



Weatherhead Center
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

CENTERPIECE

NEWSLETTER OF THE WEATHERHEAD CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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From the Director

The past seven years have been extraordinarily positive ones for me and for the intellectual life of the Center. I assumed the directorship one year after moving into the glorious Knafel Building at 1737 Cambridge Street. The new surroundings were the symbol of the Center's vigorous intellectual life, and our close connection with the other international area centers and the Department of Government. The building has been filled with a stunning array of seminars, conferences, and workshops these last seven years. Our affiliates have grown in number as have the height of the trees from my office window that now almost completely block out William James Hall. Smile. The corridors of the building are dense with our long-term denizens as well as refreshing waves of visitors from all over the world.

We have accomplished much in the past seven years. The WCFIA has funded the research of some 100 faculty (many with multiple projects), 250 graduate students, and 150 undergraduates. All told, this support has totaled an estimated 10 million dollars. We have done excellent work under very difficult financial conditions, doing more and more of real intellectual value for our affiliates and the broader Harvard-related community with fewer resources. We reconfigured our research-funding model to encourage synergies between teaching and research, by establishing synergy semesters for our junior faculty. We have worked to encourage our affiliates to seek outside funding by offering incubation grants. And we have sought to impact the University and to strengthen its ties internationally by funding research clusters, of which the Weatherhead Initiative on Global History cluster is the inaugural example. All

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Cover: Reflections of the Knafel Building from student work hung outside the Harvard Graduate School of Design.
Photo credit: Megan Countey

of these projects have signaled our intent to rationalize our research support in an effort to assure its greatest possible reverberation Center-, University- and world-wide.

Over the past seven years we have had to adapt to new financial and technological realities. We reorganized our processes and output in many different ways that reflect an ongoing effort to run a tight ship. Some of these—such as the conversion of our paper publications to electronic media—have been both necessary and easy, while others—like learning to increase our use of virtual meetings and conferences—are still underway. We have fashioned new ways to strengthen ties between our scholarly community and practitioners by giving the latter the opportunity to join the Center for variable terms and with closer ties to faculty. We have reduced the size of the Executive Committee, while enhancing its representative nature and rotating its members. These simple adjustments have led to a governing team willing and able to take on difficult governing challenges and better equipped to speak clearly in the interest of scholarship on international affairs where that has been necessary. I will always be grateful that members of the Executive Committee nearly unanimously took a position in writing on the importance of retaining a say over the use of WCFA research resources when these were at risk of being re-designated for purposes other than research in international affairs. Both the Executive Committee and the Steering Committee have generously shared their judgment and expertise, and are largely to thank for directing WCFA resources toward the most promising projects and scholars.

Over the years, the WCFA has also benefited from the sage insights of our Advisory Committee. When I assumed the directorship, I was fortunate to have Adele Simmons as a steady friend of the Center and chair of the committee. Last year, I was pleased to have Kenneth Juster assume this leadership role. They have taken time out of their busy schedules to share their wisdom on a broad range of governance and resource issues. I have been fortunate to have them to turn to.

I am reminded daily who is at the center of the Center. It is the staff. They have worked to make the WCFA the professional exemplar that it is. I took over the directorship the same year that Steve Bloomfield became the executive director, and it is clear that I simply would not have known what to do without him. I commenced my second three-year term at the height of Harvard's financial crisis, and I can attest to the fact that we made many of the right decisions because of the timely, precise, and transparent management of our finances by Pat McVay. We have made some important enhancements to our Fellows Program over the past few years, and these have been possible because of Kathleen Molony's willingness

to innovate. Michelle Eureka has done what few other human resources officers would have the professional and personal skill to pull off: developing and retaining a flexible staff ready to step up to any challenge. Throughout it all, Tom Murphy has been at the front desk for Lo! these many years, as our indispensable face to visitors and the broader public. Every member of this staff—Nirvana Abou-Gabal, Jessica Barnard, Kristin Caulfield, Helen Clayton, Megan Countey, Caitlin Cronin, Ashley DiSilvestro, Shinju Fujihira, Jaronica Fuller, Emily Gauthier, Sophia Holtz, Kathleen Hoover, Marina Ivanova, Karl Kaiser, Catherine Himmel Nehring, Bill Nehring, Clare Putnam, Charles Smith, Xiao Tian, Ann Townes, Monet Uva, Larry Winnie, and many others who have walked these halls—has performed way, way above expectation. I know of no other Center that has a better reputation for staff professionalism than the WCFA. Thanks to you all.

This will be my final message in these pages to the Weatherhead Center community. As many of you know, I resigned as director of the WCFA on April 10 of this year. My formal term would have ended June 30, but I tendered my resignation in response to the recent interactions between the Center and the Faculty of Arts and Sciences regarding financial contributions to the FAS. Unable to make headway on a governance arrangement that would assure the Center's participation in decisions about levels and purposes of FAS support, I felt it was my duty to the Center as well as our donors to resign as director. The process of selecting a new director is underway at this writing. I will of course continue to serve our community in every way possible, and wish the new director the very best as he or she takes over the leadership of one of the intellectual jewels of Harvard University.

Beth A. Simmons, Center Director

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Receives Gold Medal of Honor

Herbert C. Kelman, the Richard Clarke Cabot Professor of Social Ethics, Emeritus, received the Gold Medal of Honor from the Federal Capital of Vienna, "in recognition of his significant achievements." The medal was presented to him at a ceremony in Vienna's City Hall on December 12, 2012. Professor Kelman was born in Vienna in 1927, escaped Nazi persecution with his family in 1939, and settled in the United States in 1940.

Former Weatherhead Center Academy Scholar is Awarded Fairbank Prize

Jun Uchida, assistant professor of history at Stanford University and author of *Brokers of Empire: Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1876-1945*, was awarded the John K. Fairbank Prize by the American Historical Association. Established by a gift to the Association from the friends of John K. Fairbank, the prominent Harvard historian of China and East Asia and president of the Association in 1968, the Fairbank Prize is awarded for the best work on the history of China proper, Vietnam, Chinese Central Asia, Mongolia, Manchuria, Korea, or Japan since the year 1800. The prize was originally offered from 1969 with a \$500 award, but in 1985 it became an annual prize with a cash award of \$1,000.

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Presents Keynote Address

Michael Herzfeld's film "Roman Restaurant Rhythms" (Berkeley Media, 2011) was screened at the Sardinia International Ethnographic Film Festival in Nuoro, Sardinia, Italy. Herzfeld then presented a keynote address at a conference in Nicosia, Cyprus, on "The Rights to the City, The Right to the State."

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Named Global Thinker

Harvard Kennedy School Professor **Calestous Juma** has been named one of Lo Spazio della Politica's (LSDP) 100 Global Thinkers of 2012. The Italian publication's list recognizes political leaders, business people, scientists, academics, and intellectuals from around the globe. Juma, professor of the practice of international development, is director of the Science, Technology, and Globalization Project at HKS and runs Harvard's Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation-funded Agricultural Innovation in Africa Project. He is currently working on books tackling engineering for development and resistance to new technologies. LSDP selected Juma, "Because his writings on innovation in Africa enhance the understanding of the region which is essential for the economic and political growth of this decade."

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Receives Legion of Honor and the Medal of the Mexican Order of the Aztec Eagle

Calling Indian-American Nobel Laureate **Amartya Sen** the "greatest humanist" and a "great thinker," French President Francois Hollande, bestowed his country's highest decoration on the celebrated economist for his contributions to economics and philosophy. Conferring the *Commandeur de la Legion d'Honneur* (Legion of Honor) after delivering the Madhavrao Scindia Memorial Lecture, Hollande lavished praise on Sen and quoted extensively from his works that speak about problems faced by the poorest sections of sectors.

Sen was also recently honored by the Government of Mexico with the Medal of the Mexican Order of the Aztec Eagle. Consul General Daniel Hernández Joseph presented the medal to Professor Sen in Boston on November 29, 2012, for his contributions on economics, welfare, and social justice in economic policy-making. The Mexican Order of the Aztec Eagle is Mexico's highest decoration awarded to foreign nationals whose work has benefited Mexico and its people.

Former Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Appointed President of New America Foundation

The New America Foundation's Board of Directors announced the appointment of **Anne-Marie Slaughter** as the Foundation's next president, effective September 1, 2013.

Dr. Slaughter, a Princeton professor, former dean of Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, and the former director of policy planning at the US State Department, will succeed Steve Coll, who stepped down on March 31, 2013, after five years leading the nonpartisan public policy think tank.

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Joins World News Site as Senior Foreign Affairs Columnist

Harvard professor and former American diplomat **Nicholas Burns** will become GlobalPost.com's Senior Foreign Affairs Columnist. Burns, who is the Sultan of Oman Professor of International Relations at Harvard Kennedy School, will write columns for *GlobalPost* and represent the site as an expert on foreign affairs issues.

Ethnic Struggle, Coexistence, and Democratization in Eastern Europe

By Sherrill Stroschein



In societies divided on ethnic and religious lines, problems of democracy are magnified—particularly where groups are mobilized into parties. With the principle of majority rule, minorities should be less willing to endorse

democratic institutions where their parties persistently lose elections. While such problems should also hamper transitions to democracy, several diverse Eastern European states have formed democracies even under these conditions. In this book, Sherrill Stroschein argues that sustained protest and contention by ethnic Hungarians in Romania and Slovakia brought concessions on policies that they could not achieve through the ballot box, in contrast to Transcarpathia, Ukraine. In Romania and Slovakia, contention during the 1990s made each group accustomed to each other's claims, and aware of the degree to which each could push its own. Ethnic contention became a de facto deliberative process that fostered a moderation of group stances, allowing democratic consolidation to slowly and organically take root.

(Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Former Harvard Academy Scholar Sherrill Stroschein is a senior lecturer in politics at University College London.

The Politics of Nation-Building: Making Co-Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities

By Harris Mylonas



What drives a state's choice to assimilate, accommodate, or exclude ethnic groups within its territory? In this innovative work on the international politics of nation-building, Harris Mylonas argues that a state's nation-building

policies toward non-core groups—any aggregation of individuals perceived as an ethnic group by the ruling elite of a state—are influenced by both its foreign policy goals and its relations with the external patrons of these groups. Through a detailed study of the Balkans, Mylonas shows that how a state treats a non-core group within its own borders is determined largely by whether the state's foreign policy is revisionist or cleaves to the international status quo, and whether it is allied or in-rivalry-with that group's external patrons. Mylonas injects international politics into the study of nation-building, building a bridge between international relations, and the comparative politics of ethnicity and nationalism. This is the first book to explain systematically how the politics of ethnicity in the international arena determine which groups are assimilated, accommodated, or annihilated by their host states.

(Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Former Harvard Academy Scholar Harris Mylonas is an assistant professor of political science and international affairs at the Elliott School of International Affairs at The George Washington University.

Lee Kuan Yew: The Grand Master's Insights on China, the United States, and the World

By Graham T. Allison, Jr., Robert D. Blackwill, and Ali Wyne



When Lee Kuan Yew speaks, presidents, prime ministers, diplomats, and CEOs listen. Lee, the founding father of modern Singapore and its prime minister from 1959 to 1990, has honed his wisdom during more than fifty years on the world

stage. Almost single-handedly responsible for transforming Singapore into a Western-style economic success, he offers a unique perspective on the geopolitics of East and West. This book gathers key insights from interviews, speeches, and Lee's voluminous published writings and presents them in an engaging question and answer format.

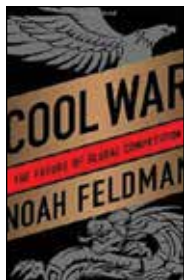
Lee offers his assessment of China's future, asserting, among other things, that "China will want to share this century as co-equals with the US." He affirms the United States' position as the world's sole superpower but expresses dismay at the vagaries of its political system. He offers strategic advice for dealing with China and goes on to discuss India's future, Islamic terrorism, economic growth, geopolitics and globalization, and democracy. Lee does not pull his punches, offering his unvarnished opinions on multiculturalism, the welfare state, education, and the free market. This little book belongs on the reading list of every world leader—including the one who took the oath of office on January 20, 2013.

(MIT Press, 2013)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Graham T. Allison is the Douglas Dillon Professor of Government at Harvard University and the director of the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard Kennedy School (HKS). Robert D. Blackwill is the Henry A. Kissinger Senior Fellow for U.S. Foreign Policy at the Council on Foreign Relations and an international council member and member of the board of the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at HKS. Ali Wyne is a research assistant at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at HKS.

Cool War: The Future of Global Competition

By Noah Feldman



Noah Feldman argues, we are entering an era of renewed global struggle: the era of Cool War. Just as the Cold War matched the planet's reigning superpowers in a contest for geopolitical supremacy, so this new age will pit the

United States against a rising China in a contest for dominance, alliances, and resources. Already visible in Asia, the conflict will extend to the Middle East (US-backed Israel versus Chinese-backed Iran), Africa, and beyond.

Yet this Cool War differs fundamentally from the zero-sum showdowns of the past: The world's major power and its leading challenger are economically interdependent to an unprecedented degree. Exports to the United States account for nearly a quarter of Chinese trade, while the Chinese government holds eight percent of America's outstanding debt. This positive-sum interdependence has profound implications for nations, corporations, and international institutions. It makes what looked to be a classic contest between two great powers into something much more complex, contradictory, and badly in need of the shrewd and carefully reasoned analysis that Feldman provides.

To understand competition with China, we must understand the incentives that drive Chinese policy. Feldman offers an arresting take on that country's secretive hierarchy, proposing that the hereditary "princelings" who reap the benefits of the complicated Chinese political system are actually in partnership with the meritocrats who keep the system full of fresh talent and the reformers who are trying to root out corruption and foster government accountability.

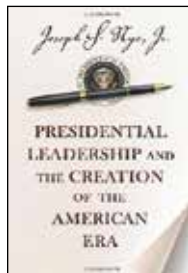
The US and China may be divided by political culture and belief, but they are also bound together by mutual self-interest. *Cool War* makes the case for competitive cooperation as the only way forward that can preserve the peace and make winners out of both sides.

(Random House, 2013)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate
Noah Feldman is the Bemis Professor of
International Law at Harvard Law School.

Presidential Leadership and the Creation of the American Era

By Joseph S. Nye, Jr.



This book examines the foreign policy decisions of the presidents who presided over the most critical phases of America's rise to world primacy in the twentieth century, and assesses the effectiveness and ethics of their

choices. Joseph Nye, who was ranked as one of *Foreign Policy* magazine's 100 Top Global Thinkers, reveals how some presidents tried with varying success to forge a new international order while others sought to manage America's existing position. Taking readers from Theodore Roosevelt's bid to insert America into the global balance of power to George H. W. Bush's Gulf War in the early 1990s, Nye compares how Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Woodrow Wilson responded to America's growing power and failed in their attempts to create a new order. He looks at Franklin D. Roosevelt's efforts to escape isolationism before World War II, and at Harry Truman's successful transformation of Roosevelt's grand strategy into a permanent overseas presence of American troops at the dawn of the Cold War. He describes Dwight Eisenhower's crucial role in consolidating containment, and compares the roles of Ronald Reagan and Bush in ending the Cold War and establishing the unipolar world in which American power reached its zenith.

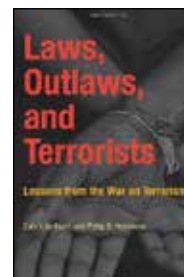
The book shows how transformational presidents like Wilson and Reagan changed how America sees the world, but argues that transactional presidents like Eisenhower and the elder Bush were sometimes more effective and ethical. It also draws important lessons for today's uncertain world, in which presidential decision making is more critical than ever.

(Princeton University Press, 2013)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate and Senior Adviser Joseph S. Nye, Jr. is a Harvard University Distinguished Service Professor at Harvard Kennedy School.

Laws, Outlaws, and Terrorists: Lessons from the War on Terrorism

By Philip B. Heymann and Gabriella Blum



In an age of global terrorism, can the pursuit of security be reconciled with liberal democratic values and legal principles? During its "global war on terrorism," the Bush administration argued that the United States was in a new

kind of conflict, one in which peacetime domestic law was irrelevant and international law inapplicable. From 2001 to 2009, the United States thus waged war on terrorism in a "no-law zone."

In *Laws, Outlaws, and Terrorists*, Gabriella Blum and Philip Heymann reject the argument that traditional American values embodied in domestic and international law can be ignored in any sustainable effort to keep the United States safe from terrorism. They demonstrate that the costs are great and the benefits slight from separating security and the rule of law. They call for reasoned judgment instead of a wholesale abandonment of American values. They also argue that being open to negotiations and seeking to win the moral support of the communities from which the terrorists emerge are noncoercive strategies that must be included in any future efforts to reduce terrorism.

(The MIT Press, 2013)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Philip B. Heymann is the James Barr Ames Professor of Law and the director of the International Center for Criminal Justice at Harvard Law School. Gabriella Blum is the Rita E. Hauser Professor of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law at Harvard Law School.

In Conversation with...

Dara Kay Cohen

Interview by Kristin Caulfield & Megan Countey

Dara Kay Cohen is a Faculty Associate of the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and an assistant professor of public policy at Harvard Kennedy School.

Photo credit: Megan Countey

Dara Kay Cohen has always been interested in studying violence, but she explored several different directions before she found her current path. Initially, Cohen considered becoming a lawyer working within the US context on sexual assault and violence issues. While attending Brown University for her undergraduate degree, Cohen volunteered as a rape crisis counselor and interned at the Rhode Island Attorney General's Office in the Domestic Violence/Sexual Assault Unit. After graduation, she went to work as a paralegal in

Washington, DC, for two years in the Department of Justice's Counterterrorism Section.

Cohen had only been part of the small unit for two months when the United States was attacked on September 11. She began to think more about the issues that the Counterterrorism Section was exploring: questions about terrorism, political violence, and victimization. Cohen realized that she wanted to focus on approaching these issues from the perspective of a scholar rather than as a lawyer.

With this focus in mind, Cohen was admitted to the political science PhD program at Stanford University to study American politics and international relations. But before she started at Stanford, she went on a trip through Europe and spent a week in Sarajevo. Learning about the war there, and its horrific conflict-related sexual violence, reawakened her original interests. Her experience in Sarajevo stayed in

the back of her mind during her early years at Stanford and while she studied with one of her advisors, Harvard graduate Jeremy Weinstein, who had analyzed insurgent groups as part of his dissertation. Hearing him discuss his research on civilian abuses and his fieldwork with former fighters inspired Cohen to focus her own dissertation on wartime sexual violence.

Tell us about your current projects.

I'm currently working on two projects that examine sexual violence during wartime. The first is a book project where I study rape during civil wars. There are two main parts to the book project. The first is a set of comparative case studies based on my fieldwork interviewing ex-combatants and non-combatants in three post-conflict countries: Sierra Leone, El Salvador, and East Timor. The second part of the book project is a statistical analysis where I use original cross-national data to examine all major civil wars from 1980 onward and test arguments about correlates of mass rape during wartime.

My second project is serving as a principal investigator on a project funded by the National Science Foundation with partners based at the Peace Research Institute of Oslo (PRIO). We are collecting very detailed data about sexual violence at the level of the armed group. Using a broad definition of sexual violence, and a different definition of civil war—that includes much smaller scale conflicts—we are gathering available information from a number of publicly available sources. These are the most detailed cross-national data ever collected on wartime sexual violence, and our hope is that these data will be of use to both the academic and policy communities.

You have written about the challenges of gathering accurate data on sexual violence. What are some of the concerns you've raised?

In terms of the quality of the data, sexual violence is an incredibly challenging topic for a number of reasons. One reason is that there isn't a consensus definition of what sexual violence is—and as a result, it's been difficult to accumulate knowledge in this realm of research. Some scholars define sexual violence as rape, while others include a wider range of violations, such as forced abortion, forced sterilization, or forced marriage. Still others might include sexual insults and forced undressing—things that don't involve direct force, but are clearly sexualized.

Beyond definitional issues, there are biases in reporting. A great deal of the existing data on lethal violations comes from news reports, so scholars will scour newspapers and code how many people died in a particular incident, and then use that data to estimate the number of deaths of a conflict-year. But it is not possible to do that with sexual violence because rape is not reported in the same way. One way of dealing with this challenge—and I've done this in my own research—is rather than measuring the number of victims or incidents as scholars have done with lethal violations, is to instead code qualitative descriptions of the relative severity of the rape in a particular conflict-year. For example, was rape described as being very infrequent, common, or on a massive scale? These sorts of qualitative descriptions are not precise, but they help to avoid the concerns of defining exactly how many victims were attacked.

Although it is often correctly assumed that rape is generally underreported, that is not always the case. There are complicated politics around rape statistics. I recently co-authored an article that focused on a controversy about the extent of sexual violence in Liberia. My colleague and I were struck by a statistical estimate of wartime rape in Liberia that has started becoming conventional wisdom: seventy-five percent of women in Liberia were raped during the war. This statistic has been repeated again and again—and after examining the sources for the estimate, we concluded it was impossible. To put the seventy-five percent number into context, in other cases of mass rape, very well-done population-based surveys have uncovered something like eight to ten percent of the population of women who might report conflict-related rape. We investigated the seventy-five percent claim a bit and it seems that it was based on a misreading of a particular survey. The interesting question we explore in the article is not so much why this survey was misread, but how did that seventy-five percent statistic start gaining such traction? Why didn't people question it? And most importantly, what are the effects of statistics like that on the victims of sexual violence in Liberia and in future conflicts?

And finally, there are also biases in the ways researchers approach questions of sexual violence. One of the reasons we don't have a lot of information about male victims or about female perpetrators of sexual violations is that assumptions about gender are so deeply embedded, even among researchers, about who is a perpetrator and who is a victim. In cases where researchers have asked more gender-neutral and open-ended survey questions—such as the number of perpetrators and the sex of perpetrators—they've had surprising findings. Studies in Liberia and in the DRC have found both male and female victims who report both male and female perpetrators.

The other related issue is not so much the way that researchers collect data, but the way that victims report it. For example, victims who have experienced a great deal of violence might be more likely to report lethal violations rather than sexual violence. There are some

cultures where women may be more likely to report violations against their male relatives than violations that either they or their female relatives experienced. Finally, if a woman is raped in a private room by a soldier it might be unlikely that she would report it. However, if someone is raped by multiple perpetrators in front of their village or family—there are witnesses. They may be more likely to report that violation. There is no easy way to correct for those biases but it is important to be aware of them.

You recently wrote a blog post arguing against the claim that wartime sexual violence is decreasing and the difficulties in accurately analyzing temporal trends.

There is currently a great deal of discussion and debate in the field about trends over time. The authors of the November 2012 *Human Security Report* argued that because there are fewer wars now and that these wars are generally less lethal, that it is very unlikely that wartime rape is increasing, and actually, they claimed that it is probably decreasing. My blog response, coauthored with two colleagues, was that we cannot assume that rape and killing are perfectly correlated. If we look at specific conflicts, for example, there are clearly cases where killing and sexual violence are not correlated and actually follow very different temporal patterns. More broadly, my coauthors and I argued that on a global scale, it doesn't really matter if incidents of rape are declining or increasing. What matters is that we know that there are a number of current conflicts with reports of mass rape. For the individual victims in, for example, the DRC or Syria, the focus on the global trend is meaningless. It may actually be harmful, if policymakers believe the problem is getting better, and funds are directed away from mitigating the consequences of sexual violence.

Your work has a lot of policy implications. Are you aiming to impact policy?

That's one of the great joys of working in a policy school. I have a unique opportunity—and am actively encouraged—to translate some of my work to readers outside of peer-reviewed academic journals. I very much welcome engagement with the policy community about the implications of my findings.

In terms of policy implications, one of the important things I've learned from my book project is that much of conventional wisdom about the causes of rape during wartime is based on the few cases that are widely studied: Bosnia, Rwanda, and increasingly, the DRC. These common arguments include country-level features: countries that have more pronounced gender inequality may be more likely to experience rape during wartime. They also include features of the conflict itself. Some argue that ethnic wars, or wars experiencing genocide, may be more

Continued on page 15

Photo Essay: Events



Photo credits: Martha Stewart

Fellows Reunion

More than one hundred WCFIA Fellows, former and current, from nearly thirty countries gathered for three days in mid-April for a reunion and conference entitled, "Searching for Balance in an Unstable World." The first day, April 18, included an open roundtable discussion among returning Fellows, a session in which three of the Center's Graduate Student Associates shared their research, and a dinner at the Harvard Faculty Club. In his dinner keynote address, "Power in the 21st Century," Professor Joseph Nye, Jr. addressed the changes in the global balance of power, noting that the rise of China, in particular, presented challenges for the United States. Conference participants awoke on Friday morning, April 19, to a very unusual situation on campus. Greater Boston, including the city of Cambridge and Harvard University, were on lockdown in response to a massive police hunt for one of the suspects in the Boston Marathon bombings that occurred earlier in the week. With the conference canceled that day, groups of Fellows gathered in hotel lobbies to talk and to follow on television developments taking place right outside their doors. As many noted when we reconvened on the final, and third scheduled day of the conference, their countries also experience terrorist threats and activities, and have done so for a long time. Several panels convened, including one on "Political Reform and Economic Development," with Professor Jorge Domínguez, Ginandjar Kartasasmita (Fellow 2000–2001) and Tony Brenton (Fellow 1992–1993).

Herbert C. Kelman's Birthday

On March 28, 2013, Professor Herbert Kelman, co-chair of the CMES/WCFIA Middle East Seminar, gave a lecture entitled "Is a Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Still Possible? The Perspective of a Strategic Optimist." The seminar also coincided with Professor Kelman's birthday, an occasion celebrated by co-chairs Lenore Martin and Sara Roy, and the seminar participants, with kosher angel food cakes and candles. *Photo credit: Johanna Bodnyk*



Inaugural Weatherhead Initiative on Global History Conference

On April 25 through April 27 the Weatherhead Initiative on Global History held its first conference entitled, "Global History of Agrarian Labor Regimes, 1750–2000." *Photo credits: Rudi Batzell (top) Megan County (bottom)*





Undergraduate Thesis Conference February 7–9, 2013

The Weatherhead Center Undergraduate Thesis Conference featured a series of panels chaired by Faculty Associates and Graduate Student Associates. Clustered by regional or disciplinary themes, each student's presentation was followed by questions, commentary, and feedback for the enhancement of their thesis work in its final stages. Due to a severe winter storm, the afternoon session on Friday, February 8, and all sessions on February 9 were canceled and rescheduled. *Photo credits: Megan County*

Right to left: Center Director Beth A. Simmons opens the conference. Nancy Khalil, Director, Undergraduate Student Programs; PhD candidate, Department of Anthropology chairs a session entitled, "Phenomenologies of Social Protest and Political Activism." Melissa Barber (Social Studies) presented "Global Occupy Networks in Spain (*indignados*), Madrid, and Oakland." Emily Keamy-Minor (Social Studies) presented "Overcoming Impediments to Social Sector HIV Prevention Programs in the Russian Federation." Julia Leitner (History and Literature) presented "Protest Art and Militant Research during the 2001 Economic Crisis in Argentina."



Left to right: In a session entitled, "Culture and Agency," Noah Guiney (Anthropology) presented "Iranian Immigrant Pop: Fusion and Exclusion in Canada's City of Diversity," and Katie Gallogly-Swan (Anthropology) presented "Language Ideology in a Musical Community in Glasgow: Reflections of National and International Shifts in Meaning."



Left to right: Eric Werker, Associate Professor of Business Administration, Marvin Bower Fellow, Harvard Business School, chairs a session entitled, "Economic Development and Policy Planning in Focus." Aditya Balasubramanian (History) presented "Market Liberal Ideas in India, 1943–1970."

Local Governance and the Recentralization of Political Power in African States

by Janet I. Lewis

Janet I. Lewis is a postdoctoral fellow in the Department of Government and a former WCFA Graduate Student Associate from 2007–2011.

International donors have heavily invested in decentralization programs in developing countries, to the tune of over 7.4 billion dollars since 1990.¹ They did so amidst a global shift in the 1980s and 1990s away from centralized political and economic regimes, and in the wake of widely-held expectations that decentralization reforms would bring about numerous benefits—from consolidating democracy to improving local service delivery and mitigating ethnic conflict. However, recent research shows that decentralization reforms' record in attaining those goals is mixed, at best.²

In recent research, I argue that decentralization reforms can, in fact, contribute to an unintended recentralization of power. In a project co-authored with Guy Grossman, assistant professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania, we examine a specific, rarely-noted process through which decentralization reforms may lead to diminished local power relative to the center: the proliferation of local administrative units.³ Since the mid-1990s, following or alongside decentralization reforms that were promoted by international donors, almost half of Sub-Saharan African countries increased their number of sub-national administrative units by over twenty percent. Beyond Africa, several countries that underwent decentralization reforms significantly increased their number of local governments. For example, as part of the post-communist decentralization reform process, Czechoslovakia and Hungary increased their number of municipalities by about fifty percent between 1989 and 1993. Similarly, after devolving power to the district level in 1998 and 1999, in the wake of Suharto's fall, Indonesia increased its number of districts from 292 to 497 in less than a decade. Vietnam also increased its number of provinces from forty to sixty-four between 1996 and 2003, following liberalization reforms. In Brazil, from the return to civilian rule in the mid-1980s to 2000, the number of municipalities increased over fifty percent.

But even amidst decentralization reforms that are characterized by far-reaching *de jure* devolution of power, administrative unit proliferation can lead to a *de-facto* recentralization of power. This is the case because the rapid creation of a large number of new local governments, fragments existing ones into smaller units with lower inter-governmental bargaining power. This contributes to an increased dependence of local governments on the resources and administrative capacity of the central government.

Why does administrative unit proliferation occur? First, the introduction of decentralization reforms that devolve power to localities imbues those localities with new importance and value to their residents, generating demand for them. Second, to explain when and where

within a country new administrative units are created, one should consider the incentives of both local political actors and national leaders. We argue that administrative unit proliferation is largely driven by a convergence of interests between citizens in marginalized areas of localities, which seek more direct access to local government resources and who view the creation of new top-tier units as an avenue to such access; elites in marginalized localities who seek job opportunities and greater control of public resources; and the central government, which seeks to implement popular policies and thus attain increased electoral support.

We think of localities that could potentially split as being comprised of two areas: a core area that controls the local government and is home to its headquarters, and a more rural area that lacks control of local resources and where residents and elites are, or perceive themselves to be, politically and economically marginalized. This conceptualization reflects the emergence of small, semi-urban areas in developing states' peripheries. For example, in 2005, over half of the urban population in Sub-Saharan Africa lived in small cities of less than 200,000 people.⁴ The creation of a new district in a marginalized area brings it public jobs and resources, such as hospitals, as well as access to previously remote local decision makers. Especially in developing countries, where travel in rural areas is often quite costly due to poor road conditions, citizens prize proximity to public services and decision makers. Elites in such areas also tend to favor the creation of new districts because small districts mean more limited pools of competitors for local office. Demand for new districts is most likely to come about, we argue, in areas that are the most economically, politically, and ethnically marginalized—meaning that they are less well developed, less well-represented politically on influential local committees, and less likely to have the same majority ethnic group as the core area.

While local demand thus plays an important role in generating new localities, ultimately only the central government can formally approve a new local government, thus it is important to consider the central government's incentives. We argue that a proliferation of local administrative units will be broadly desirable to central government incumbents. This is the case because given the widespread popularity of creating new administrative units in marginalized areas, meeting demands for new units can provide a significant electoral boost. The primary costs to a central government of creating a new local administrative unit will be a budgetary burden—but this is often offset, at least in part, by international donors who often view the creation of new units as a positive step towards decentralization.

Administrative Unit Proliferation and Recentralization in Uganda

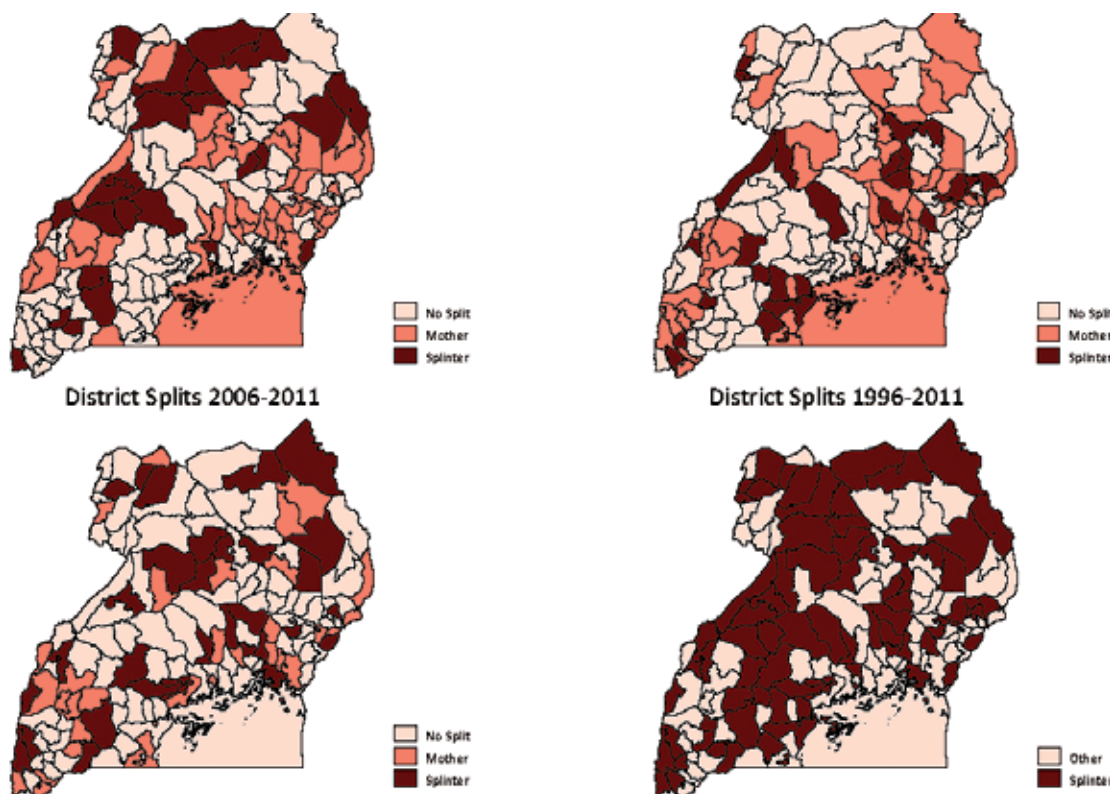
To examine the determinants of administrative unit proliferation, we analyze how it unfolded in Uganda, whose decentralization process has been heralded as “one of the most far-reaching local government reform programs in the developing world.”⁵ Another observer noted that: “Within a very short time, Uganda has achieved one of the most decentralized and stable systems of subnational government in the entire Sub-Saharan region.”⁶ Alongside Uganda’s extensive decentralization reforms, beginning in the mid-1990s the number of districts increased dramatically: from thirty-four in 1990 to 112 in 2011. The maps that follow show the process of district splitting unfolding over time in Uganda. The maps show Uganda’s county boundaries—counties are a governance unit one tier below districts, and with very few exceptions, new districts that formed in Uganda were comprised of one or more counties, which split away from their “mother” district. The maps show that the creation of new districts occurred steadily since the mid-1990s, and affected the majority of Ugandan counties.

We use multilevel regression analysis to analyze the determinants of district formation. We find that less-developed counties, and those that are underrepresented in the leadership of a district’s committee governing intra-district resource allocation, are more likely to form a new district. This finding is robust to various model specifications, including to the incorporation of

spatial dependencies. Additionally, we find that counties in which the largest ethnic group is different than the district’s largest group are more likely to split from that district, suggesting that being a concentrated ethnic minority worsens perceptions of marginalization.

We also test the supply-side of our argument by examining how district splits in the five years leading up to an election affect the vote share received by the incumbent president, Yoweri Museveni. Using a battery of statistical models, we find that the incumbent president receives an electoral bonus of approximately 2.5 to three percent in counties that were elevated to the status of a district prior to an election and is not penalized by “mother” areas that have recently lost territory due to a split. These findings support our claim that the electoral benefits to the central government of providing new districts are significant.

Finally, we find substantial evidence from interviews with local officials, secondary accounts, and national and local government budget data that is consistent with our argument that the proliferation of districts that followed Uganda’s decentralization reforms has contributed to a substantial recentralization of power. Among several other indications of recentralization, we find that the portion of the national budget that is apportioned to districts has declined since the early 2000s, limiting the resources available to districts. Additionally, Uganda’s graduated tax—which was once the districts’ primary source of locally derived revenue—was ended by the central government in 2005—making the districts almost



Maps illustrating that the creation of new districts in Uganda occurred steadily since the mid-1990s, and affected the majority of Ugandan counties.

Continued on page 16

THE CANADA PROGRAM

The Canada Program has concluded another successful year with the support of the William Lyon Mackenzie King Endowment. The program hosted two annual visiting professorships with accomplished scholars engaged in comparative teaching and research on Canada, supported student dissertation and thesis research on Canadian topics, presented distinguished speakers through the popular Canada Seminar, and organized an annual faculty conference. The program now looks toward the 2013–2014 academic year and prepares to welcome an incoming cohort of affiliates no less achieving or promising than those who have gone before.

Canada Program History

The William Lyon Mackenzie King Endowment was established in 1967 following a campaign spearheaded by David Rockefeller, who wished to honor William Lyon Mackenzie King (1874–1950), a great friend of his father, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Mackenzie King, a Harvard graduate, was deputy minister of labour in Canada when, in 1914, he was recruited as an industrial consultant tasked with brokering an agreement between management and labor workers at the Rockefeller-controlled Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. According to *Harvard's Directory of Named Chairs*, a dispute between management and labor had resulted in "a long, bitter, and bloody strike against the company." And, "[w]hile Rockefeller hoped King would help extricate his company from a labor dilemma which he believed had been badly handled, he had a larger purpose in urging the Rockefeller Foundation to use the Colorado situation as a means of recommending a plan of broad application to industrial relations generally." King managed the situation, helped amend public perception of Rockefeller, and produced the book, *Foundation, Industry and Humanity* (1918). After a time as industrial adviser to a number of American utility and extraction firms, King returned to Canadian politics, took leadership of the Liberal Party, and went on to serve Canada as prime minister for a collective twenty-two years (1921–1930 and 1935–1948).

In 1967, the president of the University of Toronto, Professor Claude T. Bissell, was named the first William Lyon Mackenzie King Visiting Professor of Canadian Studies. At the time, Bissell's research assistant was Michael Bliss, now a distinguished Canadian historian, author, and former University of Toronto professor. Their time at Harvard was, as Bliss recently noted, "one of the happiest years of our lives."

2012–2013

Francine McKenzie joined the program as the William Lyon Mackenzie King Visiting Professor of Canadian Studies. Appointed through the Department of History, Professor McKenzie, an associate professor of history at Western University, instructed two courses: Planning for Peace during the Second World War (fall 2012), and The Decolonization of Canada 1867–1967 (spring 2013). Professor McKenzie also developed a seminar series of ten speakers that included a presentation by Ken Dryden, author, lawyer, politician, and former goalie for the Montreal Canadiens; an affiliates' evening and conversation with Canadian Supreme Court Justice Rosalie Abella; and a spring 2013 faculty conference on Race and Identity, Interests, and Interactions in Canada's International History.

Ben Herzog, appointed through the Department of Sociology, served as the William Lyon Mackenzie King Research Fellow. Professor Herzog, formerly the Pierre Keller Post-Doctoral Fellow in Transatlantic Relations at the Jackson Institute for Global Affairs and the Whitney and Betty MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies at Yale University, offered two undergraduate courses: Nationalism and Society (fall 2012), and Democratic Citizenship in the Modern World (spring 2013).

The Program also collaborated with International Legal Studies at Harvard Law School, to present Madame Justice Abella on a panel of esteemed guests speaking on the state of legal education.

Since 2008, the Program has awarded more than \$400,000 to more than thirty Harvard students, whose research has a fifty-percent focus on Canadian topics, for summer travel and foreign language grants, thesis, and pre- and mid-dissertation, and completion fellowships. In 2012, eight graduate and two undergraduate student affiliates, known as Canada Research Fellows, rounded out the Program's annual group of affiliates. The Canada Research Fellows, representing Harvard College, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Graduate School of Education, Graduate School of Design, and Harvard School of Public Health, were awarded grants for their work on Canadian topics, in the disciplines of economics, sociology, architecture, music, visual studies, anthropology, and in the Committee on Social Studies. One of the Canada Research Fellows focused their research on university access and success for refugees. Another graduate student, whose research concerns financial regulation, had the opportunity to connect with one of the Program's seminar speakers, Tim Lane, deputy governor of the Bank of Canada. "I was able to ask him questions about important aspects of financial regulation in Canada—and the information he provided at his lecture, and at the dinner afterward, has informed my dissertation," she says. "I knew that the generous financial support from the Canada Program would help advance my research, because it covers the expenses of visiting relevant Canadian archives and interviewing

regulators at the Office for Supervision of Financial Institutions (OSFI). But I didn't realize that the connections I could make through the Canada Program would turn out to be so helpful."

2013–2014

George Elliott Clarke, poet laureate of the City of Toronto and a professor of English at the University of Toronto, will join the Canada Program as the William Lyon Mackenzie King Visiting Professor of Canadian Studies. Professor Clarke will be appointed through Harvard's Department of English, and he will teach one graduate course, Black 'Epics' of the Americas (spring 2014), and one undergraduate course, Black Like Who? (fall 2013), while organizing the year's seminar series and a faculty conference.

Jacob Remes, assistant professor and mentor of public affairs and history at Metropolitan Center State University of New York Empire State College, in Brooklyn, New York, will be the William Lyon Mackenzie King Research Fellow. Professor Remes will be appointed through the Department of History and will teach two courses: a fall 2013 pro-seminar, Readings on 19th and 20th Century Canada, and the spring 2014 conference course, Migration and Relations between Canada and the United States.

Ten student Canada Research Fellows will join the Program, two of whom will receive full dissertation completion grants, again, representing many schools and disciplines from the University. Their research interests include: rural adaptability to climate instability and the plight of remote indigenous communities, health care delivery organizations in Canada and the United States, and the Canadian pianist Glenn Gould.

STUDENT PROGRAMS: 2013 THOMAS TEMPLE HOOPES PRIZE WINNERS

The Weatherhead Center congratulates the following Undergraduate Associates who were among the eighty-one Harvard undergraduates awarded 2013 Thomas Temple Hoopes Prizes on the basis of their outstanding scholarly work or research.

Aditya Balasubramanian (History) "'From Socialism to Swatantra': Market Liberalism in India, 1943–1970." Balasubramanian was also the recipient of a Colton Prize for excellence in preparation of senior thesis in history.

Katie L. Gallogly-Swan (Anthropology) "'Real' Scottish: Emergent Voices in a Musical Community in Glasgow."

Julian Baird Gewirtz (History) "River Crossings: The Influence of Western Economists on Chinese Reform, 1978–1988."

Noah Stephen Guiney (Anthropology) "Sounds of the Iranian Diaspora: Fusion Music and Exclusionary Practice in Canada's City of Diversity."

William Minot Rafey (Social Studies and Mathematical Sciences) "Visions and models in South Africa: Balancing energy development with global climate change." Rafey was also the recipient of the Alexis de Tocqueville Prize for Best Thesis in Social Studies.

Benjamin Byers Hermansen Wilcox (History and Economics) "'Is This Science?': Louis Agassiz and the Thayer Expedition in Brazilian Thought, 1865–1876." Wilcox was also the recipient of a Department of History prize for best total record as history concentrator.

GRADUATE STUDENT ASSOCIATES 2012–2013



Graduate Student Associates gather for their final seminar lunch of the academic year.
Photo credit: Megan Courtney

STUDENT PROGRAMS: UNDERGRADUATE ASSOCIATES 2013–2014

The following students have been appointed Undergraduate Student Associates for the 2013-2014 academic year and have received grants to support travel in connection with their senior thesis research on international affairs.

Ainara Arcelus (Applied Mathematics) Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *A statistical analysis of Zara factory conditions.*

Xanni Brown (Social Studies) Rogers Family Research Fellow. *Causes and diffusions of recent mineworker protests in South Africa.*

Katryna Cadle (Anthropology) Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *Language and labor in call centers in the Philippines.*

Eric Chung (Government) Transatlantic Relations Undergraduate Research Fellow. *Comparative politics of education, including the human right to education and its legal, social, and cultural reception in Finland and the United States and how this recognition influences education policy and outcomes.*

Anne Marie Creighton (History) Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *Classical influence on Spanish colonial governance in sixteenth-century Peru.*

Christian Føhrby (Government) Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *The influence of the Chinese educational system on Chinese experience of global citizenship.*

Haemin Jee (Government) Simmons Family Research Fellow. *Exploring the role of the Internet and other media influencing Chinese university students' volunteerism.*

Mark Krass (Social Studies) Canada Undergraduate Research Fellow. *The role of ethno-cultural diversity of immigrant social networks in fostering generalized and institutional trust.*

Lauren O. Libby (History and Literature) Global History Undergraduate Research Fellow. *Development of somatic therapies in colonial French North Africa by discovering how more therapies were shaped by colonial and Western medical discourse as well as how these therapies shaped these discourses in turn.*

Randi Michel (Social Studies) Rogers Family Research Fellow. *Exploring the relationship between South Africa's domestic democratic transition and its foreign policy approach to conflict intervention.*

Ada Lin (Social Studies) Undergraduate Associate. *Excavating the Red Corridor: An Intellectual History of the Naxalite Movement.*

David Goodall Miller (Social Studies) Global History Undergraduate Research Fellow. *Governmental framing of torture by democratic countries, particularly the United Kingdom and the United States.*

Nataliya Nedzhvetskaya (Social Studies) Rogers Family Research Fellow. *A Study of community health evangelism application in South Africa, Zambia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo.*

Keffira Pintos (Social Studies) Rogers Family Research Fellow. *Sports-for-development organizations and their community involvement to understand and push forth institutional based social movement theory.*

Ben Raderstorf (Social Studies) Samuels Family Research Fellow. *Clientelism and political parties in Argentina and Chile with a focus on new social programs.*

Jonathan D. Reindollar (East Asian Studies) Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *How Shenzhen and Hong Kong generated an informal precursor to international investment laws.*

Jessica C. Salley (Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations) Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *The reconstruction of Izmir and the development of the Turkish nation-state.*

Paolo P. Singer (Economics) Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *The growth of the high-technology service economy in India and the sector's impact on industrialization and urban development, in the context of other South and East Asian countries that have experienced rapid growth primarily in manufacturing.*

Aaron E. Watanabe (Government) Samuels Family Research Fellow. *Democratic breakdown and survival in the Andes during the 2000s focusing on Peru as a case of surprising democratic persistence.*

Jennifer Q. Zhu (Government) Rogers Family Research Fellow. *Maximizing adoption of public health interventions across social and cultural contexts.*

Continued from page 7

likely to have rape during wartime. What I do in my book project is look at the entire universe of cases of civil wars to determine if those arguments can explain, in general, the phenomenon of wartime rape. I find that a lot of the conventional wisdom, even if it explains individual cases, is not strongly associated with rape in wartime in general. For example, while ethnic hatred clearly played a role in rape in Rwanda and Bosnia, I do not find that ethnic wars are systematically associated with rape in wartime.

The key puzzle is really why, even within the context of the same war, do some armed groups rape and others do not? My argument is that the most important source of variation is on the level of the armed group. For example, in the case of Sierra Leone, there were two armed groups with almost identical types of fighters—same age group, same religion, same backgrounds, same professions before they became fighters—but one group committed a massive amount of rape and the other mostly refrained from committing rape. I argue that the key to understanding variation in wartime rape really lies in understanding the differences between armed groups. I ultimately argue that armed groups that recruit their fighters through kidnapping use rape as a socialization tool to create cohesion; I show that groups that use voluntary means for recruiting fighters are much less likely to be reported as perpetrators of rape.

And that's unfortunately a hard sell to the policy world because it's not immediately obvious what sorts of interventions should then follow. Although I've written policy briefs to brainstorm some potentially useful policy interventions, I'm hesitant to make very specific recommendations, in part, because I don't really see that as my role. What I hope instead is that my findings inform policymakers about the patterns in—and correlates of—wartime rape. If I can provide a better sense of the overall variation—where rape is reported, the various forms of sexual violence that were committed, who the perpetrators and victims are—then this could ultimately lead to more evidence-based policy.

You're researching some of the worst aspects of humanity. How do you cope with the emotional impact of this subject? What advice would you give to undergraduates who are considering this difficult course of study?

Overall, I have found studying this topic inspiring rather than depressing. I did all of my fieldwork after wars had ended, and it is easier to interview someone about the violence they experienced years later—when you're seeing them in their house and they are surrounded by their children and have, in a way, moved on. Although initially I was anxious about interviewing perpetrators of atrocities, one of the things that I learned, and what I end up arguing in my book, is that many times people have to be coerced to commit terrible violence. I strongly disagree with

scholars who argue that violence, including rape, is part of human nature. In fact, most men—and the arguments are mostly made about men—even when given ample opportunity, even when they're armed, even when their victims are not, don't take advantage of that opportunity. There was something very enlightening about hearing during my interviews that many men were themselves victims of violence and many of them described—especially in the contexts that I've been studying—having been abducted, kidnapped, and strongly pressured into committing rape.

Interviews with perpetrators are especially important. Much of what we know about atrocities during wartime, including rape, is extrapolated from victims' testimonies. Both the research community and the advocacy community have been focused on victims—which is a good and important thing to do. But the next frontier for research is not to just assume the motivations of the armed groups based on the statements from victims, but to talk directly to the members of the armed groups and try to understand motivations for violence from their perspective. Most importantly, was rape something that was ordered, or was it simply tolerated? To really get to the root causes we need to talk directly to the perpetrators.

On the other hand, doing this work can get to be very difficult. Probably one of the reasons that I felt prepared is because I had previously worked as a domestic-violence advocate. I was used to hearing people describe terrible violence they had experienced. But it can be grueling to do those types of interviews. There are cases of journalists who have interviewed victims of wartime violence and who develop post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). I tend to be hesitant in encouraging young students to take that on, and I do worry about students being prepared for the sorts of things they will be facing.

However, for students who prefer not to research violence through interviews, there is a wealth of existing data about human rights violations, including court transcripts, Truth and Reconciliation Commission victim statements, and other types of archival data like police reports that can be analyzed by undergraduate students interested in these issues.

Tell us something about yourself that most people won't know in your academic world.

I love to bake. If I hadn't become a professor, I might have become a pastry chef—I have a pretty serious dessert-making hobby. I like to experiment, and I look for recipes that are especially challenging or unusual. What's really satisfying is that you have a finished product in a few hours. That never happens with academic research.

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entirely dependent on the central government for budgetary support. The central government has also recently made key local government positions—especially that of the chief administrative officer, who oversees the entire technocratic arm of each district—a centrally appointed position, whereas it was formerly a locally-elected position. As a result, instead of answering to local politicians, the entire technocratic arm of each district answers to the central government. We interpret these changes as evidence of a growing de-facto recentralization of power.

Implications for Research and Policy

What are the policy implications of our findings? They suggest that proponents of decentralization reforms should be more aware of the relationship between decentralization reforms and the pressure to create new administrative units. Furthermore, there are some reasons for concern. Several commentators in Uganda have argued that the creation of new districts generates unnecessarily burdensome administrative costs and destabilizes local interethnic relations. On the other hand, the recentralization of fiscal authority may play a fundamental role in state-building in countries that have suffered from instability.⁷ More research will be needed in examining the effect of rapid district creation, in particular, its effect on economic development and on the provision of local public goods and social services.

This work also contributes to our broader understanding of the effects of Africa's political liberalization beginning in the 1990s. Our findings about the center's electoral incentives to supply districts to marginalized rural localities contributes to a growing body of work that shows that voting in African states is not simply an ethnic census as prior work had suggested. Rather, it provides further support to the idea that African voters respond to policy initiatives, and that elections—even in hybrid regimes like Uganda—generate incentives for national elites to implement highly visible policies that are perceived as redistributive.

Notes

1. World Bank, Independent Evaluation Group. 2008. "Decentralization in Client Countries: An Evaluation of World Bank Support, 1990–2007." Washington, DC: The World Bank.
2. See, for example, Eaton, Kent, Kai Kaiser and Paul J. Smoke. 2010. *The Political Economy of Decentralization Reform: Implications for Aid Effectiveness*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
3. Grossman, Guy and Janet I. Lewis. 2013. "When Decentralization Begets Recentralization? The Intergovernmental Politics of Administrative Unit Proliferation." Working Paper.
4. Kessides, Christine. 2005. "The Urban Transition in Sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction." World Bank Africa Region Working Paper Series No. 97. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
5. Francis, Paul and Robert James. 2003. "Balancing Rural Poverty Reduction and Citizen Participation: The Contradictions of Uganda's Decentralization Program." *World Development* 31(2):325–337.
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7. Diaz-Cayeros, Alberto. 2006. *Federalism, Fiscal Authority, and Centralization in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.