it be logistically feasible.

I had been in South Africa for about a week before I found my new research topic. At the suggestion of a University of Johannesburg professor, I began going to meetings of groups of local activists who organized in various impoverished communities in and around Johannesburg. The

first group I met was the Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee, which is one of the oldest and most active such groups in Johannesburg. Through contacts established there, I also branched out to two similar groups from other areas of the city: the Thembelihle Crisis Committee and the Makaanse Community Development Forum. All three of these groups originated in response to a specific local grievance (electricity cutoffs in Soweto and eviction threats in Thembelihle and Makaanse). Historically, they had done the bulk of their activism work within the geographical confines of their own community, though the scope of what types of issues they took on had expanded over the years.

What intrigued me about these organizations was a variety of anecdotal reports that had involved supporting the Marikana strikers since the massacre in August 2012. This is an unlikely coalition on a number of levels—not only were the existing wages of the striking workers astronomically high compared to what these largely unemployed community activists lived on, but the demands they articulated were vastly different. In the same vein, there is a fair amount of scholarship on the “two South Africas”—the

idea that there is a potentially insurmountable gap between unemployed South Africans and the relatively stable poor of the working class. So my question was: In the face of the ideological divide, physical separation, differing life experiences, material conflict of interest, ethnic variance, and a near-total lack of historic/institutional ties, were community groups and labor organizers cooperating? And why?

In the course of investigating this question, I interviewed members of the Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee, Thembelihle Crisis Committee and Makaanse Community Development Forum, as well as a few South African academics who work in the region. I conducted a couple of supplementary interviews with members of umbrella leftist political groups, such as the Democratic Left Front and the Socialist Working Group, and interviewed a member of a public-interest law firm that has been involved in legal action on behalf of all three community groups. I also lived on my own in Johannesburg for seven weeks, joined a local rugby team, learned how to drive a manual shift, visited the Cape of Good Hope, and planned and executed a research project. I cannot wait to share the final results.





David Goodall Miller

Research Fellow, Weatherhead Initiative on Global History, Concentration in Social Studies, Harvard College. *How democracies frame torture in order to make it acceptable to their populations, focusing on the United States and United Kingdom.*

My summer research consisted of six weeks in Europe, approximately two weeks in Washington, DC, and some more fragmented research in Boston and Cambridge. I studied decisions to torture by democracies, with a focus on considering how torture occurred in liberal democratic contexts, and whether existing models adequately explained these events.

In Europe, I divided my time between Belfast and London. In Belfast, I focused on conducting interviews with academics, lawyers, and journalists, as well as conducting some archival research at the Linen Hall Library. Interview subjects included Brice Dickson and Adrian Guelke, both prominent academics in Northern Ireland. Professor Dickson, professor of international and comparative law at the School of Law at Queen's University Belfast, was the first chief commissioner of the Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission, as well as a strong advocate for utilizing a human-rights paradigm in asymmetric warfare. Professor Guelke, emeritus professor at Queen's University Belfast, has ex-

tensive expertise on the politics of divided societies, terrorism, and a broad focus on Northern Ireland and South Africa. I also interviewed several lawyers and NGO officials, including Daniel Holder, Niall Murphy, and Patricia Coyle. Holder is deputy director at the Committee on the Administration of Justice in Northern Ireland, which deals with local and international human rights issues, and recently published a report on torture and terrorism by British forces. Both Murphy and Coyle have represented several defendants on terrorism or related charges, and Coyle represented a defendant who had been convicted of a political murder after British soldiers obtained a confession through torture. Her client, Liam Holden, was the last British citizen to be convicted of a capital offense, before he was eventually released and cleared owing to evidence that torture had been used to obtain his confession. I also interviewed Ian Cobain, an award-winning investigative journalist at *The Guardian*, who wrote the preeminent study of British torture in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

In London, I focused on background research and leads that had been suggested to me both in primary documents and in more general reading. I was lucky enough to speak with Patrick O'Connor, an eminent barrister in London. O'Connor has worked extensively on human-rights issues as well as terrorism—including present work on a torture inquiry with the British government—and was able to provide additional contacts and reading.

From these interviews, I gained important information concerning British torture, as well as the social and political context in Northern Ireland and the United Kingdom around this torture. It was beneficial to learn how the extended conflict in Northern Ireland still affected the daily life of those in much of the country. Fur-

thermore, as noted, the interview subjects were extremely helpful in providing research material, either in the form of legal documents or in relevant further avenues of study.

In Washington, DC, I focused primarily on archival work. Because much of the relevant information on American torture remains classified or heavily redacted, I ended up focusing more on extending my background knowledge of the American case, as well as solidifying my research question. I plan to return to Washington in the fall to conduct interviews with additional academics and government officials.

As my research progressed over the summer, my overall topic evolved from looking purely at democracies' framing of decisions to torture, and shifting slightly to the decision to torture in asymmetric conflicts. As mentioned, I am now most interested in why, in nearly every asymmetric conflict involving a democracy, torture has been utilized. The strategic and tactical benefits of torture remain much debated, but it is hardly a panacea in such conflicts, it is strictly illegal, and is generally thought to be antithetical to liberal-democratic morality. Thus, there must be strong forces pushing for this move in many cases. I am interested in why this occurs and will use the cases of the United States in the War on Terror and the United Kingdom in Northern Ireland as valuable windows for further study, as well as considering models that already exist in the scholarly literature.

Xanni Brown (page 10): A Makause informal settlement in South Africa.

David Goodall Miller (page 11): A protest in front of Belfast City Hall.

Nataliya Nedzhvetskaya (page 12): Wikimedia Commons, Nshima (top right corner) with three relishes. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nsima_Relishes.JPG

Aaron E. Watanabe (page 13): UN Photo, President of Peru, Ollanta Humala Tasso, Addresses General Assembly, September 25, 2013. United Nations, New York.



Nataliya Nedzhvetskaya
Rogers Family Research Fellow. Concentration in Social Studies, Harvard College. *The role of religion in modern-day Africa, particularly its influence on local governments and healthcare institutions.*

During the summer of 2013, I spent eight weeks in Zambia and two weeks in South Africa researching Community Health Evangelism (CHE), a widespread development model used by Christian missionaries. In Zambia I conducted research in seven different cities and villages and attended a national conference in Lusaka. I was able to conduct my research with the help of the organization CHEZA (CHE Zambia) and the national director, Lovemore Zulu. In South Africa I worked with the organization Bridges of Hope in the Philippi township in the Cape Flats area outside of Cape Town. I gathered 134 interviews in Zambia and twenty-four interviews in South Africa. In addition, I shadowed thirty-three CHE home visits during my time. With these findings, I hope to answer a series of questions:

1. *Christianity in Zambian Civil Society*: What is the role of Christianity in modern-day Zambian civil society, specifically in the informal, social structure of geographical neighborhoods? How does Christianity factor into public and private conceptions of morality where health is concerned? More centrally, how has Christianity been linked to Western medicine in Sub-Saharan Africa, past and present?
2. *CHE in Theory and in Practice*: What is the theoretical CHE model, what are its origins in both development theory and Christian theology, and how does it compare to the practical CHE models observed? Applying this same dialectic, how is the CHE model designed to empower the communities it serves? To what extent does it accomplish this task?
3. *Analyzing Observations and Identifying Patterns*: What can be observed about the effects on CHE in the communities where it has been run, or the individuals who have been running it? How does CHE affect local definitions of health? How does CHE affect local conceptions of development?

The highlight of my research was getting an opportunity to talk with Zambians and South Africans informally and within their own environment. When I was conducting my research in Zambia, I would usually spend three to five nights in a given place, living with the local Zambians, sharing their meals, and sharing stories. Even

though these conversations were off-the-record for my research, they taught me more about the lifestyle, values, and culture of the Zambians than any number of interviews might have. Over the course of my research, I attended a Zambian wedding, cooked *nshima*, a traditional corn meal porridge, and learned basic phrases from five of Zambia's seven national languages. At the end of my experience, I was able to spend six days in Lusaka attending the biannual National CHEZA Conference, reuniting with many of my friends and interviewees.

My experience in South Africa was meant as a comparison point with my time in Zambia. As a result of safety concerns, I wasn't allowed to stay in the South African township where I was conducting interviews—a drastic departure from my experience in Zambia. I stayed, instead, with a pair of missionaries who were on the board of directors of the organization I was studying. The experience was helpful for understanding what I could and could not generalize from my time in Zambia but was too frustratingly short to draw conclusions about the South Africa program. Within my thesis, I believe I can make use of my South African interviews for exactly this purpose, commenting on the different attitudes towards development (drawing on secondary sources to describe the role of history) and the similarities in the role of the Christian churches within these drastically different environments. South Africa, which itself has faced such a complex and troubled history, is a lure and an enigma in my research, and I hope to approach it carefully with the help of my thesis advisor, Professor Jean Comaroff, who herself is South African.

Overall, I had an overwhelmingly positive experience in both Zambia and South Africa. I believe that my thesis will shed light on the local perceptions of both secular and faith-based development in the Sub-Saharan region. I hope it will improve understanding of the Community Health Evangelism program for the development community, the academic community, and especially the local Zambians and South Africans involved with the program.





Aaron E. Watanabe

Samuels Family Research Fellow. Department of Government, Harvard College. *State and regime development, especially in Latin America.*

I spent ten weeks this summer investigating the persistence of democracy in Peru during the last decade. Since their independence two-hundred years ago, the Andean countries of South America have experienced frequent shifts of political regimes.

The 2000s were no exception to this pattern, with Bolivia, Ecuador, and particularly Venezuela moving from democracy to what Professors Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way call “competitive authoritarianism.” Under such regimes, incumbent political leaders allow regular elections to occur and the opposition to operate legally, but render these meaningless by using electoral authorities, courts, and control over state agencies to tilt the playing field of politics so that they are almost impossible to unseat. Despite the rise of competitive authoritarianism in its neighbors, Peru during the 2000s experienced one of its longest-ever periods of democratic stability. Considering the many political, economic, ethnic, and historical similarities these countries share, why have their political regimes diverged over the last decade?

To investigate this question, I interviewed roughly twenty-five Peruvian politicians, government officials, journalists, and academics as part of “snowball” research strategy. These interviews were generally open-ended and exploratory—I tried to focus on the political trajectory of current President Ollanta Humala. When first running for president in 2006, he campaigned on a platform of rewriting the constitution, expanding social-welfare programs, and increasing the state’s role in the economy. Elsewhere in the Andes, candidates with similar anti-establishment platforms won handily and, once in office, moved their countries towards competitive authoritarianism. However, Peruvian voters rejected Humala in 2006, only electing him in 2011 when he presented himself as a more moderate politician. Thus, I hoped to



understand why Humala did not win in 2006 and, since taking power in 2011, has not pursued his original political agenda. I found that interviewees were very willing to discuss this question—it’s a topic of conversation in the press—and they often provided me with further contacts and direction to valuable datasets and books.

Learning how to effectively conduct interviews and manage field research was my greatest challenge. My question is broad, though not undefined, and thus involves understanding the actions and attitudes of everyone from the president to voters in regard to political and economic issues. (This complexity is what I find most interesting.) I eventually discovered that researching this question is like fishing: it involves a lot of patience and willingness to reel in whatever line of investigation is getting a bite. Once I realized this, the work was extremely satisfying, especially once I absorbed enough information to start seeing patterns and connections to help explain why democracy has persisted in Peru. However, before I fully grasped this aspect of research, I worried about my work being too unfocused.

From the knowledge I gained over the summer, I currently hypothesize that the lack of regime change in Peru revolves around the middle class. In Peru’s neighbors, presidents consolidating power undemocratically have relied on support from the poor who they have appealed to through fiery rhetoric and programs providing significant wealth redistribution. Yet, the Peruvian poor, particularly in cities, have given Humala only lukewarm support and were not, in

contrast to their counterparts elsewhere, taken with his early proposal to scrap the existing political and economic order.

My explanation for this lack of enthusiasm, among the urban poor, for radical change is that many of these voters are actually an emerging middle class. While still clearly different from the traditional middle class by the type of work they perform, the districts where they live, and their absolute level of income, their standard of living is rising rapidly. Homes in former slums skirting Lima now not only have electricity and running water, but flat screen TVs, computers, and Internet access. It’s even more striking to see the modern shopping malls that have sprung up in these areas. Such improvements in standards of living are related to recent economic growth and the existing economic system based on the market and free trade. To many, the program of radically changing the status quo that Humala proposed in 2006 threatened this prosperity. Further, considering that many in this group are small business owners, the prospect of increased state involvement in the economy through expropriation, price controls, and regulation was not enticing and made them hesitant to vote for Humala.

This hypothesis is still tentative, and my next step is to flesh it out. Although I have some qualitative data to support it, I plan to analyze several available public opinion datasets to see how they support this hypothesis. I also need to read the theoretical literature related to this topic. I am very excited about proceeding with this work.

In Memoriam: Richard Simeon 1943–2013



Members of the Weatherhead Center community and the Canada Program were saddened to learn of the passing of Richard Simeon, the William Lyon Mackenzie King Visiting Professor of Canadian Studies and Canada Seminar Chair in 1998 and again from 2006 to 2008. Professor Simeon, a political scientist at the University of Toronto, died on October 11, 2013, at the age of seventy.

As the Mackenzie King Chair of the Canada Program, Professor Simeon was a tremendous force in exploring comparative ideas centered on Canada and the United States. Richard’s intellectual inquiry went beyond his discipline, as evidenced by the seminar series he developed to present prominent Canadian scholars and public figures, and through two faculty conferences, “Recognizing, Managing and Accommodating Difference” (2007) and “The Democratic Deficit” (2008).

Richard forged lasting connections with numerous students in the four courses he instructed through the Department of Government, most notably, the popular undergraduate class, Fire and Ice, which offered a study of political, economic, and cultural similarities and differences between the United States and Canada; and the graduate course, Institutional Engineering in Divided Societies, which investigated how societies characterized by

deep ethnic, cultural, religious, and linguistic differences seek to design institutions, constitutions, and political practice in ways that promote social order and stability, democracy, and social justice.

Richard and his wife MaryEtta Cheney enjoyed living at Currier House, and for their two years in that faculty residence, celebrated Canada’s Thanksgiving by hosting the House’s students for dinner.

MaryEtta fondly recalls their time in Cambridge: “The Harvard years were wonderful for both of us. Richard really enjoyed developing the program and he also enjoyed teaching—we stayed in contact with many of the students and with other visiting professors.”

As accurately described in a tribute on the University of Toronto website, Richard was “an inspiring teacher and mentor, and friend to all who knew him.”

The University of Toronto tribute, in full, is at: politics.utoronto.ca/2013/10/15/a-tribute-to-richard-simeon/



Epicenter is the Weatherhead Center’s new topical e-newsletter that provides examples of its latest research. Published three times a year, *Epicenter* highlights a single research project and the related work of one or more Weatherhead Center Faculty Associates and other affiliates. It also includes links to other publications and the profiles of individuals whose work is closely related to the selected topic.

The Center published its first issue in early November highlighting the work of Faculty Associate Dara Kay Cohen. Sign up to get *Epicenter* by e-mail and read the first issue, “Rethinking Wartime Rape”: wcfia.harvard.edu/publications/epicenter

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2013–2014 Kenneth I. Juster Fellows

The Weatherhead Center is pleased to announce its 2013–2014 class of Juster Fellows. Now in its third year, this grant initiative is made possible by the generosity of the Center’s Advisory Committee Chair, the Honorable Kenneth I. Juster, who has devoted much of his education, professional activities, and nonprofit endeavors to international affairs and is deeply engaged in promoting international understanding and advancing international relations. The Center’s Juster grants support undergraduates whose projects may be related to thesis research but may have broader experiential components as well. The newly named Juster Fellows, all of whom will be conducting their research this January, and their topics are:

Ralph “Tre” Hunt, a junior African and African American Studies concentrator, will travel to Kenya in order to conduct research on the strategic role of Chinese Confucius institutes in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Mathilde Montpetit, a junior Social Studies concentrator, will work with an NGO to conduct research on the benefits of mobile refrigeration for nutrition in Burkina Faso.

Kendra Norton, a junior Visual and Environmental Studies concentrator, and **Samuel “Gus” Ruchman**, a junior African and African American Studies concentrator, will travel together to Senegal to make an ethnographic documentary film that they hope will provide an honest and candid portrayal of life in Sangalkam, Senegal.

Ishani Premaratne, a junior Anthropology concentrator, will conduct a comparative study of traditional and allopathic medical practices in women’s health in Chiapas, Mexico.

Simon Thompson, a senior Government concentrator, will conduct thesis research in Nigeria on decision making in foreign military interventions.

Bharath Venkatesh, a sophomore Economics concentrator, will travel to Dhaka, Bangladesh, where he will be working with the NGO, Swisscontact, to conduct research on agriculture produce price-setting behavior in *haats* (rural village markets).



Center Advisory Committee
Chair Kenneth I. Juster.

Fulbright and Rhodes Scholars

The Weatherhead Center congratulates 2012–2013 Undergraduate Associates **Ann Marie Ryu**, **Emily Keamy-Minor**, and **Tyler Logigian** for their Fulbright awards.

The Center also congratulates 2013–2014 Undergraduate Associate **Paolo Poggioni Singer** on his Rhodes Scholarship.



Jeffrey A. Frieden is acting Center Director (fall 2013) and Stanfield Professor of International Peace in the Department of Government.

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ban growth. Provincial officials see their efforts to establish new urban districts several miles from the established city centers of Xi'an and Xianyang as a means of deconcentrating urban growth, but they are in practice supporting scattered real estate and industry development in areas with limited transportation access and market demand.²⁰ Local planners voice concerns that heavy construction amid the villages, flood plains, and ancient ruins between Xi'an and Xianyang will perpetuate Xi'an's urban sprawl while eating away at some of the area's richest farmland and most delicate environmental and cultural resources.²¹ Because Shaanxi's vision for the New Zone conflicts with existing city-level plans for locating new industrial, commercial, and residential developments, New Zone construction has exacerbated local competition and duplication of investment across the metropolitan area.²²

Meanwhile, municipal officials, especially those from Xi'an, resent—and resist—attempts to expand provincial control over urban development matters.²³ The resulting conflicts over physical and bureaucratic turf can make even routine urban governance matters highly political, as policymakers adopt measures designed to undermine policies by their counterparts at other levels. And, as the provincial government focuses state resources on the development of new metropolitan districts, it is implicitly diverting resources both from older, more densely populated urban districts in Xi'an and Xianyang and also from the smaller urban centers and impoverished rural areas that still make up the majority of Shaanxi province. This, in turn, may stimulate even more migration from peripheral areas into an already crowded, polluted, and underserved capital city.

Pouring resources and policy support into Greater Xi'an, provincial authorities will doubtless succeed at increasing the city's population and GDP. It is less clear, though, whether state-led urban development can create a real international metropolis—one with the broad, resilient economic base and well-knit urban fabric to attract people and firms from around the globe.

NOTES

1. "City Planning Law of the People's Republic of China, December 1989." (English translation). Accessed at www.china.org.cn/english/environment/34354.htm.
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7. Xu (2008); Interview with provincial policy advisor, Xi'an, China, July 2013.
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10. Shaanxi Provincial Government (2002). "Zhonggong shanxi sheng wei shanxi renmin zhengfu guanyu 'yi xian liang dai' jianshe shixian guanzhong shuaixian kuayue fazhan de yijian. [Shaanxi Provincial Party Committee and Shaanxi People's Government Opinion Regarding 'One Line, Two Belts' Construction]" Provincial government document obtained in Xi'an, December, 2012.; *Jingji guancha bao*. February 3, 2012. "Xianyang zheng zai xiaoshi? [Is Xianyang disappearing?]" www.cnki.com.cn.
11. Xi'an ribao. October 1, 2004. "Jia zhibang zai wo shi jiancha gongzuo shi qiangdiao quanli zhichi cujin Xi'an zuo da zuo qiang chongfen fahui zhizheng daidiao fushu zuoyong [During his inspection work, Jia Zhibang stresses the need to fully support and push forward efforts to build up Xi'an]." www.cnki.com.cn.
12. Zhao Leji. 2007. "Guanzhong jingji qu fazhan jige zhongda wenti de yanjiu [Research on several major problems in the development of the Guanzhong economic area]" Document obtained in Xi'an, December 2011.
13. Shaanxi ribao. August 5, 2008. "Shenyi bing yuanze tongguo 'guanzhong chengshi qun jianshe guihua'... [Government reviews and approves in principle 'Guanzhong city group construction plan' ...]" www.cnki.com.cn.; *Jingji Guancha Bao*. July 3, 2009. "Guojia gei xi'an yi kuai ling pai [The central state gives Xi'an a token of authority]." www.cnki.com.cn.
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16. The province took full control over New Zone administration in 2011, whereas between 2009–2011, municipal authorities retained more administrative control over the zone. *Jingji guancha bao*. (2012).
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20. Author's interview with foreign investor, Xi'an, China, March 2012.
21. Interview with local academic, Xi'an, China, March 2012.
22. One particularly conspicuous example of this is the Xi'an municipal government's continued efforts to develop a huge Weibei Industrial Zone to the northeast of the city that would try to attract some of the same kinds of developments the New Zone is competing for. Interview with provincial policy advisor, Xi'an, China, July 2013.
23. Interview with provincial enterprise executive, Xi'an, China, February 2012.