

# Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation ■ Spring 2013 Volume 12

# Communiqué

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The Roy and Lila Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation advances excellence and innovation in governance and public policy through research, education, and public discussion. Three major programs support our mission: the Program on Democratic Governance; the Innovations in Government Program; and the Rajawali Foundation Institute for Asia. The Ford Foundation is a founding donor of the Center.



Director Tony Saich, Dean David Ellwood, and China Development Research Foundation Secretary General LU Mai

## Harvard Kennedy School Expands Commitment to Public Policy Research in China

On January 13-28, Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) Dean David Ellwood took part in a series of commemorative events in China along with other Harvard faculty to celebrate the School's ongoing commitment to the study of public policy and governance in China. Commencing with the inaugural Alumni Public Policy Forum held January 13, the dean and others signed agreements to deepen the School's dedication to training and policy research and participated in the "Challenges and Cooperation" conference co-sponsored by the Ash and Belfer Centers.

The events marked the culmination of more than 15 years of training of Chinese government officials and scholars by the Kennedy School, which has resulted in the School's high profile in the country's government and academic sectors. Under Ash Center Director Tony Saich's leadership, the Kennedy School has hosted more than

1,150 scholars, policymakers, and high-ranking government officials for executive training and Rajawali research fellowships.

In the last 10 years, more than 500 Chinese government officials have participated in the Center's China's Leaders in Development (CLD) program, a six-week training program designed to provide officials with alternative public management strategies and new analytical skills so that they are better equipped to handle the country's unprecedented reform challenges.

The New World Fellows program offers similar executive education training to high-ranking Chinese officials, and also supports the semester-long scholarship of vice-ministerial level officials in residence. Considered by the Chinese government to be one of the world's best overseas training programs, the New World Fellows program encourages

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collaboration between rising Chinese leaders and their international peers and supports policy scholarship exchange between the United States and China. More than 200 Chinese policymakers and civil servants are former New World Fellows.

### Strengthening Public Policy Research

Over 150 Harvard alumni and top Chinese government officials attended the inaugural HKS Alumni Public Policy Forum on January 13. This newly created network of alumni and training program graduates will convene semi-regularly throughout the year, and is designed to further strengthen public policy research and the Kennedy School's profile in the region. The event featured a panel discussion with key partners that have been integral to the success of both the New World Fellows and CLD programs. Along with Dean Ellwood and Director Saich, panelists included LIU Yanguo, WU Jiang, and XUE Lan, dean at Tsinghua University which co-hosts CLD each year.

In addition to the forum event, current Ash Center Rajawali Senior Research Fellow WANG Huiyao discussed his newly published book *The Path of Public Management Elite at Harvard*, co-authored by former Rajawali Fellow ZHANG Xiaomeng. WANG discussed his book's evaluation of the HKS model for training Chinese government officials and attributed its unique case teaching format, curriculum, and internationally acclaimed fac-

ulty as the inspiration and basis for formalizing China's own public management discipline in academic institutions.

The book includes interviews with Dean Ellwood and Director Saich, who both offered commentary on *The Path to Public Management Elite at Harvard* during the evening's panel moderated by ZHANG Zhe, HKS MPP 2012 and former HKS China Society president. The panel discussed the interesting questions the case teaching method presents for pedagogy in China. As Director Saich explained, the Kennedy School often teaches cases where a policy has failed while "in China, people are less willing to put forward cases that are negative or based on missed opportunities or mistakes."

Discussion also centered on China's unique role in public policy research. Unlike other countries the Kennedy School has collaborated with, Saich noted that "China has a strong in-country desire and ability to take ownership of both training and research."

The Foreign Experts Bureau, which oversees the New World Fellows program, plans to use *The Path of Public Management Elite at Harvard* as a primer for prospective officials interested in future fellowships at the Kennedy School.

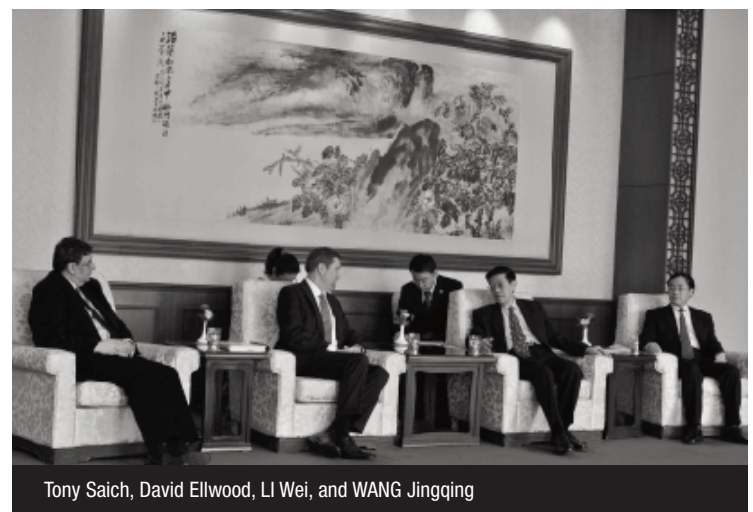
### Training Future Leaders in Asia

Among the attendees at the Alumni Public Policy Forum and book event were many former participants of CLD and New World Fellows programs, both initiatives that were extended during the week's events as part

of the School's commitment to public policy research and training in Asia.

Dean Ellwood, as part of a delegation with Professors Joseph Nye and Tony Saich, participated in a signing ceremony with the Hong Kong-based New World Development Company to commemorate the 15-year anniversary of the New World Fellows program, honor the outstanding contributions of the Cheng family in supporting the program, and extend the program for three additional years. Also that week, at the Diaoyutai State Guest House in Beijing, Dean Ellwood, HOU Yunchun of the Development Research Center of China's State Council, and XUE Lan signed a memorandum of understanding to continue CLD for five years.

Going forward, CLD's more general survey approach will focus on one particular key policy theme each year as opposed to years past. During the next course to be held this August, CLD will address urbanization with cases from around the world in effective financing for infrastructure projects, patterns of urban development, and policies and incentives for shaping both physical and economic development. Participants with expertise in this area will be selected to attend, and associated site visits to urban development projects will supplement classroom learning.



## Challenge and Cooperation in U.S.-China Relations

### U.S. Plans to Pivot to Asia Garner Diverse Reactions

At the “Challenge and Cooperation” conference held at Peking University January 14 through 17, Dean Ellwood and Professors Graham Allison, Joseph Nye, Dwight Perkins, Tony Saich, and other Harvard professors convened with their Chinese counterparts including WANG Jisi, JIA Qingguo, YUAN Ming, and many other notable scholars to explore the changing power relationship between the United States and China.

Among the event’s panels were discussions on the implications of China’s new leadership and President Obama’s second term, the roles both countries should play in promoting international security, and the potential for more open models of trade and investment during the global economic crisis.

A key topic of discussion throughout the conference was President Obama’s “rebalancing”—a term commonly used to describe a series of plans by the Administration to play a greater role in shaping the Asia-Pacific region. Such “pivot to the Pacific” efforts fall under the areas of economic policy, military planning, and foreign diplomacy, and have been viewed suspiciously as plans for “containment” by critics.

“There was a marked contrast at our conference in how differently the American and Chinese participants saw the same events. Even among academics, there seems to still be mistrust of the intentions of the other government,” recalled Saich, noting that Chinese scholars viewed recent U.S. naval resource expansion to the region as intentional over-militarization, especially considering U.S. troop draw down plans elsewhere in the world, including the Middle East. Participants also discussed recent territorial and maritime disputes related to Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands in the East China Sea as well as South China Sea issues, broader concerns of free maritime passage, and the role of Japan in East Asian history.

At one panel discussion JIN Canrong of China’s Renmin University voiced a common opinion of the Chinese stating, “the pivot is a very stupid choice. The United States has achieved nothing and only annoyed China. China cannot be con-



The “Challenge and Cooperation” conference was held in January 2013



Joseph Nye, Harvard University Distinguished Service Professor with CHEN Gang, Vice Mayor of the Beijing Municipal Government

tained.” At the event, American scholars viewed American plans differently, noting that the United States had made great strides in engaging China diplomatically, efforts that will continue with Obama administration trade and human rights agreements that are already underway.

Calling for collaboration in his *New York Times* op-ed reflecting on the conference discussion, Joseph Nye argued that “the world’s two largest economies have much to gain from cooperation on fighting climate change, pandemics, cyberterrorism, and nuclear proliferation.”

Drawing from his new co-authored book *Lee Kuan Yew: The Grand Master’s Insights on China, the United States, and the World*, Graham Allison advised that China’s “success...will require not only sustaining historically unsustainable economic growth rates, but exercising greater caution and subtlety that it has shown recently to avoid an accident or blunder that sparks military conflict over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands, which would serve no one’s interest.” Richard Rosecrance added that if the United States or China “wanted superiority in all areas,

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## Good Governance in China

### Social Services, Social Media, and the Role of the Private Sector

The “Challenge and Cooperation” conference and the Dean Ellwood delegation’s visit to China were especially timely as interest in China’s good governance continues to rise.

“I think there is a growing realization that China’s focus on economic development over the last few years has come at a high social cost,” said Julian Chang, executive director of the Rajawali Foundation Institute for Asia. “A lot of concerned publics are interested in innovations in public policy—how to provide better services for the poor, elderly, sick, and uneducated.” Delivering such services is going to be increasingly important with more than a third of the population estimated to be aged 60 or older by 2050, according to the China Research Center on Aging. Typical reliance on the family for elder care may not be sustainable in the long term.

The Ash Center has several policy conferences scheduled later this year to further expand research in social policy. Held May 1 to 3 at Harvard, its Asia Vision 21 conference is co-sponsored with the Harvard University Asia Center and will explore the challenges of care giving for the elderly in China as well issues of domestic and regional security, environmental policy, and the global economy. On May 16 to 17 at the Shanghai Harvard Center, Director Saich will lead the symposium “Civil Society and Governance.” Sponsored by the Harvard China Fund, the event will convene scholars and industry experts to examine the role of non-governmental and grassroots social service provision within both Chinese civil society and the greater East Asian region. Other upcoming events include a policy forum on the role of higher education institutions in the globalization of China (held May 15 with Harvard Professor William C. Kirby), as well as this year’s Asia Public Policy Forum: “Poverty, Inequality, and Social Protection,” held in Jakarta, Indonesia on May 28 to 30. The Forum will bring together policymakers and scholars to share success stories, analysis, and relevant research on notable ways to reduce poverty and build up social

networks across the Asian region.

#### Governing in the Social Media Age

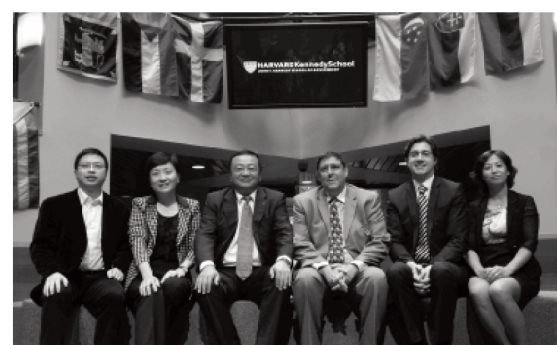
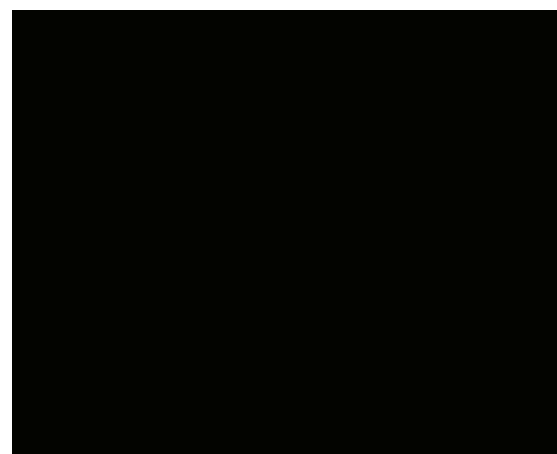
In addition to improving social services, the country also faces potential challenges governing in the midst of an explosion of social media communications. Sina Weibo—China’s equivalent to Twitter—reported surpassing 400 million users with more than 100 million messages posted daily. While the company is required to self-censor its users to curb the spread of dangerous rumors, the sheer speed by which the technology allows Chinese citizens to communicate poses serious difficulties for governance. Whistle blowing has found a new medium, and government officials are under increased pressure to play a more active role in the arena and adapt to the new population of empowered Weibo publishers.

In the famous case of “Uncle Watch,” the tongue-and-cheek nickname of the government official sporting a number of luxury watches, Weibo users raised eyebrows and their voices, resulting in his eventual dismissal from office. Longer sleeves may now be the new trend in business suit fashion, but along with it comes an awareness that officials need to be more careful.

#### The Rising Role of the Private Sector

In the face of such public and now government scrutiny, more and more officials are ridding themselves of luxury properties and goods, despite the deeply rooted tradition of gift giving in Chinese culture. Yet, as the crackdown on bribery and corruption intensifies, this presents a new opportunity for the private sector, which arguably has not benefitted from such practices and is eager to find new ways to operate effectively. The Ash Center already conducts several executive education courses for private sector officials, and anticipates the demand will continue to increase as this sector takes on a larger role in delivering social services.

For example, this summer the Center will host its second annual Asia Energy Leaders Program, convening HKS faculty and senior energy executives from the region to ana-



Tony Saich and Edward Cunningham with 2012 Asia Energy Leaders Program organizers

lyze emerging trends in energy technology, policy, and markets. A key element of this and other training programs is providing business people with new perspectives on collaborating with government and viewing new ventures as not only a means to generate profit, but also to deliver social good.

According to Chang, the private sector is learning to play a role in government policy-making while also beginning to more effectively lobby for its interests. Expanding training to the private sector dovetails with the Center’s existing work on globalization through its China Goes Global conference. At this annual event, the Center convenes academic, public, and private sector leaders to advance analytical research and the overall state of knowledge about China’s growing role in the world economy and the unique position the private sector is projected to play in driving future economic growth. The sixth annual China Goes Global conference will take place in September 2013 at Jakobs University in Bremen, Germany.

## Ash Center Hosts Film Screening & Discussion with Egyptian Activist Esraa Abdel Fattah

*A Whisper to a Roar* Film Features Democracy Activists in Egypt, Malaysia, Ukraine, Venezuela, & Zimbabwe

What motivates people across the globe to risk their lives in order to fight for democracy? And why do authoritarian regimes survive despite the recent expansion of democracy around the world?

With the film “A Whisper to a Roar” as a backdrop, panelists sought an answer to these elusive questions. The panel, which included the Egyptian Democratic Academy Activist Esraa Abdel Fattah, *Slate Magazine* Journalist William Dobson, Film Director Ben Moses, and Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) Professor Tarek Masoud, addressed a capacity crowd at the HKS screening of the documentary. This January 28th event—part of the Center’s focus on the relationship between democratic governance and persistent urgent social challenges—launched the Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation’s spring Democracy Seminar series.

### About the Film

“A Whisper to a Roar” follows the struggles of pro-democracy activists and political leaders in five authoritarian countries—Egypt, Malaysia, Ukraine, Venezuela, and Zimbabwe—and is based on the scholarly work of Larry Diamond. As a renowned democracy scholar and previous Center Democracy Seminar

speaker, Diamond’s 2008 book *The Spirit of Democracy: The Struggle to Build Free Societies Throughout the World* documents the wave phenomenon of democratic movements around the globe.

Probably no better site to witness this firsthand was during the Arab Spring, and moderator Tarek Masoud served as a leading commentator on the film’s focus on Egypt’s 2011 revolution. As a key scholar on the Middle East and the Muslim Brotherhood, Masoud has become a go-to expert for the press, with appearances on National Public Radio, CNN, and PBS along with many other publications to offer commentary on both the revolution as well as the country’s current struggles to achieve a more democratic government.

During the event’s post-film discussion, Masoud questioned the nature and durability of authoritarianism. “Even when you get rid of a dictator, why does authoritarianism still remain?” he asked, citing the countries the film profiled as examples of non-democracies with weak political rights and civil liberties despite the work of pro-democracy activists.

Director Ben Moses responded that the film’s lack of a happy ending points to the fact that “democracy is never over,” drawing

a parallel between the oscillating nature of a government’s transition from an autocracy to a democracy to how an airplane takes time to adjust to a new level of stability when it descends from a certain altitude.

According to Moses, maintaining a democracy can often be harder than the activism leading up to its formation. Despite the peaceful Orange Revolution which brought about Ukraine’s shift in power to elect President Yushchenko in 2004, infighting weakened the new administration and ultimately led to Orange Revolution opponent Yanukovich winning the 2010 presidential election.

The film also features the social media prowess of activists Esraa Abdel Fattah and others whose work leading up to the 18-day revolution in Tahrir Square resulted in imprisonment, torture, and for some, even death. Abdel Fattah had previously cofounded the April 6th Facebook movement, which led to her imprisonment.

In the film, Abdel Fattah expresses her belief that positive change would eventually occur in Egypt, and she reiterated that sentiment during the HKS discussion. “I am still optimistic, even with everything that has happened in our country,” she said. “In Egypt, we are in the second wave of revolution and it is a healthy thing.” Abdel Fattah predicted that Egyptians will continue to protest until the country achieves a genuine democracy, and urged hope for a better future rather than pessimism about the cur-

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HKS Associate Professor Tarek Masoud with *Slate Magazine* Journalist William Dobson



Esraa Abdel Fattah

## Top 25 Innovations in Government Announced



On April 24, 2013, the Ash Center announced the Top 25 programs in this year's Innovations in American Government competition. These government initiatives represent the dedicated efforts of city, state, federal, and tribal governments and address a host of policy issues including crime prevention, economic development, environmental and community revitalization, employment, education, and health care. Selected by a cohort of policy experts, researchers, and practitioners, four finalists and one winner of the Innovations in American Government Award will be announced in the fall.

"These Top 25 innovations in government offer real, tangible ways to protect our most disadvantaged citizens, educate the next-generation workforce, and utilize data analytics to enhance government performance," said Stephen Goldsmith, director of the Innovations in Government program at the Ash Center. "Despite diminishing resources, these government programs have developed model innovations that other struggling agencies should be inspired to replicate and adapt to their own communities."

### A Culture of Innovation

A number of this year's Top 25 programs foster a new culture of innovation through online collaboration and crowdsourcing. Signaling a new trend in government, these programs encourage the generation of smart solutions to existing and seemingly intractable public policy problems. LAUNCH—a partnership among NASA, USAID, the State Department, and NIKE—identifies and scales up promising global sustainability innovations created by individual citizens and organizations. The General Services Administration's Challenge.gov uses crowdsourcing contests to solve government issues: government agencies post challenges, and the broader American public is awarded for submitting winning ideas. The Department of Transportation's IdeaHub also uses an online platform to encourage its employees to communicate new ideas for making the department more adaptable and enterprising.

### Helping Troubled Neighborhoods

Helping our nation's most disadvantaged citizens and residents was also a common characteristic among this year's Top 25. New York City's Office of Financial Empowerment connects low-income New Yorkers with financial education counseling and asset-building services. Also in New York City, Homebase offers families at imminent risk of homelessness with customized services and support, so that they avoid losing their homes. The Department of Housing and Urban Development follows a similar model to Homebase; its targeted interventions are making a notable impact on crime, failing schools, poor infrastructure, and other interconnected causes of poverty.

### Environmental Revitalization

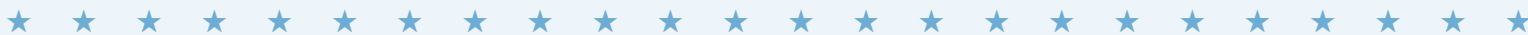
Often hand-in-hand with struggling communities is the distressed land on which they reside. As a collaboration among the Yukon River Tribes and Nations—made up of 70 sovereign indigenous governments primarily based in Alaska—its Watershed Council follows an international governance model to protect the Yukon River and ensure its water is drinkable for generations to come. The Environmental Protection Agency's preserves existing green spaces, and encourages the development of environmentally-friendly, energy solutions.

### The Next Generation Workforce

Several government initiatives tackle challenges to our education system and prepare students for employment opportunities. Metropolitan College in Louisville, Kentucky, collaborates with the private sector to equip students with the education skills and training necessary to become attractive workforce candidates upon graduation. Also targeting America's next generation workforce, Alaska's Native Science and Engineering Program (ANSEP) trains Indigenous Americans for future careers in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics. Much like ANSEP, Rocketship Education of Santa Clara County, California, and Today's Students Tomorrow's Teachers of New York's Westchester County Public Schools leverage mentors, tutors, and special training programs to reduce the achievement gap in underperforming schools and improve career opportunities.

The Innovations in American Government Awards was created by the Ford Foundation in 1985 to shine a light on effective government programs. Since its inception, over 400 government innovations across all jurisdiction levels have been recognized and have collectively received more than \$20 million in grants to support dissemination efforts. Such models of good governance also inform research and academic study.





**Top 25 Innovations in Government**

**Alternative Sentencing Social Worker Program**

Commonwealth of Kentucky

**Challege.gov**

General Services Administration

**Children First Network Expansion**

City of New York, NY

**Citizen Archivist Initiative**

National Archives and Records Administration

**Consular Team India**

Department of State

**Department of Arts and History**

City of Boise, ID

**Healthy Incentives**

King County, WA

**Homebase**

City of New York, NY

**IdeaHub**

Department of Transportation

**LAUNCH**

National Aeronautics and Space Administration

**Mayor's Office of New Urban Mechanics**

City of Boston, MA

**Metropolitan College**

Louisville Metro Government, KY

**National Coordination of Health IT**

Department of Health and Human Services

**Native Science and Engineering Program**

State of Alaska

**Neighborhood Revitalization Initiative**

Department of Housing and Urban Development

**Office of Financial Empowerment**

City of New York, NY

**Opportunity Probation with Enforcement**

State of Hawaii

**Re-Powering America's Land Initiative**

Environmental Protection Agency

**Rocketship Education**

Santa Clara County, CA

**SF Park**

City and County of San Francisco

**Smart Roadside Inspection System**

State of New Mexico

**Smarter Sustainable Dubuque**

City of Dubuque, IA

**Sustainable Communities Initiative**

Department of Housing and Urban Development

**Today's Students Tomorrow's Teachers**

Westchester County Public Schools, NY

**Yukon River Inter-Tribal Watershed Council**

Yukon River Tribes and Nations



## Rethinking Policy Design with Professor Quinton Mayne



Quinton Mayne

Quinton Mayne recently joined Harvard Kennedy School's faculty as an assistant professor of public policy. He comes to the faculty after serving two years as a post-doctoral Democracy Fellow at the Ash Center. Professor Mayne's spring course DPI 130 "Rethinking Policy Design," meets both SUP and DPI concentration requirements for MPP candidates, and he described the basis for the course in a recent question and answer session.

### **Why did you create DPI 130 "Rethinking Policy Design"?**

In creating DPI-130, I wanted to help students think critically and imaginatively about differences between key policy tools being used to tackle today's pressing problems. Some politicians, for example, believe handing over powers to charities and community organizations is the solution; for others, private firms should play a greater role in solving the problems our societies face. In some instances policymakers think that problems would go away if citizens were better informed; in other cases, involving ordinary people in the policymaking process seems like a solution. In recent years, politicians have even sought to address thorny public problems by inconspicuously "nudging" people into behaving and thinking differently. By taking this course, students will have the chance to reflect not only on why certain tools are chosen over others, but also on the far-reaching effects of these choices on the ideals of citizenship, the vibrancy of

community life, the power of private capital, and the size and visibility of the state.

### **Why should a student take this course?**

Depending on where they come from or the issue areas they are most familiar with, certain policy tools will seem very natural to some students but alien or faddish to others. My hope is that by taking this course, students will be able to step back from what seems normal in order to think afresh about what policy tools might be right for the job. So, whether crafting policy from within government, in collaboration with government, or even if advocating from without, this course should give students the knowledge and analytical tools to weigh the value and limits of sticking with tried-and-tested policy tools versus the risks and potential pay-offs of turning to new ones.

### **What kinds of cases will you teach to illustrate how to craft public policy?**

I have designed the course to be fundamentally comparative in scope, not just in terms of a conversation between political science and public policy but also, crucially, in terms of the countries and policy areas that the readings cover. The course draws on real-world examples from the United States and Europe as well as middle-income and developing countries, taking in a range of policy fields and issue areas, including education, health care, social services, policing, unemployment, and environmental protection.

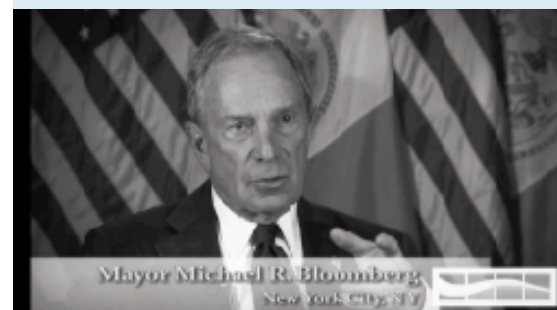
*Professor Mayne was recently awarded a William F. Milton Fund grant to support research on the role of local government in the financing, planning, and delivery of welfare services. This grant will help fund the creation of a new database on change and continuity in welfare-state functions carried out by local governments in advanced industrial democracies. Such research will allow scholars to systematically compare cross-national differences in how central and local governments share and divide decision-making powers related to welfare services aimed at improving citizens' physical and material well-being.*

## Innovations Award Winner Spotlighted on PBS Visionaries Series

On February 22, 2013, PBS' Visionaries Series aired a documentary on New York City's Center for Economic Opportunity (CEO). CEO was established by Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg to design, implement, and evaluate unique initiatives that combat urban poverty among New York City's low-income workers, at-risk youth, and families with children. As the episode showed, CEO takes a unique, results-driven approach to fighting poverty. If a program is not working, it is eliminated, while programs that are making a difference are replicated across the city and now around the country. CEO has collaborated with over 30 city agencies to launch and scale up more than 50 programs and policy initiatives in the areas of asset development, employment and training, and education.

The program was honored in February 2012 as a winner of the Innovations in American Government Award. "Not only is the Center for Economic Opportunity innovative, it demonstrates a sea change in how a city can unite the disparate interests of previously siloed agencies, funders, providers, and businesses to tackle poverty—one of our nation's major growing challenges," said Tony Saich in a press release announcing the program as an Innovations winner.

"Time and again New York City eagerly tries bold ideas even at the risk of failure—and that is precisely why our programs are so successful," said Mayor Bloomberg. "Not only are our results improving the lives of New Yorkers, but as the award from Harvard shows, we are a leading model for the nation in the charge to find solutions to deeply entrenched challenges."



Mayor Bloomberg on Visionaries





2012 rally in Tunisia, one of the countries coded through Professor Kosack's research on mass movements

## Ash Center Devotes \$150,000 to Exploring Democracy's Challenges

### Grants Available for HKS Faculty, Doctoral, and Postdoctoral Students

In February, the Ash Center announced that the Challenges to Democracy grant program will award \$150,000 in funding support for HKS faculty workshops and doctoral and postdoctoral fellowships. Kennedy School doctoral students and faculty as well as postdoctoral students from the wider academic community are encouraged to apply by April 1; grant recipients will be announced later in the spring.

The Center is awarding grants for HKS faculty-led seminars or workshops, up to \$10,000 each for a total of \$40,000; doctoral fellowships for HKS and other Harvard graduate students, up to \$30,000 per year for up to two fellowships; and postdoctoral fellowships, up to \$50,000 per year for one fellowship.

Award decisions will be made by a committee composed of Center Director Saich, the Democracy, Politics, and Institutions (DPI) area chair, and senior DPI faculty. Awards will be given for work beginning in the summer of the current academic year or for the 2013-14 academic year. Funding preference is given to grant proposals that enhance one of the following key areas of

Center research: Democracy in Hard Places, Innovations in Democracy, and Public Sector Innovations.

Started in the spring of 2012, the Challenges to Democracy grant program is designed to foster research on the nature of democracy and bridge the gap between its ideals and often imperfect practice in the real world. Center funding supports studies in both mature and established democracies as well as those in the developing world.

#### Past Grantees at Work: Mass Movements, Getting to Yes, and More

As one of the five faculty grantees in the Challenges to Democracy's 2012 inaugural year, Assistant Professor Stephen Kosack received funding for an ambitious project to create the world's first comprehensive, cross-national data set of mass movements. This research explores the nature and characteristics of mass movements over the last two centuries in all of the nearly 200 countries in the world. Through the Ash Center grant, he has already completed coding of 10 out of 37 countries planned for this first phase of research. The outcomes of this



2011 protests in Tahrir Square, Cairo

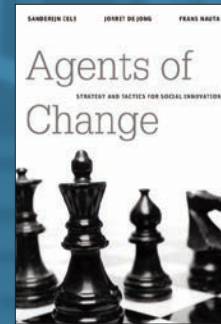
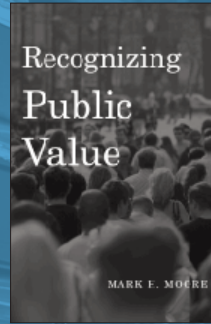
project pave the way for a host of new academic research on the likelihood of movements to survive repression and ultimately impact public policy. The data also has the potential to empower citizens and policy-makers to learn how mass movements have impacted government responsiveness to the provision of health care and education as well as a country's overall democratization.

"At a time when mass movements are shaping policy and politics across the globe, from Europe and the Middle East to Asia, the study of mass movements—why and how they arise and create political change—has been hampered by a lack of comprehensive data," said Professor Kosack. "The Challenges to Democracy grant gave me the resources to develop and fine tune my methodology, providing invaluable evidence that will help me take the next steps to code movements in the rest of the world."

In 2012, the Ash Center also awarded four faculty members grants to support structured time to meet and develop ideas around essential questions of democracy. Grantee Jane Mansbridge, HKS Adams Professor of Political Leadership and Democratic Values, held the "Getting to Yes" workshop February 1-2, 2013. As the third workshop in a series started in the fall of 2012, this event brought together key scholars to examine the conditions that support a more cooperative environment in politics. Considering recent partisan divides, Mansbridge's research is especially pertinent and will go beyond present news of Capitol Hill gridlock to explore lessons from both American and European Union history and draw

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On the Bookshelf



**Recognizing Public Value**

Mark Moore, Harvard University Press, January 2013

Mark Moore's 1997 book *Creating Public Value*, widely acknowledged as a groundbreaking work in the field of public management, provides public sector executives with a practical framework for improving the performance of government agencies by focusing their attention on the changing external environment of political aspirations and substantive, material challenges, and helping them to imagine, test, and pursue a value-creating strategy through a series of political and operational innovations.



Mark H. Moore

In his sequel, *Recognizing Public Value*, Moore focuses on helping public managers develop and use performance measurement and management systems to help animate and guide their value-creating efforts. The book introduces readers to two new key instruments—the Public Value Account and the Public Value Scorecard. The Public Value Account is designed to help public managers construct something like the private sector's financial "bottom line" for empirically capturing the "public value" that is being created (or lost) by a public agency. The Public Value Scorecard is designed to help managers keep their attention focused on the concrete tasks that have to be undertaken in both the world of political mobilization and operational management to execute a future-oriented strategy for a government agency. The concepts are illustrated with cases from policing and crime control, the management of urban services, tax collecting, contracting for welfare to work programs, solid waste management,

the promotion of economic competitiveness, and child protective services.

Moore argues that past efforts to build and deploy effective performance measurement and management systems have produced disappointing results, because they have treated the problem primarily as a technical problem in finding good measures. Technical work to develop and test measures is surely an important part of building a strong, performance management system. But Moore puts a great deal of emphasis on the philosophical, political, and managerial parts of this work as well.

At the philosophical level, he argues that the "bottom line" customer satisfaction models of the private sector do not always translate to the public sector. Moore claims that public value consists of achieving social outcomes, acting justly and fairly, as well as satisfying individual clients of government. At the political level, he asserts that performance measurement systems have to be aligned with the aspirations and values of citizens and their representatives, or they will fail to have the kind of moral weight and behavioral power that can make the systems useful guides to public organizations. At the managerial level, the challenge is not only to enable both external and internal accountability, but also to enable learning.

"The development and use of public value scorecards may help bring us all closer to understanding the purposes we want to accomplish together, and how we might be able to push the frontier of what seems possible in pursuit of a good and just society," he summarizes in the book's introduction.

**Agents of Change: Strategy and Tactics for Social Innovation**

Sanderijn Cels, Jorrit de Jong, and Frans Nauta, Brookings Institution Press, October 2012

While much academic research has focused on actual game-changing innovations that are transforming the way societies solve their social problems, very little research has been done on the actual process by which innovations are achieved. Instead of the inspirational catalyst or the resulting success story, what are the roll-up-your sleeves strategies and tactics that make an innovation really work?



Jorrit de Jong

In their new book *Agents of Change: Strategy and Tactics for Social Innovation*, co-authors Sanderijn Cels, Jorrit de Jong, and Frans Nauta take up this question. The authors seek to demystify the innovations process and chart how long-term change is sustained, often against the odds.

Filled with candid interviews from social innovators that brought about each of the book's featured innovations, the book demonstrates key characteristics and tools change agents employed. A good idea in the abstract may be an easy sell, but to actually navigate the cumbersome bureaucratic hurdles, resistant institutional environments, and often limited available resources requires more than just sheer determination to make an innovation a reality. In mapping out this process, it is the authors hope that other aspiring innovators can follow a similar path.

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there could be no agreement.” Instead, he suggested the countries should follow the “differentiation of function” model established by Bismarck and Disraeli in the 1870s with Germany becoming the predominant land power and Britain as the sea power.

Following the conference, attendees met with LI Yuanchao, HKS EE '02, current member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of China, and the vice president of the People's Republic of China. He contended that both countries need to reject any persisting Cold War mentalities and instead cement cooperative partnerships that will instill mutual confidence and trust between both sides. LI called for new programs on climate change, trade liberalization agreements, and plans to ensure the freedom and safety of the world's waterways along with a host of other solutions that will further enhance relations between the two world powers. As Nye later summarized, “power is the ability to obtain the outcomes one wants, and sometimes America's power is greater when we act with others rather than merely over others.”

Sponsored by the Institute for China-U.S. People-to-People Exchange, and the Ash and Belfer Centers at HKS, “Challenge and Cooperation” was part of the U.S.-China Relations Project, a broader research initiative of the Belfer Center and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and led by Richard Rosecrance, HKS adjunct professor. Launched in 2006, this was the ninth event of the project.

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### Innovating in the Public Sector

The lessons and strategies demonstrated in both *Recognizing Public Value* and *Agents of Change* are instrumental to the “Innovating in the Public Sector,” curriculum, a new Kennedy School course taught by Stephen Goldsmith, Mark Moore, and Jorrit de Jong this spring. As the Faculty Director of Research and Curriculum Development for the Innovations in Government program, Moore is leading the Center's commitment to increase and strengthen the research and teaching components of the Ash Center's signature Innovations in Government program.

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rent state of government.

In addition to Egypt, for many countries the struggle for democratic ideals is ongoing. The film explores Zimbabwe's corruption-ridden election between President Mugabe and Morgan Tsvangirai, leader of the Movement for Democratic Change—Tsvangirai party, and their uneasy power share forged post-election. The film also tracks the work of student protest groups in Venezuela led by Roberto Patiño against the policies and practices of former President Hugo Chávez.

William Dobson praised the effectiveness of the student protests, noting that, “the youth had higher approval ratings than the Catholic Church,” in part because they avoided political rhetoric and chose more creative messaging to reach a moderate constituency. Drawing on Venezuelans' pride in their success in the Miss Universe contest, student activists used campaign posters of an aged beauty queen with a crown to compare Chávez's rule to having a “Miss Venezuela for life.” He acknowledged that such activism is having an effect: while Chávez still won his latest election with an additional 140,000 votes over the previous election, the opposition gained an additional two million votes.

“I think this movie comes as a reminder that freedom is priceless and you can't quantify it,” said Halimatou Hima Moussa Dioula, a Harvard Kennedy School MPP student in attendance. “We need to fight for it every day.”

### Democracy Seminar Series

Co-sponsored by Harvard Kennedy School's Ash Center and the Middle East Initiative of the Belfer Center, the “A Whisper to a Roar” screening was part of the Ash Center's spring Democracy Seminar series. Additional seminars include:

- February 13: Waiting for Public Diplomacy 2.0: The Slow Digital Dawn in U.S. Public Diplomacy with Nicholas Cull, University of Southern California;
- February 28: The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy with Kay Schlozman, Boston College; Sidney Verba, Harvard University; and Henry Brady, UC-Berkeley;

- March 13: When the State Speaks, What Should It Say? How Democracies Can Protect Expression and Promote Equality with Corey Brettschneider, Brown University;
- April 3: The MoveOn Effect: The Unexpected Transformation of American Political Advocacy with David Karpf, George Washington University
- April 10: Reinventing Urban Democracy in New York and Somerville with Joseph Curtatone, Mayor of Somerville, MA; Brad Lander, Council Member, NY; and Hollie Russon-Gilman, Ash Center

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upon multidisciplinary research from psychology, international relations, rational choice analysis, and cultural studies. These workshops are part of a larger four-year project that will include other seminars and conferences as well as the publication of the book *Breaking the Logjam*.

Other faculty-led workshops scheduled later this year as part of the Challenges to Democracy grant program include those of Pippa Norris, the Paul F. McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics, and Muriel Rouyer, adjunct professor of public policy. Norris' “Concepts and Indices of Electoral Integrity” workshop will convene international experts from both academic and public policy communities to discuss cutting-edge research to curb electoral malpractice and improve the integrity of elections. In late April, Rouyer held a workshop exploring the city of Nantes—winner of the 2013 European Green Capital award—as a case study on the nature of transnational democracy.

Additional HKS faculty that have received Challenges to Democracy grants include Candelaria Garay, assistant professor of public policy; Asim Khwaja, professor of public policy; Tarek Masoud, associate professor of public policy; Ryan Sheely, assistant professor of public policy; and Kenneth Winston, lecturer in ethics. Lindsay Mayka, Ph.D. candidate at University of California, Berkeley, Emma Saunders-Hastings, and Shauna Shames, both Ph.D. candidates at Harvard University received fellowships in 2012.

### Gettysburg Project

January 10–12, 2013

Held on the 150th anniversary year of Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, this introductory meeting of the Gettysburg Project brought together scholars, practitioners, and civic leaders to explore strategies to reinvigorate American democracy by fostering meaningful public engagement. Built around Lincoln's original call to action "this nation shall have a new birth of freedom...that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth," the Project aims to explore the current state of public engagement in America and find new ways for Americans of all walks of life to play a more active role in the political process. Conveners—HKS Professors Archon Fung and Marshall Ganz, Ash Democracy Fellow Hollie Russon-Gilman, along with several other leading thinkers and civic leaders—are exploring the possibility of a multi-year project to explore the challenges and prospects for deeper and more expansive public engagement.



Dave Karpf with Marshall Ganz at the Gettysburg Project's introductory meeting

### Transformative Mayoral Leadership in an Environment of Change: Urban Policy Advisory Group Session

January 31–February 2, 2013

Speaking to an audience of 35 mayoral advisors from some of the nation's most innovative cities, HKS Professor Ronald Heifetz launched the Urban Policy Advisory Group's (UPAG) ninth session with an inspiring keynote address on what it means to be a great leader. For Heifetz, the practice of leadership is often a high-risk enterprise, because it "frequently means getting people to face tough trade-offs and prioritize between legitimately competing values." Often leaders attempt to treat problems with technical solutions—such as legislative and executive decisions—a mistake that could be avoided by more carefully diagnosing problems before taking action. According to Heifetz, who speaks from experience as a former medical doctor, "it's much easier to fix the heart, than to change the heart." He elaborated that to be great leader requires a "diagnostic capacity to appreciate what you are asking people to go through" especially when people are resistant to change because of the associated losses that accompany it. Confidants and allies play an essential role in aiding leaders in depersonalizing conflicts and approaching issues from a broader perspective. He concluded by reminding participants that social good cannot always be quantified and instead encouraged: "Celebrate the fruits of your labor, and take some joy in the good you are doing."

Heifetz's remarks set the tone for the next two-days of plenary sessions which explored the unique leadership role urban leaders can play in their communities. UPAG members also had the opportunity to witness firsthand how a smart idea can transform the way a city serves its citizens. Boston's own Mobile City Hall made a field visit to Harvard Kennedy School, and workers explained how this "City Hall To Go" truck travels to neighborhoods all around the city so that residents can more easily access services and information. Several UPAG participants were inspired to explore similar models in their own cities.



Boston's Mobile City Hall visits HKS



Harvard University Professor Roderick MacFarquhar with Dean Mahubani



Bridging the Gap Co-Organizers Jay Rosengard, Peter Ware, and Yawar Shah both of the SWIFT Institute

### **The Great Convergence: Asia, the West, and the Logic of One World**

February 15, 2013

Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy Dean Kishore Mahbubani discussed the findings from his new book *The Great Convergence: Asia, the West, and the Logic of One World* at an afternoon discussion at Harvard Kennedy School as part of his international book tour. Mahbubani defined “the great convergence” as an unprecedented merging of interests, cultures, and values due in part to the rise in the global middle class. While optimistic that we are in the midst of “building a new and better civilization,” he argued that such a new global order requires strengthening existing global governance bodies such as the World Bank and the United Nations, and allowing China, India, Africa, and the Islamic world to play a larger role on the global stage. Nicholas Burns, Sultan of Oman Professor of International Relations, and Stephen M. Walt, Robert and Renee Belfer Professor of International Affairs, offered commentary on the book’s key arguments.

### **Haiti Progress and Challenges Three Years Later**

February 26, 2013

At this standing-room only JFK Jr. Forum, Actor Sean Penn; Lieutenant General Ken Keen, former deputy commander of the U.S. Southern Command; and Dr. Michèle Pierre-Louis, former prime minister of Haiti and 2010 Institute of Politics visiting fellow, discussed the state of Haiti’s recovery efforts three years after a devastating 2010 earthquake left over 200 thousand dead and an additional 1.8 million homeless. Penn discussed the work of J/P Haitian Relief Organization, an aid organization he founded that has been largely praised for creating a fully-functioning refugee camp outside of Port-au-Prince with longer-term plans to move residents into more established neighborhoods. Lieutenant General Keen elaborated on the United States’ role in initial relief efforts and how it has since evolved, while Pierre-Louis described broader NGO

relief work underway. Co-sponsored by the Ash Center’s Program on Crisis Leadership, the discussion was moderated by Mary Jo Bane, Thornton Bradshaw Professor of Public Policy and Management at HKS, whose current research explores avenues for strengthening Haiti’s public sector institutions.

### **Bridging the Gap: How Can Banks Reach the Unbanked?**

February 28–March 1, 2013

Globally, nearly half of all adults are financially marginalized and do not have a bank account. For the unbanked, it is a challenge to gain access to banks and the services they offer. For banks, it is a challenge to reach the unbanked. At this two-day conference on financial inclusion, more than 50 researchers and financial industry leaders from around the world presented original research and experiences in bridging the gap between the unbanked and the banking sector. Dr. Guillermo Ortiz Martinez, chairman of Grupo Financiero Banorte-IXE, current member of G30, and former governor of the Bank of Mexico delivered the conference keynote address. Additional sessions focused on microfinance, remittances, and mobile banking. This event was organized by the SWIFT Institute and HKS’ Ash Center and Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business and Government.

### **General and Flag Officer Homeland Security Executive Seminar**

April 23–26, 2013

In an executive education program led by Herman “Dutch” Leonard and Arnold Howitt of the Ash Center’s Program on Crisis Leadership, more than 50 U.S. senior officers from the National Guard, Coast Guard as well as senior civilians from the Departments of Defense and Homeland Security grappled with an increasingly important purpose: preparing to respond to a major disaster, whether an earthquake, pandemic outbreak, or terrorist attack. Instead of expecting to command a centralized national response, however, these officers were preparing for a far more complex reality: disaster operations with no unitary command structure involving many different organizations and agencies, including all branches of government, non-profit, and private sector organizations.

## Student Focus

### Ash Supports 26 Students with PAE Travel Grants

Each year, the Ash Center's travel grants allow more than 20 Kennedy School students to work for practitioners and legislators to produce a thorough, large-scale research report addressing real-world policy and management challenges. The following 26 students received Policy Analysis Exercise or Second Year Policy Analysis travel grants for the 2012-2013 academic year:

**Assaf, Francis** and **Patel, Kash** *Improving Community College Students' Financial Capabilities to Decrease Drop Outs*

**Cedeño, Victor** *Foreclosure Interventions in Minneapolis*

**Ellis, Sarah** *Reviewing Best Practices in Government Release of Public-Use Data*

**Falk, Leora** *Developing Resources for The Solutions Journalism Network; Helping Make Journalism More Solutions- and Engagement-Oriented*

**Fu, Ning** and **Tu, Shunde** *Innovations in Government / Donor-Funded Workforce Training Programs in Africa with Social Impact Bond Model*

**Gahlawat, Nikhil** and **Redgrave, Kristina** *A Model for Evaluating Civic Innovation*

**Garmendia, Cristina** and **Kapur, Alexander** *Enhancing Government Asset Management Through Data and Technology*

**Guimaraes, Duval** and **Rao, Sneh** *Youth Civic Engagement in Brazil: The Case of the Ipatinga Youth City Council*

**Han, Helen**; **Koruturk, Zeynep**; and **Valenti, Livio** *Building Myanmar from the Ground Up: Opportunities for Private Sector Investments*

**Jaeckel, Tyler** *Colorado Social Impact Bonds*

**Joshi, Pratibha** *Analyzing Public Sector-Funded Incubators' Effectiveness in India*

**Jyung, Dawoun** and **Tan, Victoria** *Improving Quality of Primary Care for Children Affected by HIV/AIDS*

**Seckan, Bakary** and **Teo, Max** *Malaysian Aviation Sector Development*

**Truman, Mark** *Mobilizing Community Organizations for Civic Engagement*

**Wagner, Rosie** *The Rule of Law and the Post-2015 Development Agenda*

**Watt, Iain** *Maximizing Economic and Social Impact of Seattle's Multi-Sport Arena*

**Wongwaisiriwat, Sukjai** *Regulating Real Estate Finance in Thailand: Have Regulators Hit the Bull's Eye?*

### Winter in Indonesia

In January 2013, two HKS students and two Harvard School of Public Health students participated in detailed field research in Indonesia.

**Ayuningtyas, Azalea**, HSPH MS 2013 in epidemiology, evaluated Indonesia's National Health Insurance Diabetes Disease Management Program and explored the program's clinical and economic benefits and its health policy implications.



Shunde Tu and Ning Fu with other HKS students in Accra, Ghana



Tara Grillos (center) in Indonesia

**Everett, Kimberly**, HKS MPP 2014, assessed the state of entrepreneurship in Indonesia and researched the impact of public policy on its progress.

**Grillos, Tara**, HKS Ph.D. in public policy, worked on her research topic titled "Participatory Development and Sustainability: A Case Study of the World Agroforestry Center's (ICRAF) Participatory Land-Use Planning Program in Indonesia."

**Kusuma, Dian**, HSPH Ph.D., Kusuma explored whether Indonesia's Conditional Cash Transfer program can improve child health services among Indonesian poor.

### Student-Sponsored Events

The Ash Center supports HKS student-led events and initiatives. Preference is given to projects with Ash faculty involvement and applied learning opportunities that overlap with the Center's core research and programmatic priorities.

Since 2009, the Ash Center has provided both academic and financial support to the Community Development Program (CDP), a student-led initiative to revitalize Baptist Town, Mississippi. This economically depressed neighborhood in Greenwood, Mississippi, has been burdened with police tension, fatherless families, and gun violence. Students created CDP in an effort to translate the knowledge gained at the Kennedy School to the service of this community. CDP is working with the community to improve employment opportunities, make streets safer, and ultimately transform it into a place where prosperity and hope can flourish. Last year, the Center hosted an April seminar with CDP student volunteers and local Greenwood officials including Mayor Carolyn McAdams. Throughout this semester, Academic Director for the Innovations in Government Program and Adjunct Lecturer in Public Policy and Management Jorrit de Jong and Ash Center staff will meet with CDP student coordinators to discuss strategic planning, including a plan to incorporate an action-research agenda into their work.

The Ash Center again supported the annual Harvard African Development Conference, held March 8-9, 2013, which brought together more than 350 students, academics, and practitioners from across the Harvard community. This year's conference was keynoteed by Senegal President Macky Sall and featured a series of panel discussions centered on the theme "Visible Change in Africa:

*continued on next page*

## Fellows Focus



### Ash Center Welcomes New Fellows Scholars Participate in Spring Research Fellowships

#### Indonesia Research Fellowship

The HKS Indonesia Program supports Indonesian students and scholars who are conducting independent public policy research in Indonesia and provides opportunities to participate in degree courses and executive education programs. For the spring semester, Yohanes Agung Iriantoko joined the cohort of six fellows that began in the fall semester. Iriantoko was most recently a senior executive advisor on strategic development at BP-Migas in Indonesia.

#### New World Fellows

The New World Fellows program encourages the exchange between prominent Chinese leaders and their international counterparts as well as distinguished Harvard faculty. For the spring academic semester, the Center welcomes:

**CHEN Yin**, Director General of the Department of International Cooperation, Ministry of Industry and Information Technology, China  
**SUN Xiaobing**, Director of the Department of Policy and Regulation, Ministry of Education, China

#### Rajawali Foundation Institute for Asia Fellows

Rajawali Fellows pursue independent research projects while in residence at the Ash Center. Fellows have access to Center resources and participate in weekly seminars presenting their research to colleagues. This semester, the following fellows join the Center:  
**HU Tianshi**, Deputy Dean of the MBA Education Center, China Agricultural University

**JIANG Rushan**, Hong Kong Global Economic Dispatch Agency

**Suzette LIN**, Independent Legal Consultant

**LIU Jinde**, Senior Engineer, CPC Hunan Provincial Committee

**MA Yan**, Deputy Director of the Division of World Economic Analysis, National Bureau of Statistics in China

**QI Huaigao**, Associate Professor, Fudan University

**ZHANG Pan**, Ph.D. Candidate, Xi'an Jiaotong University

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One Innovation at a Time.” The Center also co-sponsored the Black Policy Conference, “Fierce Urgency of Now: Defining the Challenge & Directing the Future.” Held April 5–6, 2013, this is an annual conference coordinated by the Black Student Union at HKS.



HARVARD Kennedy School

**ASH CENTER**  
for Democratic Governance  
and Innovation

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Harvard Kennedy School  
79 John F. Kennedy Street  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

**In Focus: Innovations in American Government Awards** By the Numbers

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**37 percent of past winners represent state initiatives**

**23 percent of past winners demonstrate solutions to community and economic development challenges**

**Over 80 percent of these programs have been replicated in other jurisdictions**

**More than \$22 million in grants awarded for replication activities**



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