

Communiqué

The Magazine of the Ash Center for
Democratic Governance and Innovation
Fall 2017 Volume 21



Meet America's Most Innovative
Ash Center Presents Winners
of 2017 Innovations in American
Government Awards

Teaching in Technicolor
Ash Alumna Transforms Myanmar
Education with Virtual Reality

**Inaugural Martha H. Mauzy
Award Winner**
Kate O'Gorman MPA '17 Is Working for an
Inclusive Economic Future

Letter from the Director



Welcome to the Fall 2017 issue of the Ash Center's *Communiqué* magazine. I am proud to report that my many colleagues at the Ash Center continue to advance its mission of engaging scholars, students, and practitioners in the most important political and governance challenges we face both in the US and globally. In this issue, we highlight the winners of the 2017 Innovations in American Government Awards (p. 10) and Professor Odd Arne Westad's perspective on the Cold War as set forth in his new book (p. 8). In our Q+A (p. 4), we talk with Jie Bai, assistant professor of public policy, about the economic challenges firms face in developing countries and emerging markets such as Vietnam and China. On p. 12, we introduce Hla Hla Win MC/MPA '16, who was a Ford Foundation Mason Fellow with the Ash Center and who is using virtual reality to transform the educational experience in Myanmar. And, we are very pleased to profile the accomplishments of the graduating student recipient of the Martha H. Mauzy Award for its inaugural year (p. 14). Finally, we explore the work of Dan Hummel, a past History and Public Policy Fellow with the Center, which focuses on Christian Zionism and recent changes in the movement (p. 17).

There is much more to be found in this issue and I hope you will enjoy learning about our students, faculty, alumni, fellows, and scholars as they work to make the world a better place. As always, you can find more information about the Ash Center on our website at ash.harvard.edu.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Tony Saich', written in a cursive style.

Tony Saich
Director, Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation
Daewoo Professor of International Affairs
Harvard Kennedy School

Communiqué

Fall 2017, Volume 21

Ash Center for Democratic Governance
and Innovation
Harvard Kennedy School
79 John F. Kennedy Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

617-495-0557

www.ash.harvard.edu

Director

Tony Saich

Editor

Jessica Engelman

Associate Director for Communications

Daniel Harsha

Communications Coordinator

Sarah Gruzca

Design

forminform

Photography

Bloomberg Philanthropies

City of Boston Mayor's Office

Benn Craig

Fulbright University Vietnam

Sarah Gruzca

Daniel Harsha

Jayme Johnson

National Conference of State Legislatures

Martha Stewart

Vivian Tian

Xenia Viragh

Wallboat

Arthur Z./iAsk Media



4



5



8



10



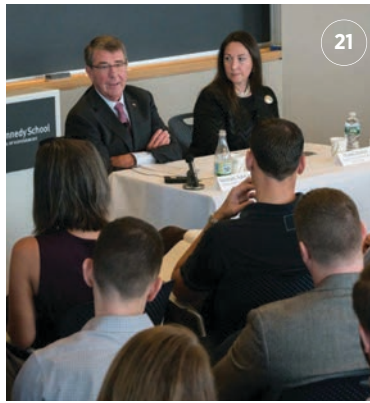
12



13



15



21



14



17

In this Issue

IN THE NEWS

4
Q + A with Jie Bai

5
News and Announcements

21
Event Snapshots

FEATURES

8
Odd Arne Westad: On the Global Roots of the Cold War

10
The Ash Center Presents America's Most Innovative Government Programs

IN THE FIELD

12
Alumni in the Field
Hla Hla Win MC/MPA '16

13
Student Focus
Ash Center Supports Experiential Learning and Research Activities for Students

14
Student Focus
Meet the 2017 Martha H. Mauzy Award Winner

NEWS IN DEPTH

15
Rebuilding Our Democracy Through Redistricting Reform

RESEARCH BRIEF

16
Fellows Focus
Meet Our New Fellows

17
Fellows Spotlight
Christian Zionism, the Religious Right, and Donald Trump: History's Role in Contemporary Politics

18
On the Bookshelf



The world will start perceiving “Made in China” differently—no longer a synonym for the cheap and inferior

Jie Bai, the Ash Center’s newest faculty affiliate, joined HKS as an Assistant Professor of Public Policy in AY2017. She received her PhD in Economics from MIT in June 2016 and then spent one year at Microsoft Research New England

Q+A with Jie Bai

Your research focuses on microeconomic issues of firms in developing countries and emerging markets such as China and Vietnam. Broadly speaking, what are some of the economic challenges that firms in these and similarly positioned countries face today?

One of the key challenges firms in China and other developing countries face today is the difficulty of moving up the value chain to produce higher quality and higher value-added products. Traditional cost advantages are diminishing as a result of rising wages and energy costs. Firms will find themselves competing more and more alongside established global players as the economy shifts out of low-end manufacturing industries. Shedding obsolete technologies and catching up with the world’s frontier is the first step, and eventually innovation and quality upgrading would be the keys to success. For that, we need a financial system that can effectively channel resources to capable prospective entrepreneurs, and well-enforced intellectual property laws to encourage innovation. However, capital market frictions, weak legal systems, and poor law enforcement in many parts of the developing world could pose serious challenges to firm growth and upgradation in the next phase of development.

For American consumers, the “Made in China” label is not typically associated with high quality manufacturing practices. What are firms in China doing to counter this perception, and how has the quality of Chinese manufacturing changed in recent years?

I think the perception has been gradually changing over time, partly because of some globally successful Chinese companies, such as Alibaba, Huawei, and Midea. As some of these industrial leaders adopt new technologies and practices to improve quality, the world will start perceiving “Made in China” differently—no longer a synonym for the cheap and inferior. However, for the same reason that successful firms can generate a positive change in “collective reputation,” public concerns regarding quality and safety issues with certain Chinese products in recent years, especially food products, can lead to greater general distrust. In such an environment, it can be hard for a single firm to signal its quality, and new firms are also “endowed” with the damaged reputation of its predecessors. Such collective reputational forces generate an important externality, and thus call for more government and third-party interventions to establish higher quality standards and enforce tighter quality control.

We hear a great deal about anti-corruption efforts in China under President Xi. How has corruption in China hindered economic growth more broadly, and do you believe that Xi’s anti-corruption campaign is likely to reap meaningful economic benefits?

I think the truth is that we don’t know much yet (perhaps other than the big blow on high-end restaurants and luxury goods industries—for example, wines). Some say that the campaign has paralyzed the “political ecosystem” in China, leading to inactions of many local bureaucrats; others say that the campaign would eventually reduce corruption and rent-seeking in the economy, bringing fundamental change toward good governance in China. Nearly five years into the anti-corruption campaign, I think we are now in a position to rigorously evaluate the broad economic impact, both short-run and medium-run. I look forward to seeing more rigorous studies on this topic in the next few years.

How have internal trade barriers among China’s provinces helped skew economic growth?

Unlike international trade barriers—tariffs, quotas, and explicit import/export restrictions—domestic trade barriers are much more insidious and harder to measure as they can take many forms. Physical transportation costs within China have certainly gone down significantly over the past decades due to the big investments in railway and infrastructure projects. However, various protectionist measures imposed by local governments still remain, especially in certain strategic sectors of the economy. For example, in the auto industry, local governments give out various subsidies and benefits to favor local brands, which distort consumers’ purchasing decisions and can result in significant welfare losses. Local protectionism could also potentially explain why the industry remains highly fragmented today with many small inefficient players. In general, internal trade frictions, in the form of institutional or political barriers, distort efficient allocation of resources and can have a sizable impact on economic outcomes. ●

New Faculty Affiliates

This fall, the Ash Center has been pleased to welcome the following Harvard Kennedy School faculty to its ranks of affiliates: **Jie Bai**, Assistant Professor of Public Policy, whose research focuses on microeconomic issues of firms in developing countries and emerging markets; **David Eaves**, Lecturer in Public Policy, who is a public policy entrepreneur and expert in information technology and government; **Fredrik Logevall**, Laurence D. Belfer Professor of International Affairs, a specialist on US foreign relations history and 20th-century international history; **Christopher Robichaud**, Senior Lecturer in Ethics and Public Policy, whose interests surround ethics, political philosophy, and social epistemology; and, **James Waldo**, Gordon McKay Professor of the Practice of Computer Science in the School of Engineering and Applied Sciences at Harvard and HKS Professor of Policy, who teaches on topics of technology and policy.

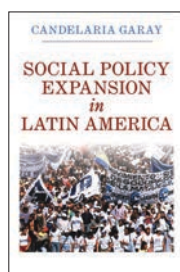
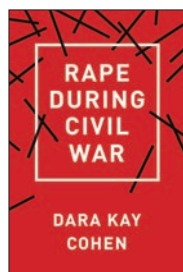


CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT
David Eaves, Fredrik Logevall, James Waldo, Christopher Robichaud

Ash Faculty Win Prestigious Book Awards

Ash resident faculty affiliate **Dara Kay Cohen** won the 2017 Theodore J. Lowi First Book Award from the American Political Science Association (APSA), awarded annually to recognize the author of a first book in any field of political science that exemplifies qualities of broad ambition, high originality, and intellectual daring, for *Rape During Civil War* (Cornell University Press, 2016). Cohen also won the 2018 ISSS Best Book Award and the 2018 Best Book Prize from the Feminist Theory and Gender Studies Section from the International Studies Association for the same work.

Candelaria Garay, also an Ash resident faculty affiliate, won the APSA's 2017 Robert A. Dahl award for her book *Social Policy Expansion in Latin America* (Cambridge University Press, 2016). The award is given annually to an untenured scholar who has produced scholarship of the highest quality on the subject of democracy.



Herman Bolhaar Appointed Senior Fellow

Herman Bolhaar, the former chairman of the Board of Prosecutors General in the Netherlands—the public agency charged with overseeing the country's public prosecutors—has been a Senior Fellow to the Ash Center's Innovations in Government Program this fall. Bolhaar, who also served as Amsterdam's chief prosecutor, is a noted expert on human trafficking and served as chairman of the Dutch National Task Force against Human Trafficking. In September, the Prime Minister of the Netherlands appointed Bolhaar the new National Rapporteur on Human Trafficking and Sexual Violence against Children. In this role, Bolhaar will work to influence policies and forge international alliances that help prevent and end modern slavery and sexual exploitation.



This fall, Bolhaar led a study group jointly sponsored by the Ash Center and the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy on innovations in the fight against human trafficking. The study group brought leading scholars and practitioners to campus to participate in sessions with students from across Harvard where they presented the latest in anti-trafficking research and fieldwork from across the country.

Faculty Promotions

The Ash Center is pleased to announce that resident faculty affiliate **Dara Kay Cohen** was promoted in July to Associate Professor of Public Policy. Her research and teaching interests span the field of international relations, including international security, civil war and political violence, and gender and conflict. Her first book *Rape During Civil War* (Cornell, 2016), examined conflicts in Sierra Leone, Timor-Leste, and El Salvador; her current project is focused on the intersection of political violence, public opinion, and gender in Port-au-Prince, Haiti.



The Center is also pleased to announce that faculty affiliate **Maya Sen** was promoted in July to Associate Professor of Public Policy. She writes on issues involving the political economy of US race relations, law and politics, and statistical methods.



Her latest book, coauthored with Matthew Blackwell (Harvard) and Avidit Acharya (Stanford), explores the lasting impact of US slavery on contemporary Southern politics. It is forthcoming with Princeton University Press in 2018.

Linda Bilmes Appointed to UN Committee of Experts on Public Administration

In July, Ash faculty affiliate Linda Bilmes, Daniel Patrick Moynihan Senior Lecturer in Public Policy, was appointed to serve on the United Nations Committee of Experts on Public Administration. The committee supports the work of the Economic and Social Council on the promotion and development of public administration and governance among member states.

Reflecting upon the appointment, Bilmes said, "The United Nations is one of the only organizations in the world that promotes world peace. However the task of managing and financing the institution and its initiatives is complex. Part of my research focuses on ways to improve the funding structure for UN peacekeeping operations. These critical missions are frequently hindered because money is not available at the right time. I am honored to be appointed to the Committee of Experts on Public Administration and I look forward to making a contribution."

Fulbright University Vietnam Welcomes First MPP Class



LEFT
New MPP students participate in the Fulbright School of Public Policy and Management's opening ceremony

RIGHT
Dr. Ryan Derby-Talbot, chief academic officer of Fulbright University Vietnam, welcomes the inaugural class of MPP students

Fulbright University Vietnam (FUV)—the country's first independent nonprofit university—is opening its doors to an inaugural cohort of Master in Public Policy (MPP) students this year. Just over a year after FUV received its license from the Vietnamese government, civic-minded professionals and civil servants from around the country sat for exams and applied to the school. Once admitted, students will begin an MPP program that in many ways mirrors the program at HKS, but is tailored to the unique challenges of the Vietnamese public sector.

The similarities between FUV and HKS are no mistake; FUV is rooted in the former Fulbright Economics Teaching Program, a partnership that the

Ash Center's Tommy Vallely helped establish between the University of Economics, Ho Chi Minh City and Harvard Kennedy School. Vallely, a leader in FUV's creation and an active advisor, remarked, "The installment of MPP students at Fulbright University Vietnam is an important milestone. Arming the next generation of government leaders and civil servants with the right education is a critical part of helping Vietnam prosper in the 21st century."

FUV's two-year MPP program plans to graduate its first class in the spring of 2020. In tandem to the advancements of the MPP program, FUV is also working to develop its first class of undergraduate students.

New Health Transparency Project

The Ash Center's Transparency Policy Project (TPP) launched a new Project on Transparency and Technology for Better Health, headed by HKS Academic Dean Archon Fung and the TPP's Director of Research Elena Fagotto. The new project, funded by a grant through the Commonwealth Fund, will examine how advances in transparency and data-sharing may lead to better health outcomes.

New platforms, fueled by advances in digital technologies, promise to empower patients by allowing them to produce and share their own health data and connect with other patients, physicians, and doctors in unprecedented ways. Yet evidence shows that often data-sharing fails to mobilize patients, translating information into concrete actions for better health can be problematic, and vulnerable populations might be left behind by information tools. This research project hopes to identify which characteristics are more likely to support patient empowerment, which will fill a critical gap in the literature and could improve the design of future data-sharing platforms.

The project team will develop comparative case studies to construct an inventory of patient engagement efforts and a typology of those efforts to understand their design features, populations they serve, and modes of engagement they employ. Case studies will build on interviews with patients, platform leaders, clinicians, and researchers to capture the breadth of experiences with patient platforms, which will be published on the project's website: transparencyforhealth.ash.harvard.edu.

Dean Elmendorf Travels with Ash's China Programs

In June, Harvard Kennedy School Dean Douglas Elmendorf spent nearly one week traveling with the Ash Center's Director Tony Saich and the director of the Center's China Programs, Edward Cunningham, visiting Beijing, Hong Kong, and Shenzhen. The trip began with an energetic reception in Beijing for China-based HKS alumni, during which the group listened to the Dean discuss his vision for the School and for the Asia-related activities the School is pursuing. The Dean then participated actively in a two-day US-China Economic Governance workshop that the Ash Center China Programs organized together with the Development Research Center of the State Council, which serves as the main economic think tank of the Chinese cabinet. Discussion topics ranged from trade and investment to regional financial architecture and prospects for global governance cooperation.

The group then traveled to Hong Kong and Shenzhen to meet with a range of Chinese philanthropists and foundation directors, many of who

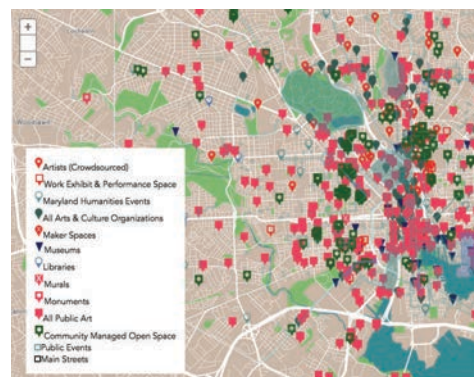


were alumni of the Ash Center's dual training programs relating to the rise of philanthropy in China. Director Saich and the Dean offered comments and fielded questions during the capstone experience of a particular training program for Chinese philanthropists scheduled that week as part of the China Global Philanthropy Institute (CGPI) curriculum. CGPI is China's first independent philanthropy-focused research and training institute, and is the main partner of the Ash Center in the multiyear China Philanthropy Project that launched in late 2015.

Ash Launches Honor for Data Maps and Visualizations

Across all levels of government, data is being transformed into vibrant maps and interactive graphics that allow users to readily glean valuable insights. To recognize superior data visualizations and maps that illustrate, enhance understanding of, or solve a complex problem faced by the public sector, the Innovations in Government Program launched a new honor, Map of the Month.

Following the program launch this summer, the initiative named its first three honorees. “Vision Zero Boston” is a story map that gives citizens the power to directly influence the process of making Boston’s streets safer—and fatal crash-free—by the city’s target date of 2030. “Redlining Louisville: The History of Race, Class and Real Estate” is a map created to raise awareness of the issue of redlining, or discriminatory housing development, disinvestment, and lending patterns from the 1930s that left communities of color significantly disadvantaged in terms of property value and wealth-building. The most recent honoree, “Baltimore’s GEOLOOM co>map,” is a tool communities can use to gain access to funding and resources and display arts and culture in their community through crowdsourcing, and which city agencies can use to visualize and fill gaps in arts and cultural institutions. Future Map of the Month winners will be announced on the Data-Smart City Solutions website at datasmart.ash.harvard.edu.



ABOVE
Baltimore’s GEOLOOM co>map visualizes the city’s arts and cultural resources

Democracy in Hard Places Initiative



The Ash Center recently relaunched its Initiative on Democracy in Hard Places under the leadership of Sultan of Oman Professor of International Relations Tarek Masoud and Jorge Paulo Lemann Professor for Brazil Studies Scott Mainwaring, both resident faculty affiliates of the Center. The initiative aims to foster social science research on democratic experiments—both successful and failed—throughout the developing world to learn how democracy can be built and maintained in a variety of terrains.

The initiative convenes a speaker series that brings to campus distinguished scholars and practitioners to analyze the conditions, institutions, and behaviors that enable democracy to survive in hard places. This fall, the Democracy in Hard Places series hosted Larry Diamond, Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution and at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University for a discussion on whether there is an emerging crisis of liberal democracy. In addition, Masoud and Mainwaring have started a fellowship program that



brings to the Ash Center a carefully selected group of practitioners and scholars from around the world to participate in collaborative research on how to establish democracy and strengthen it in the face of challenges in the developing world, where endemic poverty, illiteracy, ethnic conflict, economic inequality, as well as legacies of colonial domination and military tutelage, pose serious obstacles to attaining and sustaining democratic government.

ABOVE LEFT
Professor Tarek Masoud, Democracy in Hard Places Initiative co-director, moderates an event with Francisco Lara Marquez MPP ‘12, a Venezuelan lawyer and political activist

ABOVE RIGHT
Professor Scott Mainwaring, Democracy in Hard Places Initiative co-director, moderates an event with Professor Ashutosh Varshney (Brown University) about the state of India’s democracy

New Podcast Combats Dystopia with Academic Insights

This Week in Dystopia, a new podcast hosted by Christopher Robichaud, Harvard Kennedy School Senior Lecturer in Ethics and Public Policy and Ash Center faculty affiliate, was launched this fall in response to a perceived crisis of liberal democracy in the United States. Encompassing politics, theory, and pop culture, *This Week in Dystopia* brings commentary from Harvard’s halls to listeners’ headphones. In each episode, Robichaud welcomes Harvard faculty and other esteemed guests to discuss core challenges to US democracy without the contentious atmosphere that pervades other forums. Featured guests have included Julia Minson, HKS Assistant Professor of Public Policy, discussing



the likelihood of productive civil disagreement; Nicole Hemmer, University of Virginia Assistant Professor, discussing white nationalism and alt-right media; and Bart Stupak, former US Representative from Michigan’s 1st congressional district, discussing his decision to vote for health-care reform, despite his anti-abortion beliefs.



ODD ARNE WESTAD: ON THE GLOBAL ROOTS OF THE COLD WAR

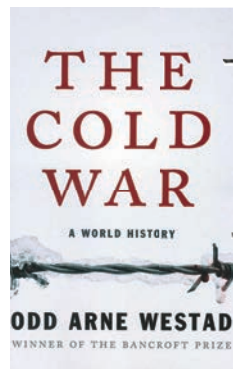
Growing up in Norway, Odd Arne Westad lived on the frontier of the Cold War. While the fjords and tundra of this Scandinavian nation may not evoke the iconic images of Berlin's Checkpoint Charlie or the Korean peninsula's demilitarized zone, for Westad, the S.T. Lee Professor of US-Asia Relations and Ash Center resident faculty affiliate, the Cold War was an omnipresent fact of life. "Norway was a kind of frontline state with regard to the Cold War," says Westad.

Deeply anchored to the West, Norway nonetheless shared an Arctic Circle border with the Soviet Union along the country's far north. Having actively resisted the Nazis during Germany's brutal five-year occupation of Norway during World War II, the Norwegian Communist Party emerged from the war with a healthy degree of popular support. Yet, with the onset of the Cold War and Norway's decision to join 11 other nations to found the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1949, the communists' popularity eroded as tensions with Soviets escalated. Taking their ideological cues from Moscow, Norway's communists lost much of their immediate post-war political appeal as the party was increasingly seen as a Soviet mouthpiece.

"The sense of this ideological divide that the majority of the population distrusted the communists and the Communist Party because they were seen as serving the Soviet Union and not serving our country, is something that I very much grew up with," recalls Westad, whose latest book, *The Cold War: A World History* (Basic Books, 2017), was published this fall to critical acclaim. Westad's newest work on the Cold War explores, as he puts it, "this sense of

ABOVE

Odd Arne Westad learning to ski as a young boy in Norway in 1964. Later that year, the Cold War heats up half a world away after the passage of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution by the US Congress gives the Johnson administration the green light to dramatically escalate the war in Vietnam



divides, this sense of splits. It is something that I took on board from my own upbringing, which pushed me towards wanting to know more about the Cold War on a global scale.”

Westad, whose earlier seminal work *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* won Columbia University’s prestigious Bancroft Prize in 2006, has long immersed himself in the historical legacy of the Cold War. While he readily acknowledges that the topic has been the subject of a great deal of scholarship, Westad argues that much of that writing lacks a cohesive narrative about the global scale and ideological roots of the Cold War. “What I tried to do in this book is to take some of that wonderful literature, and some research that I’ve done on my own, and put that together in an overall syncretic account.”

To help weave this new narrative together, Westad attempted to put the Cold War within a broader perspective of 20th-century international history. “I wanted to put it within a framework that looks at it in terms of how 20th-century history, really from the latter part of the 19th, developed first and foremost in terms of ideological divides.” To illustrate the point, *The Cold War: A World History*, does not begin with the standard retelling of the division of Germany after Hitler’s fall or the Berlin Airlift. Rather, the story’s roots lie in a conflict of ideologies dating back to the late 19th century. “In terms of the conflict between capitalism and socialism, that was there well before the United States and the Soviet Union became the predominant world powers after the Second World War.” For Westad, you cannot understand the Cold War without understanding the ideological origins of its protagonists.

While Westad drew from decades of existing Cold War scholarship, he also traveled the globe, digging into newly available archival materials. In many ways, his timing was fortuitous. “Only a few years ago it was really hard to get at some of the materials that I’ve been using for writing this book because they were still classified, they were still secret, or they were held in archives where there simply was no access whatsoever,” said Westad. Traveling twice to Egypt to undertake research for his book, he admits that he was “very lucky with the timing of this, it was just after the revolution against Mubarak. And there was some access to archives in Cairo that hadn’t existed in the past. And from what I hear, do not exist today.”

Westad also spent significant time researching his book in India, a country rarely given more than a cursory glance in most retellings of the Cold War. On the surface, it is easy to see why the subcontinent would play such a seemingly minimal role in most accounts of the Cold War—with much of India and Pakistan’s early modern history consumed by the quest to shed the last vestiges of the British Raj. Nor are the partition in 1947 and subsequent regional conflicts between India and Pakistan often viewed through the historical prism of the Cold War because “in one sense it is a sort of anti-Cold War,” Westad suggests, referring to the fraught, 70-year relationship between these two South Asian powers. “Indian leaders did not like this bipolar approach that they felt was imposed on them. And seeing that with Indian documents is fascinating.”

With its emphasis on the ideological genesis of the conflict and Westad’s use of newly available archival accounts, *The Cold War: A World History* is part of a reshaping of how this topic is being taught in classrooms the world over. Most traditional histories of the Cold War have emphasized military affairs and

the two defining alliances of the conflict: NATO and the Warsaw Pact. For Westad, his hope is that this book is part of a broader, more contemporary view of the conflict, which comprises the economic, cultural, and political developments that have largely created the world we live in today.

FOR WESTAD, YOU CANNOT UNDERSTAND THE COLD WAR WITHOUT UNDERSTANDING THE IDEOLOGICAL ORIGINS OF ITS PROTAGONISTS

Westad, as both a historian and teacher of the Cold War, marvels over how most of his students at HKS came of age after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. “What’s so interesting about teaching the Cold War today is that the new generation who’ve grown up... tend to think of it, understandably, very much in terms of how they understand international affairs today, which is very interest-based and oriented very much towards the state that they come out of.”

Whereas Westad’s youth in Norway was marked by the ceaseless ideological struggle and the ever-present threat of military conflict, his students today find it hard to understand the ideological intensity of the Cold War. For many students, “it’s difficult to understand, I think, how high the stakes were and the kind of risks that people were willing to take during the Cold War in order to further their own positions.” While for most observers, the erosion of American military and political hegemony in the early 21st century marks a chaotic moment in international affairs, Westad cautions that in many ways “it pales in comparison to what the situation was when you had two nuclear superpowers coming up against each other—both willing to take exceptional risks with the future of the world in order to make sure that their ideological alternative came out on top.”

“It was,” as Westad reminds his students, “a battle for the future of the world.”





The Ash Center Presents America's Most Innovative Government Programs

This summer, the Ash Center announced the winner of its 2017 Innovations in American Government Award as well as its Roy and Lila Ash Innovation Award for Public Engagement in Government, a special award aimed at highlighting innovations in democratic governance from around the country. Connecticut Green Bank, a leader in green energy financing and the first institution of its kind in the United States, won the 2017 Innovations in American Government Award. The California Citizens Redistricting Commission, an independent panel approved by voters and charged with drawing the state's legislative boundaries, won 2017's special award for public engagement in government. Both winners, Connecticut and California, demonstrate that the spirit of innovation is alive and well in government agencies and departments from across the country.

Connecticut Green Bank

In order to stabilize our climate—preventing irreversible, catastrophic environmental changes—the United States needs to fill a \$160 billion funding gap for clean energy over the next 20 years. How can we meet this goal? Government can start by making sure its investments in clean energy sources go further than ever before by seeing 10 dollars of private-sector capital invested for every public dollar, rather than the much lower return ratios that many grant, rebate, and subsidy programs realize.

Connecticut Green Bank does exactly that.

In 2011, Governor Dannel Malloy and Connecticut's General Assembly established the country's first state green bank. Their aim was to spend wisely, create jobs, lower energy costs, and realize cleaner, cheaper, more reliable power sources. Their solution, the Connecticut Green Bank, uses small amounts of public dollars to attract large sums of private capital investment. The bank is funded through a number of means including the Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative, electric bill surcharges, federal funds, as well as private capital.

"We focus our limited funds on gaps in the market where the private sector has not yet offered a viable solution," said Bryan Garcia, CEO and president of the Connecticut Green Bank. From the private lender's point of view, clean energy investments are still relatively new and therefore have less performance history by which to assess risk. Public dollars help these companies get over that investment hurdle.

When Connecticut Green Bank was formed, green investment also lacked established financial tools in the way that industries like real estate have mortgages and home equity loans that are widely understood. Any lender acting as a first mover would face high transaction costs to generate new financial tools as well as to find and attract potential buyers. For that reason, Connecticut Green Bank has created over a dozen products and helped form a thriving market for renewable energy in the state.

Speaking at the Innovations in American Government Awards finalist event in May, Garcia noted that the metric the Green Bank is interested in isn't the size of the public sector's monetary investment in green energy, but rather the effective-

ness of that investment, something more akin to watts deployed per dollar. The Green Bank estimates that its initiatives have created more than 200 megawatts of renewable energy as well as over 13,000 jobs for the state. It has leveraged \$170 million in public financing to create an estimated \$1 billion in green projects.

Another important component of the Green Bank is bringing attention to low-income neighborhoods that can significantly benefit from green energy investments, but that might be overlooked by the private sector. "The issue of energy and climate change is actually linked to income, job opportunities, health, and resiliency. For our most vulnerable citizens, high energy costs are forcing them to trade off paying utilities with things like food, medicine, or housing," said Connecticut Green Bank Vice President Kerry O'Neill.

California Citizens Redistricting Commission

Like most states, the once-a-decade process of drawing new legislative boundaries in California was hardly an exercise in participatory democracy. The redistricting process was historically controlled by the state legislature and maps were drawn in secret, designed to extract maximum political advantage for incumbent officeholders. The results were clear. In 2002, the first election cycle for the US House of Representatives in California using the state's then-newly adopted legislative boundaries, saw not a single incumbent in California's 53-person large congressional delegation lose their seat. In fact, only one of the state's redrawn congressional districts was even considered competitive (the incumbent still won).

"Politicians picking their voters, rather than the voters picking their politicians, distorts and undermines the integrity of our electoral process," said Stanley Forbes, a member of California's independent Citizens Redistricting Commission. "Gerrymandering distorts fair outcomes by minimizing the votes of some while increasing the potency of others," added Forbes.

Advocates proposed a nonpartisan commission of California citizens to draw the state's legislative lines. Placed on the ballot in 2008, voters narrowly approved Proposition 11, the Voters FIRST Act, which authorized the creation of a new 14-member Citizens Redistricting Commission charged with drawing district lines for the State Senate, Assembly, and State Board of Equalization. Two years later, voters went to the polls again and approved Proposition 20, the Voters FIRST Act for Congress, which expanded the commission's role to include California's congressional seats.

The size and selection process of the commission was no accident. With 14 members, the commission was decidedly larger than other, earlier attempts at establishing redistricting commissions elsewhere in the country, which usually had only a handful of commissioners. The larger California body was designed to minimize the risk that individual commissioners would have outsized influence over the commission's deliberation, according to Michael Li, a senior counsel with the Democracy Program at the Brennan Center for Justice and a site evaluator for the Innovations in American Government Award program.

Membership on the commission, which is composed of five Democrats, five Republicans, and four members who declined to state their political affiliation, was overseen by the independent Bureau of State Audits. Nearly 30,000 Californians started the application process, which included rigorous financial disclosures and supplemental essay questions outlining their professional backgrounds, knowledge of California's diversity, and querying prospective members on why they wanted to serve on the commission.


During 2011, commissioners traveled throughout California, holding dozens of open meetings where they heard input from community members on how they hoped to see new district lines drawn. Many in the state's political elite scoffed at the prospect of average citizens successfully drawing new maps that could survive a court challenge or weather intense public and political scrutiny.

"Politicians have resisted reform, saying line drawing is inherently partisan or needs experts," said Forbes during his finalist presentation at Harvard in May. "There was widespread expectation among many elected officials and political insiders heading into the redrawing of maps in 2011 that the commission would fail," added the Brennan Center's Li. "Either the commission would deadlock or the maps they produced would be struck down by courts or commissioners, as 'amateurs' would prove unable to live up to the requirements of the job."

With active citizen participation, and a framework that encouraged consensus among its members, the commission set out to redraw the political landscape in the country's largest state. By and large they succeeded. "There has been a lot of turnover and change as a result," said Forbes. In 2012, the state saw nine highly-contested House races, with a number of senior members of Congress either opting to retire or losing their reelection bids. Thirty-eight new members were elected to the State Assembly. Remarking on this sharp increase in newly competitive seats across California, Li said that "although the commission was expressly prohibited from drawing maps based on political outcomes, the maps drawn by the commission nonetheless improved competitiveness by returning community-focused districts, roughly tripling the number of districts considered competitive."

Spreading Two Award-Winning Ideas

While California's Citizens Redistricting Commission may be the most ambitious attempt yet at redistricting reform, advocates are hoping that it won't be the last. Cities and states across the country are looking to California's experience in non-partisan, citizen-driven redistricting as an antidote to partisan gerrymandering. "As in many other states, we've been troubled by the levels of partisanship and failures at problem-solving in our legislature and in Congress, but there's little turnover among lawmakers and very few competitive elections," said Bob Warner, a government reform advocate from Pennsylvania active with Fair Districts PA, a coalition of civic groups pushing the state legislature in Harrisburg to adopt a redistricting commission similar to California's. "We think California's model would eliminate the partisan element of recent redistricting efforts and begin to restore some sense that voters are choosing our representatives."

The Connecticut Green Bank has already taken hold, with New York, New Jersey, and Rhode Island each creating their own versions of the model. Colorado, Maryland, and Nevada are slated to open their own green banks, as well. Both Innovations Award winners received \$100,000 grants from the Ash Center for dissemination and replication activities to encourage other jurisdictions to adopt the ideas and to build constituencies and political support. 



TOP
Representatives from the 11 finalists for the Innovations in American Government Awards gathered in the Forum at the Kennedy School in May to make their presentations to the National Selection Committee

SECOND
Kerry O'Neill and Bryan Garcia from Connecticut Green Bank present to the National Selection Committee, who quizzed them on the challenges of securing public funding to make green energy financing accessible and affordable

THIRD
Stanley Forbes from the California Citizens Redistricting Commission and Kathay Feng from Common Cause make their winning presentation

BOTTOM
Former California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger speaks at an event in Washington, DC, honoring the California Citizens Redistricting Commission. In office during the creation of the commission, he spoke of the achievements of its first redrawn map and how he now works to combat gerrymandering through his philanthropy

A Refresh for the Innovations in American Government Award

This fall, the Ash Center announced a major restructuring to its flagship innovations program, the Innovations in American Government Award. For more than 30 years, the Innovations Award has sought to recognize public-sector programs that make American government more efficient, more creative, and more effective at addressing social problems and providing services to the public. The changes to the Award program are designed to better meet these goals by seeking applicants focused on a single, intractable problem in American society today. With a new, streamlined application and evaluation process, the Awards will now be offered annually. The 2018 Award cycle seeks initiatives focused on improving economic and social mobility.

The Innovations in American Government Award is heralded as the premier public-sector honor in the nation and continues to celebrate programs that serve as examples of creative and effective government at its best. The \$50,000 top prize is open to programs at all levels of government—federal, state, local, tribal, and territorial—from within the United States. Finalists will also receive monetary grants. The Ash Center will utilize resources and expertise from across the Harvard University community, as well as preeminent authorities in the field, to select the top finalists and ultimate winner of the Innovations in American Government Award.

Alumni in the Field

Teaching in Technicolor: Alumna Transforms Myanmar Education with Virtual Reality



“Ninety-nine percent of Myanmar students have never been outside of the country. Now, with VR, they can go to the moon”

“I was a misfit, not book-smart,” reflects Hla Hla Win, MC/MPA ’16. After the ninth grade, Win walked out of her school in Myanmar and didn’t return. Fifteen years later, she walked across the stage at Harvard Kennedy School’s 2016 commencement and into her role as founder and CEO of a social enterprise named 360°ed. Win’s dedication to transforming the antiquated education system that impeded her early learning fueled an over decade-long journey from dropout to social entrepreneur.

As a young student, Win struggled to learn in the rigid structure of a Myanmar classroom. There, teachers often lecture 80 pupils at a time and no room is given for students to ask questions. Information lives on the pages of old black-and-white textbooks and learning happens during repetitive exercises. Win finished her education on her own and passed her matriculation exams with distinctions. She then taught locally for three years before leaving to get a bachelor’s degree in K-12 education from William Penn University in Iowa.

Win returned to Myanmar in 2008 passionate about the new teaching methods she observed in the US. She was eager to apply modern pedagogical theories to classrooms at home, but teachers met her enthusiasm with blank stares. Reflecting on this experience, Win observes, “They just couldn’t relate to what I was saying, the classrooms were too different. They couldn’t visualize what it was like to be in a student-centered learning environment.”

It became clear teachers in Myanmar needed to experience firsthand the modern classrooms Win was trying to describe, but with less than 2 percent

of Myanmar’s GDP going toward education, flying them across the globe wasn’t an option.

Not to be deterred, Win pursued other avenues to make a difference. She created scholarship programs for students in her country and worked in various education institutions ranging from capacity-building programs for new governments in transition to international colleges to building liberal arts colleges in Myanmar. Her experiences brought her back to the US and eventually to Harvard Kennedy School.

Win, who was a Ford Foundation Mason Fellow with the Ash Center, spent her time at HKS advancing her studies on education, policy, and business. She conducted comparative research into education reforms, looking at how countries like Indonesia and Malaysia were able to modernize their school systems. She honed her public speaking skills and offered her perspective at a special event discussing Myanmar’s momentous 2015 elections with the Ash Center’s Tommy Vallely, Senior Advisor for Mainland Southeast Asia, and David Dapice, Senior Economist for the Vietnam and Myanmar Programs. She also expanded her network, getting involved with Harvard’s i-Lab, an innovation incubation space, and Harvard Business School.

Win’s time at the School was formative. As she puts it, “It helped me define who I wanted to become.” When Win walked across the stage in May 2016, she wasn’t only holding a diploma, but a desire to serve and a new plan for a business that could fulfill her dream of transforming Myanmar’s education system.

After graduation, Win continued her work with the Ash Center as a research fellow during the 2016-17

academic year. In tandem, the Global Solution Program at Singularity University, a Silicon Valley initiative designed to help entrepreneurs create moonshot innovations to the benefit of humanity, welcomed Win to its ranks. There she learned more about new technologies, such as virtual reality (VR) and augmented reality (AR), and met Laurent Boinot, another entrepreneur passionate about education, and Perttu Pölonen, creator of music-teaching innovation MusiClock. Together, Boinot, Pölonen, and Win decided to make the dream of bringing teachers to classrooms around the world a reality using VR technology. 360°ed was born.

Win returned to Myanmar in 2016, this time prepared to prove that student-centered learning was possible. In January 2017, 360°ed launched. The company’s team and services grew rapidly, and now they offer multiple key services.

Teachers can be transported to classrooms around the world with 360°ed’s immersive footage; all the teachers have to do is don a VR headset. “The teachers can look around and listen,” says Win, “they can almost walk around.” This experience fulfills Win’s original dream at a fraction of the cost of bringing teachers to the US. VR headsets are affordable; they come in a cardboard version, which makes the solution scalable for a cash-strapped country.

Students aren’t left out of the experience. VR and AR solutions from 360°ed bring the dated textbook pages to life. Geography lessons in Myanmar used to consist of drawing maps, and as the 360°ed website notes, “Studying in a rote way can be as effective as sleeping pills for digital natives.” Now, using just a smartphone, students and parents can scan textbooks to bring up engaging 2-D or 3-D models. Students can leave the classroom, without ever leaving their chair, to visit the locations they’re learning about in school by using VR. “Ninety-nine percent of Myanmar students have never been outside of the country,” remarks Win, “now, with VR they can go to the moon.”

And, the learning doesn’t stop there. 360°ed has also created an innovation lab that encourages students to explore, design, build, and invent. The enterprise hosts workshops that give learners hands-on experience with modern technologies like 3-D printers and laser-cutters. Students leave as creators and makers, not just consumers.

360°ed will continue to grow and there’s potential for the solution to be applied to other communities and countries. Meanwhile, Win notes, “we are removing the barriers to education—that’s very satisfying.”

“If I had tools like this when I was in school,” Win reflects, “I would have been a number one student.”

Student Focus

Ash Center Supports Experiential Learning and Research Activities for Students

The Ash Center is committed to encouraging careers in the public sector, providing opportunities for students to explore in greater depth the topics and questions of most interest to them, and strengthening the connection between students and faculty affiliated with the Center. During the summer of 2017, the Center supported and facilitated a number of opportunities for students.

Ash Center Summer Fellowship in Innovation

Since 2008, the Center has been placing students in summer fellowships with some of the most creative and effective public officials and policy advisors in the country, not only to learn but also to add value by sharing cutting-edge trends and ideas explored at HKS. This summer, six HKS students were hosted by public-sector agencies: **Aliya Bhatia**, MPP '18, North Mississippi Industrial Development Association; **Cole Boskey**, MPP '18, Department of Information Technology, Massachusetts; **Daniel Lander**, MPP '18, Mayor's Office of New Urban Mechanics, Boston, Massachusetts; **Vanessa Lion**, MPP '18, Office of Information Technology and Innovation, New Orleans, Louisiana; **Sibella Matthews**, MPP '18, Department of Innovation and Technology, Illinois; **Layla O'Kane**, MPA/ID '18, Boston Women's Workforce Council, Massachusetts

Innovation Field Lab Summer Fellows

Beginning in 2015, the Ash Center Summer Fellowship in Innovation has included a number of additional placements, with funding support from the Taubman Center's Government Performance Lab. These student fellows continue the work done by students in the Innovation Field Lab experiential learning course, which works to create data-driven solutions to problem properties in partner cities in Massachusetts. The students work full-time in Field Lab cities, implementing and refining the innovations designed during the semester. During the summer of 2017, six students served as Innovation Field Lab Summer Fellows in the following Massachusetts cities:

Sean Alaback, Harvard Extension School '17, Innovation Field Lab cities at large

Jessica Kahlenberg, MC/MPA '17, Chelsea
Christine Koh, MPP '18, Fitchburg
Lisa Salerno, MC/MPA '17, Salem
Manuel Schuler, MPA '18, Winthrop
Marisol Thomer, MC/MPA '18, Lawrence

Bloomberg Harvard City Leadership Initiative Summer Fellows

The Bloomberg Harvard City Leadership Initiative, which provides city leaders with customized executive education focused on leadership and innovation in governance, welcomed its first summer fellows this year. The four fellows conducted research on behalf of the initiative and the 40 cities enrolled in the 2017-18 program.

Lisa Cox, Master of Liberal Arts, Harvard Extension School
Fernando Fernandez-Monge, MC/MPA '17, Harvard Kennedy School
Julia Rosenbaum, MPP '18, Harvard Kennedy School; MBA '18, Tuck School of Business at Dartmouth
Sanjay Seth, MPA '19, Harvard Kennedy School; Master in Urban Planning '18, Harvard Graduate School of Design

China Programs Student Research Grants

The China Programs financially supports Harvard University students pursuing China-related internships, independent research, and other forms of study conducted in China.

Shen Zheng, HKS MPA '19/MIT MBA '19: How Charity Foundations Drive Business Performance and Operational Efficiency of Grantee and Investee Projects

Vietnam Program Internships

For summer 2017, the Vietnam Program provided awards for two HKS students and one undergraduate student from Harvard College to pursue summer internships at the Fulbright

Economics Teaching Program in Ho Chi Minh City.

Adnan Mahmood Awan, MPA '18: Researched feasibility of using land-based financing for infrastructure projects in Lahore and Ho Chi Minh City.

Vedant Bahl, Harvard College '20: Conducted an estimation of long-run elasticities for demand in Vietnam.

Ian Yeunsoo Lee, MPP '18: Conducted independent research project examining the economic development of Vietnam, focusing on why state-owned enterprises in the country have not become like the large conglomerates ("chaebols") in South Korea.



LEFT
 During her Ash Summer Fellowship in Innovation, **Sibella Matthews MPP '18** was based in the Illinois Department of Innovation and Technology and worked on projects under the Governor's Children's Cabinet. She is pictured with Governor **Bruce Rauner** who established the Cabinet in February 2016



ABOVE MIDDLE
Aliya Bhatia MPP '18 (center) partnered with the staff of several Mississippi community colleges on a social media campaign to raise awareness about ongoing workforce trainings in the community. She is pictured here with **Terry Logan** and **Stacy Clayton**, staff from East Mississippi Community College

ABOVE BOTTOM
Layla O'Kane MPA/ID '18 (left) spent last summer working with the Boston Women's Workforce Council to enhance their data collection and analysis methodologies towards ending the gender pay gap in the Greater Boston area. Pictured here with her colleagues and Boston Mayor **Marty Walsh**

Student Focus

Meet the 2017 Martha H. Mauzy Award Winner

This spring, graduating MPA student Kate O’Gorman was honored as the inaugural recipient of the Ash Center’s Martha H. Mauzy Award for Advancement of Democratic Governance. The award was established in honor of Mauzy upon her retirement as the Center’s executive director in February 2017 and in recognition of her championing the development and continued expansion of the Center’s student programs during her tenure. The Class Day Award, presented to a graduating HKS student who demonstrates a “unique commitment, through scholarship and practice, to making governance more participatory, transparent, responsive, or representative,” has been the capstone of a demanding two years for O’Gorman, who in addition to her MPA also managed to complete a dual-degree program with Stanford’s Graduate School of Business.

O’Gorman was an undergraduate at Barnard College when a charismatic freshman senator from Illinois launched what was assumed to be a longshot bid for the presidency. “I could see a big upswell of change and excitement, and real hope for [the] more systemic changes that I thought were needed,” she reflected, looking back at Barack Obama’s early message of optimism and change. After Barnard, O’Gorman, following the new president’s call to public service, headed south to Washington, DC, and ultimately landed a job with Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America (IAVA), a new veterans organization that had been working to build support for the Post-9/11 Veterans Educational Assistance Act of 2008 and tackle issues related to veteran employment, mental health, and suicide prevention. “I was excited about how much they were impacting the debate at the national level on veterans’ issues, so I joined the team,” she recalled.

At IAVA, O’Gorman ultimately rose to become the organization’s political director, where she helped lead a successful campaign to push the Obama administration to issue an executive order on veteran suicide prevention. She also worked to convince Congress to pass the Clay Hunt Suicide Prevention for American Veterans Act, which increased access to mental health care for veterans and provided increased resources and accountability for mental health and suicide prevention efforts at the Department of Veterans Affairs.

Yet even as O’Gorman was succeeding at passing legislation and training a new generation of veteran leaders, she was frustrated with how the laws she helped to pass and the executive orders she worked to convince the president to sign would stumble in their execution. “I started to see us be able to pass bill after bill that created hope for real change happening for veterans. But even the best bills were



“How do you actually create an inclusive economic development plan that can spur the entire city forward?”

Kate O’Gorman MPA ‘17
2017 Martha H. Mauzy Award Winner

often frustrated in their implementation.” The issue came to a head with the Veterans Health Administration scandal in 2014, in which reports surfaced that some VA facilities kept multiple sets of waiting lists and veterans were having difficulty securing appointments at hospitals and clinics.

O’Gorman, watching as these scandals were unfolding, wanted to transition from advocating policy to understanding how to implement the programs that she helped become law. “I wanted to go both to Harvard Kennedy School and the Stanford Business School to learn about how services could be delivered. How you could take some of the lessons learned in the business community such as user experience and design thinking, and bring them into the government space.”

At HKS, O’Gorman enrolled in Ash Center resident faculty affiliate Marshall Ganz’s highly regarded *Public Narrative* class, which she describes as a highlight of her experience at the School. “I was kind of forced to look back at those stories that made me think about politics,” said O’Gorman. “For a long time I thought I was accidentally interested in politics—that I had just been part of this Obama generation—that I didn’t have real experiences before then

that had shaped why that moment captured me. And, through *Public Narrative*, I recalled moments where people had my back when I was facing really difficult times. And then I saw systems fail them. Or moments when I was feeling lost or stuck, and a teacher was there for me. I started to realize why community and why [my hometown of] Cleveland is so important to me. And why I wanted to go home.”

O’Gorman then served as a teaching fellow for Ganz where she built upon her lessons from his public narrative class and her own professional background to help coach students working on a number of different community organizing projects as part of Ganz’s class on organizing. “She has been an incredibly effective coach and invested an enormous amount of effort in developing the leadership skills of others,” said Ganz.

With a newly minted MPA in hand, O’Gorman has headed back to Cleveland, Ohio, where she is excited about the possibility of helping to shape the city’s future economic trajectory. “How do you actually create an inclusive economic development plan that can spur the entire city forward,” she asks. It’s a question for which she’s surely going to try her hardest to find an answer. ●

Rebuilding Our Democracy Through Redistricting Reform



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT

The Ash Center's redistricting conference was held in the ornate Ames Courtroom at Harvard Law School; Democratic campaign strategist Kelly Ward MPP '06 discusses how the party is approaching 2020; Professor Alex Keyssar lectures on the history of gerrymandering; Chris Jankowski, a GOP political operative, reflects on post-2010 redistricting

In 2010, disenchantment with the sluggish pace of the country's economic recovery and concern about President Obama's signature health care reform law led to Republicans up and down the ballot scoring significant electoral gains across the country. Perhaps nowhere was that landslide victory more powerful than in Wisconsin. Milwaukee County Executive Scott Walker, a Republican, beat his Democratic opponent to capture the governor's mansion in Madison. Badger State Republicans also won majorities in the Wisconsin State Assembly and Senate, giving them full control of the state government.

Their 2010 victories could not have come at a more opportune time for Wisconsin Republicans as states across the country would soon begin the once-a-decade process of redrawing legislative boundaries. For the Wisconsin GOP, the redistricting process was a unique opportunity to lock in their political gains for years to come by drawing highly partisan legislative maps. The results were striking. In 2012, Republicans secured 60 of the 99 seats in the Wisconsin Assembly despite winning only 48.6 percent of the two-party statewide vote.

For William Whitford, professor of law emeritus at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, the state's gerrymandered legislative districts disenfranchised Wisconsin voters. "In a democracy citizens are supposed to choose their legislators. In Wisconsin, legislators have chosen their voters," he wrote in a lawsuit challenging the constitutionality of Wisconsin's legislative districts. Over several years, Whitford's lawsuit wended its way through the federal courts before ultimately landing on the docket of the

Supreme Court, which this fall heard oral arguments in *Gill v. Whitford* challenging the constitutionality of Wisconsin's partisan gerrymandering.


The Whitford case, along with a slew of redistricting reform initiatives proposed or enacted in states across the country, is part of a renewed push to tame the anti-democratic impulses inherent in partisan gerrymandering. In May, through its Innovations in American Government Award, the Ash Center recognized the importance of redistricting reform when it honored the California Citizens Redistricting Commission with its Roy and Lila Ash Innovation Award for Public Engagement in Government (see page 10).

As part of its ongoing efforts to disseminate best practices on redistricting reform, the Ash Center sponsored a convening of scholars, practitioners, and advocates at Harvard to discuss political and legal strategies for helping to restore integrity to the once esoteric process of drawing legislative maps. Nearly 300 people filed into the ornate Ames Courtroom at Harvard Law School on a brisk morning in November for a daylong conference featuring scholars, legal experts, activists, partisans, and other panelists providing unique insight into the history of gerrymandering, the role of race in redistricting, the current crisis of the US census, and examining the landscape for reform.

"Reform is possible," intoned Miles Rapoport, Senior Practice Fellow in American Democracy at the Ash Center and principal organizer of the conference. Dean Douglas Elmendorf framed the day's proceedings with an exhortation to help protect the sanctity of the vote and defend the strengths of our democracy: "The right to vote is, as you know, at the heart

of democracy, and this right is devalued if our votes don't matter. It is not enough to have the vote. It's not enough to count votes. Votes need to count. Votes need to matter for the outcome."

Attendees heard from a variety of speakers including Alex Keyssar, Matthew W. Stirling, Jr. Professor of History and Social Policy and Ash Center faculty affiliate, who gave a presentation on the tortuous history of gerrymandering; Democratic Party redistricting specialist Kelly Ward and Chris Jankowski, her GOP counterpart, who spoke about how both political parties are likely to approach redistricting after the next Census; and Washington Post columnist E.J. Dionne, who moderated a panel examining reform initiatives sprouting up in states across the country.

"The conference was an important opportunity for all of us—scholars, practitioners, activists, citizens—to engage in this issue and to fight for a robust American democracy," said Rapoport. Whether the Supreme Court ultimately sides with Whitford and strikes down Wisconsin's partisan maps or allows the practice of gerrymandering to continue, most attendees of the conference seemed to feel that the moment has come to restore integrity to the mapmaking process. "There is a real robust movement for reform and change—whether through litigation, ballot initiatives, legislative reforms, and public demonstrations," said Rapoport. "The esoteric process of mapmaking has deeply affected the decisions that create the conditions under which we all live our lives." 

Fellows Focus

Meet Our New Fellows

Ford Foundation Mason Fellows

The Ford Foundation Mason Fellowships are awarded to meritorious mid-career students with financial need and a demonstrated interest in the overarching issues of concern to the Ash Center to study at HKS for an intensive, one-year master's degree in public administration. Mason Fellows come from developing, newly industrialized, and transitional economy countries. The Center is sponsoring the following students for this academic year:

Prabhat Kumar, MC/MPA '18, Nepal
Glen Mpani, MC/MPA '18, Zimbabwe
Rawan Zeine, MC/MPA '18, Jordan

Roy and Lila Ash Fellow

The Roy and Lila Ash Fellowship in Democracy supports students with a strong interest in the broad questions of democratic governance, a capacity for leadership, a commitment to search and inquiry, and a dedication to advancements in social justice and service to citizens around the world. This year's Roy and Lila Ash Fellow is:

Ashley Spillane, MC/MPA '18, United States

Dalio Scholars

The Dalio Fellowship is awarded each year to Chinese students with financial need. Leading candidates will be proven leaders in philanthropy or will demonstrate clear philanthropy sector leadership potential.

Vanessa Ningzi Piao, MPP '19
Yuheng Wen, MPP '19

Post-Master's Research Fellows

The Center annually appoints a select number of recent HKS graduates for an opportunity to conduct independent research under the guidance of Ash Center faculty. Their projects are closely aligned with the Center's research agenda and include such topics as social movements, democratization, government innovations, and state-society relations. This fall, we welcomed the following six new fellows:

Rodrigo Diamanti, MPA '17
Shira Miller, MC/MPA '17
Cecilia Nicolini, MC/MPA '17

David Razu Aznar, MC/MPA Mason Fellow '17
Kinga Tshering, MC/MPA Mason Fellow '17
Hamada Zahawi, MC/MPA '17

China Programs Senior Fellows

The Center's China Programs on occasion welcomes and hosts senior faculty members whose research agenda aligns with the China Programs' areas of research. This fall, the Center welcomed the following two Senior Fellows:

Yasheng Huang, International Program Professor in Chinese Economy and Business, MIT Sloan School of Management
Christine Wong, Director, Centre for Contemporary Chinese Studies, University of Melbourne

China Public Policy

Postdoctoral Fellowships

The Center's China Programs offers two postdoctoral fellowships in the field of contemporary Chinese public policy to recent PhDs of exceptional promise. The China Programs welcomed the following two new postdoctoral fellows for AY2017-18:

Chengpang Lee, PhD in Sociology, University of Chicago
Junpeng Li, PhD in Sociology, Columbia University

Democracy Fellowships

The Center's Democracy Fellowships welcomes doctoral candidates as well as postdoctoral and senior scholars in research areas related to democratic governance. This year, the following new Democracy Fellows joined the Center:

Joshua Forstenzer, PhD in Philosophy, University of Sheffield
Clarissa Hayward, Associate Professor of Political Science, Washington University
Markus Holdo, PhD in Political Science, Uppsala University
Maria Maroto, PhD Candidate, Political Science Institute, Catholic University of Chile
Charles Petersen, PhD Candidate, American Studies, Harvard University
Thamy Pogrebinski, Senior Researcher, WZB Berlin Social Science Research Center
Carolyn Roush, PhD in Political Science, Vanderbilt University

Aksel Sundstrom, PhD in Political Science, University of Gothenburg

Alice Xu, PhD Candidate, Department of Government, Harvard University

History and Public Policy Fellowships

The Initiative on History and Public Policy at Harvard Kennedy School, based at the Ash Center, seeks to attract outstanding doctoral and postdoctoral fellows who are engaged in cutting-edge historical research that is informed by, or seeks to illuminate, issues of contemporary public policy. In AY2017-18, the Center welcomed the following four fellows:

Tatiana Cruz, PhD Candidate, University of Michigan
Yakov Feygin, PhD in History, University of Pennsylvania
Julian Gewirtz, PhD Candidate, Harvard University
Aroop Mukharji, PhD Candidate, Harvard Kennedy School

Innovations in Government Fellowships

The Ash Center occasionally hosts scholars and practitioners to explore issues pertaining to innovations in government. This fall the Center welcomed the following four fellows:

Herman Bolhaar, Chairman, Board of Prosecutors General, the Netherlands
Maria Jesus Garcia Garcia, Professor, University of Valencia, Spain
Alyson Gounden Rock, Joint Research Fellow, CPL and WAPPP, HKS
Kai Wegrich, Professor of Public Administration and Public Policy, Hertie School of Governance, Germany

Asia Fellowships Program

The Ash Center's Asia Fellowship Program allows academics as well as practitioners the freedom to pursue independent research projects on public policy issues related to Asia, with the help of the Center's Rajawali Foundation Institute for Asia and other Harvard resources. The Center welcomed 26 new Asia Fellows this fall. For a complete listing of this year's fellows, please visit the Ash Center website at ash.harvard.edu.

Technology and Democracy Non-Resident Fellowships

The Technology and Democracy Fellowship is part of an Ash Center initiative to explore technology's role in improving democratic governance—with a focus on connecting to practice and on helping HKS students develop crucial technology skills. The Center welcomed six new fellows this semester.

Fatima Alam, Researcher on Trust and Safety, Google
Tiffani Ashley Bell, Founder and Executive Director, The Human Utility
Jeff Maher, Consultant, Commonwealth of Massachusetts Digital Team
Marina Martin, Public Interest Technology Fellow, New America Foundation
Aaron Ogle, Director of Product, OpenGov Foundation
Mjumba Poe, Cofounder and Chief Technology Officer, FixList

Program on Crisis Leadership Fellowships

The Program on Crisis Leadership (PCL) offers fellows appointments to academics and senior practitioners conducting research on issues relating to emergency preparedness, crisis response, and disaster recovery. This fall, PCL welcomed **Dr. Simon O'Rourke**, Police Inspector, Counter Terrorism & Emergency Response Command, Western Australia Police.

Democratic Governance

Program Visiting Fellowships

The Ash Center occasionally hosts scholars and professionals from the government, academia, and nonprofit sector to address issues related to democratization, public participation, and social movements. This fall the Center welcomed the following visitors:

Leonardo da Silveira Ev, PhD Candidate, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Brazil
Kanoko Kamata, Executive Director, Community Organizing Japan
Haroldo Ramanzini Junior, Assistant Professor, Federal University of Uberlândia, Brazil

Fellows Spotlight

Christian Zionism, the Religious Right, and Donald Trump: History's Role in Contemporary Politics

"Make America great again," Donald Trump's 2016 presidential campaign slogan, might not sound religious to the average political observer. One historian, however, hears a different tune.

"Looking at his [Trump's] language, and particularly even something that most of us would agree is not really religious, like 'Make America great again,' you'll see that it actually has a historical background," says Dan Hummel, history scholar and Ash Center History and Public Policy Fellow AY2016-17.

Starting in the 1970s, the religious right emerged as an important political constituency, and with it came a new type of revivalism that focused on restoring the morals of the nation—not the individual soul. Hummel explains that this revivalist nationalism became embedded in the contemporary politics of Christian America and, by 1980, Ronald Reagan drew upon the movement with his presidential campaign slogan, "Let's make America great again." By using revivalist language about American decline, particularly moral and religious deterioration, Reagan implied that his then-potential presidency would renew the country spiritually.

Hummel recalls Reagan's slogan and the words of religious figures like Billy Graham and Jerry Falwell when he hears Trump's rhetoric. As Hummel writes in a 2016 *Religions* academic journal article, "We can observe a gradual secularization of revivalist nationalism, one that could even accommodate a non-evangelical figure like Donald Trump." He concludes, "Trump is the most recent in a long line of deft leaders—media savvy, charismatic, at home in front of a crowded stadium—who have continued to rely on revivalist forms to shape and share their message."

Trump's language is just one example of how historical references can cast a new light on modern politics and policy. Hummel has long understood that religion plays an important part in politics and that it influences many of

our actions. In his role as a historian, he has worked to reveal how religious political movements, like revivalist nationalism, have changed over time.

Hummel is principally an expert in Christian Zionism, a religious movement with both biblical and modern roots. Growing up an evangelical Christian, Hummel had a reservoir of knowledge about Israel and the Church's support for the state from a young age. That knowledge was expanded during his undergraduate, graduate, and doctoral studies on the history of US-Middle East relations and diplomacy, ultimately culminating in a dissertation about the rise of Christian Zionist activism after 1948.

Since the 1940s, Christian Zionism has become a global movement with a vast network of organizations. Both American and global Christian Zionism have promoted a theological, political, and cultural transformation in Christian attitudes toward Jews and Israel which has shaped US-Israel diplomacy and Jewish-Christian relations around the globe. Hummel has documented the movement's growth and changes, working in both American and Israeli archives, in Hebrew and English.

Before 2016, Hummel's documentation ended in 1980, a modern time period for most historians. However, Hummel knew that there was a growing interest in Christian Zionism and that his work had contemporary implications. At that point, he joined the Ash Center's History and Public Policy fellowship program and was encouraged to take the next step with his work. Under the guidance of Moshik Temkin, Associate Professor of Public Policy and Ash resident faculty affiliate, and other historians at Harvard Kennedy School, Hummel tackled present issues and changes in the movement.

While at the Ash Center, Hummel wrote about "the new Christian Zionism," the shift of Christian Zionism from an Anglo-American movement to a global movement with strong roots in countries like Brazil, Nigeria, and South Korea. Hummel notes,



ABOVE

US President Donald Trump meets with Israeli President Reuven Rivlin in Jerusalem in May 2017



LEFT

Dan Hummel, History and Public Policy Fellow AY2016-17

"There's an interesting history in how a movement that used to be largely American has become a global movement." The change in the movement is evocative of the way other historians talk about the 20th century as the height of American influence. Today, global powers outside of the US are influencing policy regarding Israel as they do on a number of other issues. Hummel remarks, "The Christian Zionist lobby in America today is not nearly, I would say, as influential as a lot of people think they are." Hummel understands the lobby instead as one part of a complex and increasingly international movement.

Now a Kingdon Fellow at the University of Madison-Wisconsin, Hummel has not stopped thinking about the modern implications of his work and his forthcoming book, *A Covenant of*

the Mind: Evangelicals, Israel, and the Construction of a Special Relationship (University of Pennsylvania Press), will address Christian Zionism through the present. He sees value in continuing to draw a connection between history and public policy. "I think a lot of policymakers and people in the policy-making process just don't know the history," Hummel says. "A historical approach to public policy problems can give us a sense of what has worked before and why, and that is so important to understanding if a policy in the future will perform the same way it has in the past." He concludes, "A historical approach can also help us understand the diverse and often unfamiliar reasons why people support different policies and outcomes based on factors including religious belief."



On the Bookshelf

The Cold War: A World History

Odd Arne Westad
Basic Books, 2017

In this work, Odd Arne Westad greatly expands our interpretation of the Cold War, both geographically and chronologically, arguing that it must be understood as a global ideological confrontation, with early roots in the Industrial Revolution and ongoing repercussions around the world.

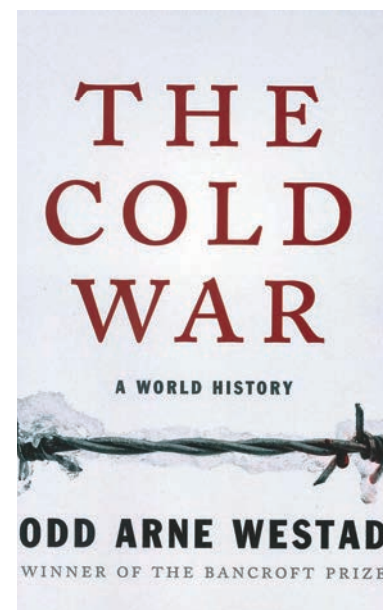
With *The Cold War*, Westad offers a new perspective on a century when great power rivalry and ideological battle transformed every corner of our globe. From Soweto to Hollywood, Hanoi, and Hamburg, young men and women felt they were fighting for the future of the world. The Cold War may have begun on the perimeters of Europe, but it had its deepest reverberations in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, where nearly every community had to choose sides. And these choices continue to define economies and regimes across the world.

Today, many regions are plagued with environmental threats, social divides, and ethnic conflicts that stem from this era. Its ideologies influence China, Russia, and the United States; Iraq and Afghanistan

have been destroyed by the faith in purely military solutions that emerged from the Cold War.

When asked about changing perceptions of the Cold War and the implications for his new book, Westad noted of today, “We get to have a much broader, much more contemporary view of what this conflict was about in terms of understanding how many aspects of it, not just the military, not just the strategic, [but] economic, cultural, political [forces] in a broader sense, created the world that we live in today.” Westad offers an engaging new history of how today’s world was created.

Read more in our profile on page 8.



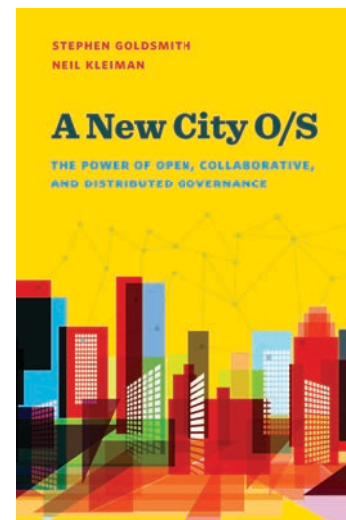
A New City O/S: The Power of Open, Collaborative, and Distributed Governance

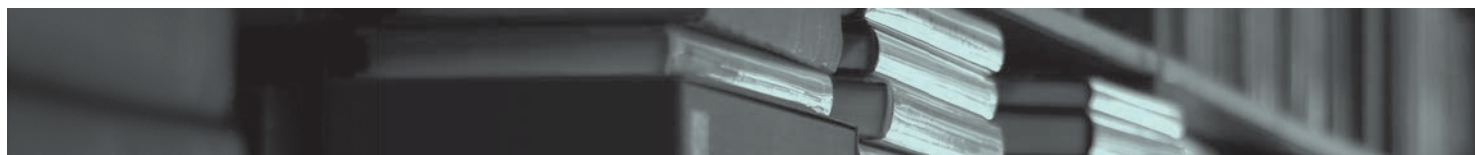
Stephen Goldsmith, Neil Kleiman
Brookings Institution Press and Ash Center, 2017

At a time when trust is dropping precipitously and American government at the national level has fallen into a state of long-term, partisan-based gridlock, local government can still be effective—indeed more effective and even more responsive to the needs of its citizens. Based on decades of direct experience and years studying successful models around the world, the authors of this intriguing book propose a new operating system (O/S) for cities. Former Mayor of Indianapolis and Director of the Ash Center’s Innovations in American Government Program Stephen Goldsmith and New York University Professor Neil Kleiman suggest ways for cities to build on the giant leaps that have been made in technology, social engagement, and big data.

Calling their approach “distributed governance,” the authors offer a model that allows public officials to mobilize new resources, surface ideas from un-

conventional sources, and arm employees with the information they need to become preemptive problem-solvers. This book highlights lessons from the many innovations taking place in today’s cities to show how a new O/S can create systemic transformation. By weaving real-life examples into a coherent model, the authors have created a step-by-step guide for all those who would put the needs of citizens front and center.





Public Health Preparedness: Case Studies in Policy and Management

Arnold M. Howitt, Herman B. "Dutch" Leonard, David W. Giles, eds.
American Public Health Association Press, 2017

This new volume, edited by Arnold Howitt, Herman "Dutch" Leonard, and David Giles of the Ash and Taubman Centers' Program on Crisis Leadership, contains 15 Harvard Kennedy School case studies on public health emergency preparedness and response. Offering detailed accounts of natural disasters, infectious disease outbreaks, and acts of bioterrorism that have occurred in the United States and Canada from the 1990s through present day, the book includes chapters on Superstorm Sandy, the 2009 H1N1 pandemic, the 2014 Ebola outbreak, SARS, the 2001 anthrax attacks and hoaxes, the 1995 Chicago heat wave, and several other major emergencies and hazards. An introductory chapter, as well as overviews of and discussion questions for each case, provide readers with an analytical framework and emphasize key concepts to help facilitate the use of the material in classroom instruction. Among other core themes of crisis response, the ed-

itors explore the challenges of recognizing and addressing novel situations, developing and maintaining situational awareness, mobilizing surge capacity, multi-organizational coordination, and relations between political and operational leaders. Illuminating these and a number of other difficult and complex tasks the public health community faces when readying for and responding to disasters, *Public Health Preparedness* is intended for a wide range of readers, including senior practitioners enrolled in continuing education and executive education programs; graduate students studying public policy, administration, health, and planning; public health professionals and specialists in related fields; and concerned citizens. For more on other publications developed by the Program on Crisis Leadership, including additional case studies on this topic, visit hks.harvard.edu/centers/research-initiatives/crisisleadership/publications.



Strengthening Electoral Integrity

Pippa Norris
Cambridge University Press, 2017

Many elections around the world fail to meet international standards. Even small flaws in contests can erode public confidence, which is difficult to restore. New electoral risks metastasize, including from lapses in cybersecurity, disinformation campaigns, and the rise of populist authoritarianism.

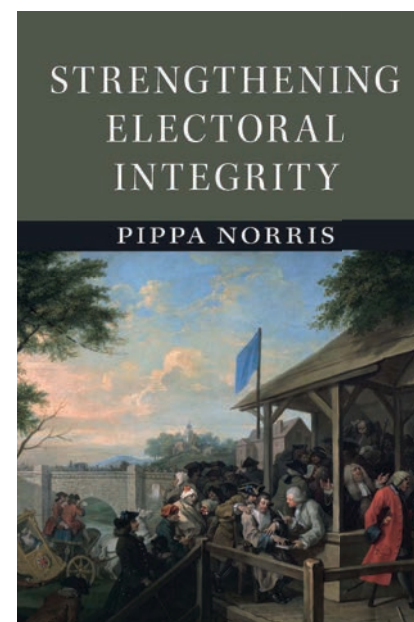
What works to fix common problems? And what solutions prove most effective? This final volume in a trilogy from the Electoral Integrity Project confronts head-on the resigned pessimism surrounding recent efforts to strengthen elections and, more broadly, to reverse the decline of democracy worldwide. Most aid is invested in the riskiest contexts, while expectations are commonly inflated. Agencies need better evidence to evaluate programs. Electoral problems need more than technical fixes, as political will is often lacking.

To counter the prevailing ethos, Ash Center faculty affiliate Pippa Norris presents a pragmatic demonstration of several common types of electoral assistance that, in fact, work. Success should not be

exaggerated. Not everything works, by any means. But Norris shows that programs are most effective where international organizations and bilateral donors support local stakeholders—including in their efforts to reform electoral laws, strengthen women's representation, foster independent journalism, regulate money in politics, and improve voter registration. Norris writes that aid agencies would do well to match their strengths and weaknesses to the opportunities and threats they face on the ground.

Though challenging, Norris encourages us not to abandon our attempts to strengthen free and fair elections at home and abroad. Since 1948, the international community and Western leaders have been committed to the values of freedom and democracy. At a time of authoritarian resurgence, far from cynical retreat or fatalistic resignation, it is even more important for democrats to redouble efforts to defend electoral integrity.

The Electoral Integrity Project can be found at electoralintegrityproject.com.



On the Bookshelf

New Papers from the Ash Center

Citizen Voices, Community Solutions: Designing Better Transparency and Accountability Approaches to Improve Health

The Transparency for Development Team
Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, Harvard Kennedy School, August 2017

The Transparency for Development project, led by the Ash Center in collaboration with Results for Development and the University of Washington, is undertaking one of the world's most ambitious research efforts into citizen-led accountability programs intended to improve health and health care. This paper details the program at the heart of the research. The program itself is designed to help citizens working to improve their public health care across a range of unique political and social environments; the paper describes the program and the design process that led to it. That design process was purposefully extensive and collaborative, involving intellectual contributions by researchers and practitioners at the three major partner organizations as well as partners in Tanzania (the Clinton Health Access Initiative) and Indonesia (PATTIRO). The authors hope that the paper provides insight into the questions and tradeoffs that governments and civil society organizations around the world may face in designing flexible, adaptive community-led efforts to improve global health care.



Gender and Political Mobilization Online: Participation and Policy Success on a Global Petitioning Platform

Jonathan Mellon, University of Oxford and World Bank; Hollie Russon Gilman, School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University and Ash Center; Fredrik Sjöberg, World Bank; Tiago Peixoto, World Bank
Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, Harvard Kennedy School, July 2017

Connectivity has increased exponentially in the last two decades, yet democratic growth has stalled and civic spaces have shrunk. While the full potential of “civic technologies” remains largely unfulfilled, understanding the extent to which they may further

democratic goals is more pressing than ever.

This is precisely the task undertaken in this original and methodologically innovative research. The authors examine online petitions which, albeit understudied, are one of the fastest growing types of political participation across the globe. Drawing from an impressive dataset of 3.9 million signers of online petitions from 132 countries, the authors assess the extent to which online participation replicates or changes the gaps commonly found in offline participation, not only with regards to who participates (and how), but also with regards to which petitions are more likely to be successful. The findings, at times counterintuitive, provide several insights for democracy scholars and practitioners alike.



What Does General Secretary Xi Jinping Dream About?

Tony Saich
Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, Harvard Kennedy School, August 2017

Written in advance of October's Chinese Communist Party (CCP) 19th Party Congress, at which General Secretary Xi Jinping was confirmed for a second five-year term, this timely analysis argues that the period of easy reforms in China has ended, and the time of difficult reforms that touch core political interests has begun. The resulting challenges facing Xi span political, economic, and international spheres. Leadership must both maintain a domestic focus to strengthen economic growth and avoid the “middle-income trap,” while also engaging in a host of regional and global actions to cement China's position on the world stage. Internally, Xi has consolidated significant political power, and this has created marked tension among vested interests and competing centers of influence. Externally, for the first time in several centuries, the largest economy in the world is not Western and will be under a leadership that does not share the same



consensual values and political structures as those in the West. Xi has outlined several priorities, including: increased CCP control over state and society; the promotion of traditional Chinese culture; the importance of Marxism as a guiding principle; historical revisionism and censorship; the promotion of nationalism; and the pursuit of an aggressive national anti-corruption campaign. Given these goals and sets of challenges, the outcome in China is uncertain and there exist a range of possible scenarios.

New Case Study Series: Operational Excellence in Government

Jane Wiseman
Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, Harvard Kennedy School, 2017

In 2017, the project published three case studies, which are available at innovations.harvard.edu/opex:

Atlanta's Blue Ribbon Commission on Waste & Efficiency in Government Report: Faced with a \$1 billion infrastructure backlog, Atlanta Mayor Kasim Reed established a commission that he charged with finding efficiencies in the city government that could pay for the needed infrastructure investments. This case study describes how Atlanta identified \$92 million in one-time savings and \$25 million in annual savings by improving the efficiency of its operations.

New York City Office Space Optimization: The real estate used by government, from city halls to equipment storage facilities, accounts for a substantial portion of government budgets and operations. This case highlights New York City's optimization of its real estate portfolio. In the first three years of this effort, the city reduced office space by 400,000 square feet and saved \$15 million in annual rent occupancy costs.

Performance Management and Lean Process Improvement—Results Washington: This case study describes how performance management strategies and employee-driven process improvements were applied in Washington State government. A total of \$33 million in savings and avoided costs have been achieved, as well as countless hours saved via streamlined processes, resulting in improved customer satisfaction.



Event Snapshots

A Conversation with Luigi Di Maio: Understanding the Five Star Movement and the Role of Direct Democracy in Italy

May 3, 2017

Luigi Di Maio, Vice President of the Chamber of Deputies in the Italian Parliament and a leader of the Five Star Movement, one of Italy's opposition political parties, joined HKS Academic Dean Archon Fung for a public conversation on the breakdown of the traditional party structure and the role of direct democracy in Italy. Di Maio, on his first official trip to the United States, drew an overflow audience to the Wiener Auditorium where he discussed the seemingly improbable rise of the Five Star Movement, his views on a number of hot-button political issues including the future of the European Union, migration to Italy, and voter disenchantment with the political elite. His speech was viewed by over 150,000 people online.

Fung described the party as "one of the earliest in the current wave of anti-elite, anti-government populist movements that are sweeping so many Western democracies right now." He also noted that many have questioned whether the party can transform from an opposition protest party to a party capable of governing should it win Italy's next round of parliamentary elections.

Di Maio described how the Five Star Movement, or M5S as it is also known, was able to build a base of support among Italians through its online organizing and deliberation efforts, in effect crowdsourcing its policy platform among Italian voters. Audience members, many of them from Italy, also asked pointed questions about Di Maio and the Five Star Movement's controversial positions on immigration policy, European integration, and vaccinations.

Black America in the Era of Trump

June 8, 2017

In June, the Ash Center partnered with the HKS Washington DC Alumni Council for a conversation titled *Black America in the Era of Trump*, moderated by Assistant Professor of Public Policy Leah Wright Rigueur. The talk drew nearly 100 alumni for a discussion with political reporter Darren Sands; former Obama White House senior advisor Heather Foster; and Ashley Bell, the National Director of African American Engagement for the Republican National Committee during the 2016 presidential campaign.

The three panelists fielded a variety of questions about the impact of President Trump's election on the African American community. Ash faculty affiliate Wright Rigueur pressed the panelists for their views on how the election impacted black activists and advocacy organizations in the wake of President Trump's polarizing presidential campaign. Panelists also delved into why black turnout declined in 2016, Republican efforts to garner African American support for the Trump campaign, and the strategy of both political parties to rebuild support within the African American community after such a bruising election.

Bloomberg Harvard City Leadership Initiative: Mayors Program

July 17-19, 2017

The new Bloomberg Harvard City Leadership Initiative, housed at the Ash Center, convened its first cohort of 40 mayors in July for an executive education program in New York City. For three days, city leaders from Stockholm to South Bend and Liverpool to Long Beach attended classes and workshops with faculty from HKS and Harvard Business School.

The event marked the inaugural program for the initiative, a collaboration between Harvard Kennedy School, Harvard Business School, and Bloomberg Philanthropies, the nonprofit foundation created by former New York City mayor Michael Bloomberg.

For the mayors, the July convening was a valuable opportunity to meet and learn from their counterparts around the United States and the world while par-



Luigi Di Maio (center) of Italy's Five Star Movement presents to a full audience in Wiener Auditorium at HKS



HKS alumnus George Arterberry (left) with Assistant Professor Leah Wright Rigueur at an event in Washington, DC, to discuss President Trump's impact on the African American community



Former New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg provides opening remarks at the inaugural Bloomberg Harvard City Leadership Initiative's Mayors Program

ticipating in an intensive classroom experience. The faculty had a learning experience of their own, hearing from mayors about the problems their cities face on a daily basis and gaining a tangible sense of the opportunities these leaders have to improve the lives of their city's residents. The session kicked off a yearlong engagement of ongoing support for these 40 mayors and their most senior staff.

Legislative Leaders at Harvard

August 7, 2017

In August, the Ash Center hosted a group of passionate state legislators from around the US and Canada at Harvard University's Loeb House. The policymakers, in Boston for the National Conference of State Legislatures' annual Legislative Summit, opted to attend the daylong event to engage with Harvard faculty on core issues of democratic governance.

The day opened with remarks from Archon Fung, HKS Academic Dean, and Dan Blue, North Carolina Senate Democratic Leader and President of the National Conference of State Legislatures. In the morning, David Moss, Harvard Business School Paul Whiton Cherington Professor of Business Administration, led an interactive session on American democracy, conflict, and leadership. The afternoon was filled with an engaging panel discussion about governing and legislating in divided times. The panel featured Stephen Goldsmith, Daniel Paul Professor of the Practice of Government and Ash faculty affiliate; Jane Mansbridge, Adams Professor of Political Leadership and Democratic Values and Ash faculty affiliate; Miles Rapoport, Senior Practice Fellow in American Democracy at the Ash Center; Robert Stivers, Republican Senate President in Kentucky; and John Cullerton, Democratic Senate President in Illinois. The day ended with legislators sharing experiences—some more successful than others—of working across the aisle and reflections on future work addressing both their challenges and opportunities.

Gender and Security Seminar Series

Fall 2017

This fall, Dara Kay Cohen, Associate Professor of Public Policy, launched the *Gender and Security Seminar Series*. The seminars bring leading experts from academia and the policy world, working at the intersection of gender, human rights, and security, to Harvard Kennedy School. Series speakers discuss their research in progress or share their perspectives on current policy debates.

The seminar series addressed issues of national security during the fall semester, during which Belfer Center Director and former US Secretary of Defense Ash Carter discussed his decision to open up all military positions to women, and Dr. Andreas Kotsadam, Senior Researcher at The Frisch Centre and Affiliated Researcher at the Department of Economics at the University of Oslo, discussed whether exposure of men to women in a traditionally male-dominated environment can change gendered attitudes. During the spring semester, the series will tackle issues of international security.

The series is a collaborative effort by four research centers and programs at HKS: the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, the Ash Center, the Carr Center for Human Rights, and the Women and Public Policy Program.

Reinventing Democracy: Macron's Victory in France

September 20, 2017

French President Emmanuel Macron swept triumphantly into power earlier this year, shaking up the country's established political order and vaulting his new political party, En Marche, into the majority in the National Assembly. In September, two HKS alumnae who played a pivotal role in En Marche's electoral triumph returned to Cambridge for a discussion of Macron's victory as part of the Ash Center's *Rebuilding Democracy* public lecture series.

Guillaume Liegey MPA '10 and Brune Poirson MPA '17 discussed the reinvention of political parties in France in a conversation moderated by Ash Center resident faculty affiliate Marshall Ganz. Arthur Goldhammer, senior affiliate at Harvard's Center for European Studies, provided additional regional political



HKS scholars and state legislative leaders discuss partisan politics during a session titled "Governing and Legislating in Divided Times"



Ash Carter, director of the School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs and former US Secretary of Defense, discusses his decision to open up all military positions to women



Panel discussion with, from left to right: Marshall Ganz, Senior Lecturer; Guillaume Liegey MPA '10; Brune Poirson MPA '17; and Arthur Goldhammer, senior affiliate at Harvard's Center for European Studies



Resident faculty affiliate Marshall Ganz and Eric Leslie MC/MPA '14 listen as Hollis Watkins (center), civil rights veteran and author of *Brother Hollis: The Sankofa of a Movement Man*, leads the audience in song



Oliver Wise, director of New Orleans' Office of Performance and Accountability, presents during a panel on "Leveraging Cross-Sector Partnerships" at the Summit on Data-Smart Government



The Civic Analytics Network (CAN) is comprised of chief data officers from around the country who are supported by CAN fellows. The network is convened by Professor Stephen Goldsmith

context to the discussion. Poirson, who received her MPA last spring, was a student of Ganz and was elected to the National Assembly in June. She was then appointed as Secretary of State to the Minister for the Ecological and Inclusive Transition. Liegey, also a former Ganz student, is the founder of the European political data firm Liegey Muller Pons, and worked as a consultant to the Macron campaign.

Liegey and Poirson discussed the challenges of political organizing in their home country and how they helped infuse French politics with Obama-era organizing tactics. "How do you get 1.5 million volunteers organized to target the right places to get out the vote," asked Liegey. The two marveled at the success of Macron's movement. En Marche, recalled Poirson, offered French voters a sense of optimism and energy that previous campaigns lacked. "It was so easy to be pessimistic" about the future of France and the European Union, but En Marche helped convince voters that France was ripe for transformation. Panelists also helped place the recent French elections in the context of populist movements sweeping across Europe and North America. While Macron eschewed the nationalist rhetoric of his principal opponent, Marine Le Pen, or Geert Wilders in the Netherlands, he was nonetheless able to harness a deep distrust of the entrenched political class in France today in order to propel him to victory.

Organizing for Freedom: Then and Now with Hollis Watkins

September 27, 2017

Ash Center resident faculty affiliate Marshall Ganz hosted civil rights veteran Hollis Watkins for a discussion of Watkins' new book, *Brother Hollis: The Sankofa of a Movement Man*. Watkins was an active member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and an organizer of the 1964 Freedom Summer, a massive effort to register African American Mississippians to vote. Watkins, who is Founder and President of Southern Echo, a Mississippi-based leadership education organization, was joined by Eric Leslie MC/MPA '14, the founder and lead organizer of Union Capital Boston, an organization working to connect low-income individuals and families to local resources. During the talk, which was part of the Ash Center's Race and American Politics series, Watkins gave the audience his unique firsthand perspective on how local advocates worked to effectively organize support for the civil rights movement in Mississippi.

Summit on Data-Smart Government

November 7-8, 2017

For two days in November, the Ash Center hosted the first-ever Summit on Data-Smart Government. The summit was led by the Center's Civic Analytics Network, a peer group of leading chief data officers (CDOs) from the largest cities in the US working to advance the use of data analytics in municipal government. Numerous presenters led conversations and workshops on ways government can leverage data for public safety, mobility, inspections, and more. Attendees included a mix of practitioners from all levels of government, as well as students, scholars, and representatives from nonprofits.

In the realm of public safety and health, Tom Schenk, Chicago's CDO, described the potential for data to enable risk-based restaurant inspections. Oliver Wise, the Director of Performance and Accountability in New Orleans, explained how data in his city was being used to reduce fatalities related to house fires. Other presenters discussed the processing of Waze data to analyze and improve mobility in Louisville, Kentucky and an innovative geospatial data hub in Los Angeles. Further discussions covered urban sensors, the opioid crisis, cross-sector partnerships, and data engagement. The event closed with a panel on challenges and opportunities in transportation data.



Non Profit Org.
U.S. Postage PAID
Boston, MA
Permit No. 1636

Ash Center
for Democratic Governance and Innovation
Harvard Kennedy School
79 John F. Kennedy Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138



The Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation strives to make the world a better place by advancing excellence and innovation in governance and public policy through research, education, and public discussion. By training the very best leaders, developing powerful new ideas, and disseminating innovative solutions and institutional reforms, the Center's goal is to meet the profound challenges facing the world's citizens.