

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.



An Egyptian couple join thousands of protestors in Cairo's Tahrir Square in February 2011

In Egypt, the Real Challenge is Yet to Come

What happened in Tahrir Square on February 11th was no doubt historic and unprecedented, but unseating Mubarak was easy compared to the task that currently faces Egypt. I refer not to restarting the country's economy or rooting out the vestiges of the old regime—as important and difficult as these tasks are. Instead, the major hurdle on the road to Egyptian democracy is writing the country's new constitution.

Shortly after Mubarak's departure, the military council that now rules Egypt appointed a committee of eight lawyers to write up a set of constitutional amendments. The amendments (which passed overwhelmingly in a March 19th referendum) were fairly narrow in scope—they limited presidential terms, made it easier for political parties and independents to run for the presidency, and strengthened judicial over-

sight of the elections. But they also included a clause that required parliament (once elected) to set in motion a process to write an entirely new constitution.

Some have argued that the new constitution should be written before, not after, parliamentary elections. Their fear is that the elections will bring to the legislature a combination of Islamists and leftovers of the old regime, neither of whom can be trusted to write a constitution that will represent the aspirations of the liberal, democracy-minded Egyptians who helped make the country's revolution. Instead, they would prefer the military to postpone elections and to first convene a constituent assembly of Egyptian politicians and intellectuals and public figures from across the ideological spectrum to hammer out a constitution that

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The Difference that Deliberation Makes

Research Report on Public Deliberation in the U.S. and Abroad



Professor Archon Fung, in collaboration with AmericaSpeaks and the University of California recently released the report, “The Difference that Deliberation Makes.” This comprehensive report evaluates the outcomes of the spring 2010 “Our Budget, Our Economy” deliberation, and explores how citizens reached consensus through debate and discussion on seemingly polarizing national issues.

As the nation’s largest structured public deliberation to date, the “Our Budget, Our Economy” event brought together over 3,500 Americans at 57 simultaneous online and in-person town hall meetings across the country to explore 42 options for reducing the deficit by \$1.2 trillion by 2025. The event was convened by the report’s authoring organizations.

“The most important thing I learned from this process is that ordinary citizens could tackle a complex issue, filter it civilly through their own perspective, and come up with consensus. I literally did not think this was possible,” said one participant from Portland, Oregon.

Participants were asked to examine six key policies as potential areas for deficit reduction: raising taxes on the wealthy, cutting discretionary programs, raising taxes on the middle class, cutting growth in the cost of entitlement programs, cutting defense spending, and instituting a federal sales tax.

The deliberation produced a number of outcomes including:

- 85 percent of participants voted to reduce defense spending by at least five percent, with 51 percent of participants agreeing to reduce spending by 15 percent. While liberal participants did not notably alter their views, 39 percent of conservative participants increased support for defense cuts after the deliberation. This policy area received more support than any other area of reform, and brought consensus of participants across all age groups.
- 54 percent voted to raise the tax rates among wealthy individuals in the top income brackets (those falling within the top one percent of the U.S. income distribution). While the majority of liberals (81 percent) did not change their opinions, 24 percent of conservatives and 48 percent of independents increased support for the measure after the deliberation.
- 68 percent supported at least a five percent reduction in non-discretionary spending. After the deliberation, more liberals (32 percent) increased support for cutting discretionary programs than decreasing support (26 percent), interpreted by the report’s authors as a moderation of views in order to reach the common goal of deficit reduction.

“By bringing people together in this type of virtual meeting space, we found that extreme opinions became more moderated, and this, in turn, allowed participants to find common ground on some previously contentious issues,” said Fung. “This speaks to the power of citizen democracy to address the many problems that we face.”

The project was funded by the MacArthur Foundation.

The Deliberative System

The “Our Budget, Our Economy” deliberation report is part of the Center’s broader exploration of deliberative democracy both in the United States and around the world. On December 18–19, 2010, the Ash Center convened leading scholars on deliberative democracy including James Bohman, University of Washington; Simone Chambers, University of Toronto; Thomas Christiano, University of Arizona; David Estlund, Brown University; Archon Fung, HKS; Jane Mansbridge, HKS; John Parkinson, University of York; Dennis Thompson, Harvard University; and Mark Warren, University of British Columbia.

During a two-day workshop, scholars explored what a deliberative system could look like in the U.S. and examples of high-quality deliberation. Participants grappled with how protests and strikes can affect the quality of deliberations, the role of govern-

ment in a deliberative system, and how civic participation can support or be in conflict with deliberation. Deliberation was discussed as a diagnostic tool, aiding politicians and the general public in getting a better sense of the right answer to difficult political questions. The December workshop was part of larger plans to develop an introductory framework for a new publication on deliberative democracy to be published in the next year.

Deliberation in the East

In addition to broad discussion of the nature of deliberative systems, the Ash Center has begun research on other real-world examples of deliberation at work. While deliberative experiments are well known in the West, there has been very little discussion on such practices in Asia. In May 2010, Professors Archon Fung and Jane Mansbridge participated in “The Cultural Sources of Deliberative Politics in East Asia Conference,” in Shanghai, China. The conference was part of a series assessing examples of public deliberation in the East and exploring the Maoist and Confucian roots of deliberation.

In a related effort, the China Case Program of the Center’s Rajawali Foundation Institute for Asia is researching deliberative efforts in the coastal city of Wenling, in China’s Zhejiang province for a case study to be developed later this year. Under an experiment devised by Baogang He of Deakin University and James Fishkin of Stanford University, the party chair in Wenling agreed to be advised by a random selection of ordinary citizens in a process called deliberative polling. Begun in 2005, this group of citizens gathered to discuss the government’s budgeting process. The first discussion examined infrastructure projects, which comprise 30 to 40 percent of the city’s budget. The government had thought that public parks and tourism would be top priorities, but it was revealed that sewers and schools ranked much higher. As these groups were convened each year following, their voice gained legitimacy and their reach was expanded to include the entire budget. The citizenry has developed an expectation that the public would be consulted on major decisions, and as a result the government became accountable in an unprecedented manner.

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is broadly representative of all groups in society, not just those who are good at winning elections.

But whether the constitution is written before or after parliamentary elections does not really matter. Either way, the process will constitute the first major test of Egypt’s fledgling democracy. The framers of the new constitution will be forced to settle old and long-dormant disputes about the relationship between Islam and the state and in particular the place of Islamic holy law in the laws of the land. The 1971 constitution’s second article declares that the “principles of *shariah* are the main source of legislation”—and though in practice this has never been applied (no one is stoned for adultery in Egypt or has their hand chopped off for theft), Islamists point to it as perhaps their signal political achievement of the previous 50 years. Secular liberals, on the other hand,

argue that the clause should be excised, that giving the *shariah* pride of place in the constitution actually discriminates against the country’s large Christian minority.

Given the deep division and disagreement over such a fundamental issue, one might wonder whether it is wise for Egypt to attempt so large an undertaking at so fragile a time in its political development. Often, consolidating democracy requires putting off the big, divisive issues until basic political institutions have been established, and until the actors are used to working within them and with each other. What Egypt needs now is not so much debate over the fundamental nature of the state, but simpler things like rules to make elections fair and politicians accountable. Egyptians may soon find themselves wishing that they had saved the *shariah* question for later.

Tarek Masoud

Spring 2011 Democracy Seminars

The Democracy Seminar Series hosts academics, policymakers, and political leaders from across the country for thought-provoking seminars on the very nature of democracy. Sessions are open to the entire Harvard community and explore issues related to democratic participation and deliberation, immigration and voting, and democratic movements in authoritarian countries. During the spring semester, the Ash Center convened the following seminars:

- **Democracy and Development: Lessons from China, India, and Others**, William Overholt, Ash Center
- **The Anti-Immigrant Right & the Future of Political Polling: Lessons from 2010**, Matt A. Barreto, University of Washington
- **Ending Female Genital Cutting: A Way that Works**, Gerry Mackie, University of California, San Diego, Co-sponsored by the Women in Public Policy Program, Harvard Kennedy School
- **The Impact of Good Governance on Wealth and Happiness**, Legatum Institute, Co-sponsored by the Saguaro Seminar: Civic Engagement in America
- **Democracy without Accountability: Promiscuous Power Sharing & Presidential Domineering in Indonesia**, Dan Slater, University of Chicago
- **Reconciling Diversity and Democracy: The Process and Policies of Immigrant Political Incorporation**, Irene Bloemraad, University of California, Berkeley
- **Deliberative Democracy and Climate Governance**, John Dryzek, Australian National University Co-sponsored by the Program on Science, Technology and Society, Harvard Kennedy School
- **How the Military Shapes ‘Democratic’ Institutions in Dictatorships**, Barbara Geddes, University of California, Los Angeles
- **Participatory Budgeting: Democratic Deliberation and Decision Making at the Local Level**, Joe Moore, City of Chicago
- **Decentralizing Discrimination: Democracy and the Thousand Little Horrors that are Tolerated in its Maintenance**, Christian Davenport, University of Notre Dame
- **Waves of Democracy Compared: Europe in 1989 and the Arab World in 2011**, Jacques Rupnik, Sciences Po, Co-sponsored by the Harvard History and Policy Seminar, Harvard Kennedy School

Ash Center Welcomes New World Fellows for Spring Semester

In February 2011, the Ash Center's Rajawali Foundation Institute for Asia welcomed two New World Fellows. Mr. Pan Gongsheng and Ms. Xie Ru are serving as New World research fellows through the end of the academic year. Both will conduct research projects on key areas of interest within their respective government positions. While at the Center, Pan is researching areas for strategic reform within China's banking industry. Xie is conducting research on the health care system for Chinese farmers in less developed regions, using Jiangxi Province as an example.

Pan Gongsheng is the executive director and senior executive vice president of the Agricultural Bank of China. He is responsible for the overall restructuring of the bank as well as financial planning, and assets and liabilities management. He successfully managed the bank's recent IPO. Prior to his work with the Agricultural Bank of China, Pan worked at the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China for 15 years. Pan holds a Ph.D. in economics from Renmin University of China, and was a post-doctoral scholar at the University of Cambridge, UK from 1997 to 1998.

As the Vice Governor of Jiangxi Province, Xie Ru oversees a wide portfolio of activities. Before her appointment to her current position in 2008, Xie served as vice mayor of Jingdezhen City for six years and had worked for the Jiangxi Academy of Social Sciences. Xie holds a Ph.D. in economics from Jiangxi University of Finance and Economics. Xie has published over 70 articles in notable journals and is the author of three books: *Research of New China's Land System*; *Research of Scenic Spot's Management Right*; and *Argument on Agriculture, Rural Areas, and Farmers*.

Pan and Xie join an impressive cohort of over 120 experienced civil servants, policymakers, and rising leaders from China that have graduated from the New World Fellows program since its inception in 1998. Designed to encourage the next generation of Chinese leaders to enhance their professional skills, the New World Fellows program is a key HKS initiative fostering sustained collaboration between the U.S. and China, and providing new areas for scholarship and policy reform.



Pan, Gongsheng



Xie, Ru

HKS Indonesia Program Welcomes New 2011 Research Fellows



Jonatan Lassa



Akhmad Rizal Shidiq

During the spring 2011 semester, the HKS Indonesia Program welcomed its first group of Indonesia Research Fellows. Jonatan Lassa and Akhmad Rizal Shidiq join the Center's lively international community of researchers from China, Singapore, and Taiwan.

Jonatan Lassa is an interdisciplinary scientist focused on institutional and human dimensions of disaster risk reduction and climate adaptation. He has more than 10 years of professional experience in civil society organizations (including United Nations agencies) and in the disaster governance sector. He holds a master's degree in environment and international development from the University of East Anglia, UK, and a Ph.D. in geoinformation science from the University of Bonn, Germany. He served previously as a Ph.D. researcher based at the United Nations University, Institute for Environment and Human Security in Bonn, Germany. While at the Center, Lassa's research focuses on the role of institutions and governance in the (dis)integration of climate adaptation and disaster risk reduction. His research hypothesizes that there are missing links and volatility in both horizontal and vertical governance of Indonesia.

Akhmad Rizal Shidiq is a lecturer at the Department of Economics and a research associate at the Institute for Economic and Social Research (LPEM-FEUI), both at Universitas Indonesia. Shidiq previously studied at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore and the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London, and is currently pursuing a doctoral degree in economics at George Mason University, expected in 2012. As an Indonesian Research Fellow, Shidiq is conducting research on the macroeconomic impact of the 1998 Indonesian banking crisis and the country's bailout policy. He is looking at bank lending behavior at the firm level, exploiting panel data on firms and banks before and after the crisis. He is also trying to incorporate the political economy attributes, such as political connectedness and credit access, into his analysis.

Indigenous Governance, Equity, and Rights in Pluralistic Settings

Liaison Group Convenes Workshop in Peru



Liaison Group members at the Indigenous Governance, Equity, and Rights workshop

In December 2010, the Ash Center participated in the Indigenous Governance, Equity, and Rights in Pluralistic Settings Workshop. This workshop, convened by the Liaison Group for Innovations in Governance and Public Action, brought together a group of international innovations awards programs with indigenous innovators from across the world to discuss significant issues facing native peoples. Tribal representatives from Brazil, Chile, Peru, South Africa, and the United States discussed their experiences, and program representatives from the Philippines, China, and Mexico discussed the state of indigenous rights in their countries.

Presentations covered a range of innovations that have been successfully implemented in tribal regions, from an education program in Brazil that provides a rigorous education while also retaining cultural traditions, to a tribe in Chile that successfully battled against a corporation to restore wetlands damaged by development. In the U.S., the Moscoogee Creek Nation's Reintegration Program has significantly reduced recidivism through pre- and post-incarceration support for its tribal citizens, while the

Matagoan Program in Tabuk City, Kalinga in the Philippines reversed the cycle of vendetta killings and tribal warfare through the peaceful resolution of conflict cases.

On the final day of the workshop, attendees visited the indigenous village of Raqchi, which has developed an ecotourism program within its village through a partnership with the Peruvian Ministry of Foreign Trade and Tourism and World Bank financial assistance. Through the program, which seeks to educate the outside world about their way of life, the village has restored many cultural traditions and improved their own well-being.

Criminalization of indigenous peoples, the creation of conflict within tribes, and the criminalization of indigenous movements was a common theme at the workshop. Another central issue was the issue of land. Many tribes in South America are now finding themselves pushed back onto ancestral lands they do not "legally" own. These lands are often fertile and rich in mineral resources. But ironically, tribes seeking to access these resources often find themselves in direct conflict with environmental

government regulators or self-interested private corporations. In fact, the challenge of land—its cultivation and ownership—is one that "ties all peoples."

On the positive side, these shared experiences give indigenous tribes a chance to work together. One possible avenue for collaboration is to try to homogenize the many different ways countries have interpreted what was meant to be a single body of international indigenous laws and conventions adopted through the 2007 United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. To gain support for their rights, traditions, and cultures, tribes could also do a better job educating the general populace. And we need their help as well. As the representative from South America Jhon Jansen observed, "The world is in trouble—we can learn from indigenous wisdom."

Through support from the Ford Foundation and contributions by the individual programs, the Liaison Group was established in 2002 to enhance the collaboration among the programs for shared learning and global dissemination of individual and collective knowledge and experiences. Liaison Group activities include workshops, research, and publications. While each of these initiatives is adapting the innovations approach to its country's specific concerns and priorities, they all share a strong allegiance to the core idea that government can be improved through the identification and dissemination of examples of effective solutions to public sector problems.

Christina Marchand

Sustainable Communities Boot Camp

January 10–12, 2011

The Ash Center with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and Living Cities hosted “Sustainable Communities Boot Camp: From Transaction to Transformation” at Harvard Kennedy School. The event was designed to offer advice, counsel, and peer-to-peer support to recipients of the HUD-awarded Sustainable Communities Regional Planning Grants, which fund housing, land use, economic development, transportation, and infrastructure planning efforts. Teams of government, nonprofit, and business leaders from 13 of the awarded metropolitan regions participated in sessions on economic strategies to drive sustainability and equity, solutions for connecting capital with regional goals, and the importance of real-time data tracking of outcomes as part of an overall integrated approach to development. Speakers included St. Paul Mayor Christopher Coleman; Living Cities President & CEO Ben Hecht; former Seattle Mayor Greg Nickels; HUD’s Director of the Office of Sustainable Housing and Communities Shelley Poticha; HUD Deputy Secretary Ron Sims; and HKS Professor and former D.C. Mayor Anthony Williams.

The Role of the Legislative Yuan in National Development

January 25, 2011

In this guest lecture held at the Tsai Auditorium at Harvard’s Center for Government and International Studies, Wang Jin-pyng, speaker of the Legislative Yuan of the Republic of China (Taiwan), discussed the importance of strong relations between the U.S. and Taiwan and called attention to the military imbalance between China and Taiwan. In light of China’s creation of the new J-20, a new stealth aircraft, Speaker Wang cautioned that current stability across the Taiwan Strait could be disrupted unless his country was able to sufficiently build up its own defense capabilities. Wang also discussed the importance of continued talks with China and his country’s efforts to enhance relations with the globalized world. During his tenure as legislator, deputy speaker, and now speaker, Wang has played an important role in spearheading legislation impacting the country’s national development, influencing both national policy and parliamentary reform. This guest lecture was part of Wang’s 10-day tour of the United States, and was co-sponsored by the Center’s Rajawali Foundation Institute for Asia and Harvard’s Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies, Taiwan Studies Workshop.



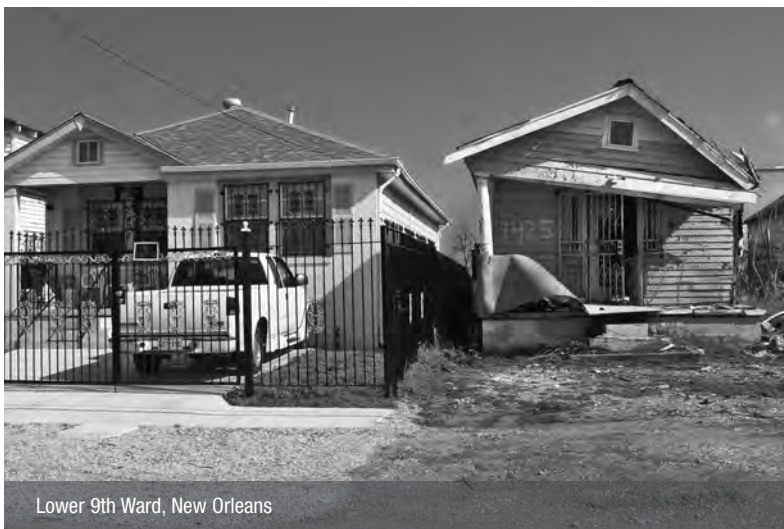
Anthony Williams, HKS; Shelley Poticha, HUD; and Ben Hecht, Living Cities



Xavier Briggs, Office of Management and Budget, addresses Sustainable Cities Boot Camp, including former Mayors Anthony Williams and Greg Nickels



Speaker Wang Jin-pyng



Lower 9th Ward, New Orleans

Clear as Mud: Planning for the Rebuilding of New Orleans

February 3, 2011

In the immediate aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, floodwaters overtook New Orleans, causing catastrophic property damage and taking the lives of hundreds. As the water receded and as rescue and relief drew to a close, New Orleanians faced their next challenge: recovering from one of America's worst urban disasters. In this talk, Robert Olshansky, professor and associate head of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, discussed his and co-author Laurie Johnson's recently published book *Clear as Mud: Planning for the Rebuilding of New Orleans*, which explores the dynamics of the complex planning efforts to rebuild this historic city. A specialist in urban planning with extensive experience studying disaster recovery in both the U.S. and abroad, Olshansky used New Orleans' experience to illustrate some of the key issues political leaders and policymakers must grapple with in planning for and executing post-disaster recovery. This event was sponsored by the Center's Program on Crisis Leadership.



Flooding in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, August 2005

Political Economy of Public Budget Transparency and Accountability Workshop

February 4–5, 2011

While much research has been done on public finance and budget transparency in the developed world, there is little research on this area in poorer regions. Convened by the Ash Center in collaboration with the International Budget Partnership (IBP) and the University of Washington, this two-day workshop brought together scholars on this emerging topic to share case studies and papers on transparency of public budgets in developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Participants explored the current state of budget openness, how it is evolving, and lessons learned from current examples. The workshop was designed to stimulate interest and deepen the understanding within the academic, policymaking, and advocacy communities of budget openness and inclusiveness while formalizing a methodology for generating research and building upon existing subnational budget transparency research produced by IBP's Open Budget Initiative. An edited volume with a cross-section of cases authored by academics and policymakers will be produced next year showcasing the research discussed.



Archon Fung addresses Political Economy workshop

Muslim and American? How Religiosity and Mosques Foster Incorporation into American Politics

February 10, 2011

Previous scholars have argued that Islam as a religion and a culture is incompatible with liberal, democratic American values. Not only is Islam inconsistent with the West, but it poses a direct conflict according to some scholars. This viewpoint has been popularized in American and European media and by government officials who declare fundamentalist Muslims as enemies of freedom and democracy. However, there is no hard evidence that the grounds of conflict are based on religious ideology. To date, nearly every study of Islam and Western values has been qualitative, anecdotal, or philosophical in nature, leaving most questions unanswered, at least empirically. At this seminar, Dr. Karam Dana and Dr. Matt A. Barreto discussed their research results from creating and implementing a unique national survey of Muslim Americans. In contrast to prevailing wisdom, their research found that religiously devout Muslims are significantly more likely to support political participation in America. They concluded that there is nothing inconsistent with Islam and American democracy, and in fact, religiosity fosters support for American democratic values. This event was co-sponsored by the Dubai Initiative and the Middle East Initiative of the Belfer Center and the Ash Center.

Earthquake Relief in Haiti: Inter-Organizational Perspectives and Lessons for the Future

March 23–24, 2011

Over 200 thousand citizens died in the 2010 earthquake in Haiti. While the world mobilized an outpouring of financial and on-the-ground assistance, many in the humanitarian community have questioned whether the crisis could have been handled more effectively. At this two-day conference, senior officials from many of the international organizations which provided relief in the earthquake's aftermath spoke candidly about the challenges of carrying out aid efforts in Haiti. They evaluated the successes and failures of the delivery of supplies, medical care, and rescue efforts as well as how such aid organizations collaborated with each other, coordinated their actions, and communicated internally and with the broader public during the crisis. These insights will be featured in a white paper, to be published later this year, discussing ways that response to future crises might be improved. The conference was co-sponsored by the Ash Center's Program on Crisis Leadership, the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, the Harvard Initiative for Global Health, and the International Trauma & Disaster Institute at Massachusetts General Hospital.





A young shopper at ShopRite, part of Philadelphia's Fresh Food Financing Initiative



China's Leaders in Development program



Lu Mai, Amway China; Chen, Baosheng, Head of China's Leaders in Development 2010 delegation; John Haigh, HKS

The Power of Social Innovation Series

Spring 2011

Today's most valuable lessons about spurring social innovation often come from practitioners themselves. In keeping with this concept, the Power of Social Innovation Series convened several online practitioner-led conversations. Innovators shared common sense principles and strategies, policy implications, and lessons relevant to innovators from government, nonprofit, and philanthropic sectors who seek to produce extraordinary social change within their communities. Sessions included:

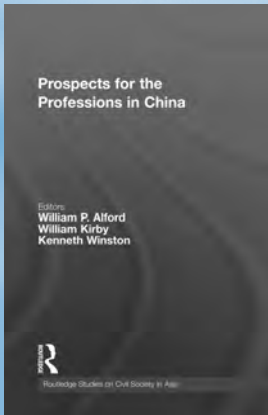
- **Replicating the Fresh Food Financing Initiative**, John Weidman, The Food Trust, and Dwight Evans, Pennsylvania State House of Representatives
- **Building Community Support for Turnaround Schools in Detroit**, Michael Tenbusch, United Way of Southeastern Michigan, and Johnathon Matthews, Cody Academy of Public Leadership
- **New Pipelines for Social Innovation**, Jim Balfanz, City Year, and Jim Emerman, Civic Ventures
- **Social Innovation as Economic Development**, Christopher Gergen, Bull City Forward, and Bo Menkiti, The Menkiti Group

China's Leaders in Development

May 3–June 28, 2011

Established in 2001, China's Leaders in Development program is widely recognized by the Chinese government as one of the best overseas training programs for government officials. Taught both at Tsinghua University, China, and Harvard Kennedy School, this eight-week training program is designed to help prepare senior local and central Chinese government officials to more effectively address the ongoing challenges of China's national reforms. During the 2011 program, Professors Arnold Howitt, Herman Leonard, and Anthony Saich will teach courses with Tsinghua University professors on real-world economic and management cases and innovations addressing the changing needs of governance in the 21st century. During the second portion of the program, officials will attend executive education courses at HKS in public management and governance, sustainable development, urban development, social policy, leadership and strategy, social innovation, and crisis management. This intensive curriculum is designed to broaden officials' current strategic analysis methods and further develop their ability to adapt to the changing needs of governance in the 21st century. As a part of the program, officials will visit local, state, and federal government organizations in the United States.

On the Bookshelf



Prospects for the Professions in China

William P. Alford, William Kirby, and Kenneth Winston, editors, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2010

A new book from Ash Center Lecturer in Ethics Kenneth Winston examines prospects for the professions in China. Co-edited with William P. Alford and William C. Kirby, the book is the first attempt at a comprehensive view of the subject. The book is the result of a conference convened at Harvard Law School in 2005, and includes papers on the fields of medicine, law, architecture, engineering, journalism, accounting, business management, the clergy, and public service written by experts on China and professional ethics.

Winston's chapter, titled "Advisors to Rulers: Serving the State and the Way," focuses on the role of "scholar-officials," public servants who were trained in the Confucian tradition in order to become high-ranking members of the bureaucracy. This mandatory training meant that these public officials were required to have an education in ethics to hold office. However, this overt emphasis on ethics did not mean that scholar-officials had a clear mandate to adhere only to their training. Indeed, they had to serve two masters—the principles derived from their ethical training and the ruler who appointed them to office. This "problem of two masters" demanded that they try to offer useful advice to their ruler



while also maintaining professional standards. In contrast, the Machiavellian tradition would not make this assumption. For Machiavelli, being a good person is often an obstacle to being a good ruler. Furthermore, the Confucian tradition worries that practical, useful advice would necessarily involve compromising one's personal ideals. Sung Lien, an early Ming scholar-teacher, wrote that "effectiveness demands cooperation with the world, which in turn means loss of self, and loss of self means loss of virtue." The ideal, then, is somehow to engage in loyal remonstrance, to correct the ruler's behavior while also serving the ruler's practical needs. This dilemma applies especially to political appointees who serve at the pleasure of the ruler and can be dismissed, not to say banished or executed, at any time by the ruler.

So, is this balance between dependence and independence sustainable? To answer this, it is helpful to consider examples of those who have successfully navigated this challenge. Notably, the U.S. solicitor general is in just such a position of being appointed

while also maintaining professional standards. This was not always an easy dilemma to resolve.

The Confucian tradition considers ethics as primarily a matter of personal virtue—the good ruler is someone who is a

good person. In contrast, the Machiavellian tradition would not make this assumption. For Machiavelli, being a good person is often an obstacle to being a good ruler. Furthermore, the Confucian tradition worries that practical, useful advice would necessarily involve compromising one's personal ideals. Sung Lien, an early Ming scholar-teacher, wrote that "effectiveness demands cooperation with the world, which in turn means loss of self, and loss of self means loss of virtue." The ideal, then, is somehow to engage in loyal remonstrance, to correct the ruler's behavior while also serving the ruler's practical needs. This dilemma applies especially to political appointees who serve at the pleasure of the ruler and can be dismissed, not to say banished or executed, at any time by the ruler.

by the president while expected to maintain the standards of the legal profession. As Winston writes, the solicitor general "reveals a striking similarity to the Chinese scholar-official. Both are dependent and vulnerable to the whims of a political superior, who is nonetheless aware of background norms and expectations that require deference. Both have the task of upholding independent standards, in circumstances generating strong and legitimate counter-pressures." The solicitor general handles cases in the appellate and supreme courts on behalf of the government. However, the solicitor general has the duty to make the right legal judgment, regardless of the president's political agenda, not just to try to win a particular case. The solicitor general helps the court assess an issue over a series of cases, and acts as a counselor to the court, even while being the president's representative in court. By acknowledging that many solicitors general have been able to remain true to both their profession and their boss, we have a basis for saying that political vulnerability by itself does not necessarily undercut the achievement of professionalism. The question we can bring to the study of China is whether it is possible to achieve a similar success in balancing the two masters, even in the presence of heavy state involvement in the professions.

Bringing the story of scholar-officials to bear on contemporary issues of governance, Winston discusses the kinds of competence, including moral competence, that



a government official would need in a democracy, and suggests that one could revise Confucian thinking to accommodate these ideas. Traditionally, Confucian ethics was very person-centered; if your own life was in order, you would not need any other skills to govern effectively. Winston argues, rather, that there are certain competencies—beyond personal virtue but compatible with Confucian thought—which an individual needs to develop to be an effective advisor or ruler in a democratic society. The challenge for contemporary schools of public policy, whether in the U.S. or China, is to address the question of how well they are doing in teaching these forms of moral competence.

Jessica Engelman

Governance and Politics of China

Anthony Saich, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010

China's accelerated economic growth and elevated global profile—as demonstrated by lavish spectacles like the Beijing Olympics and the Shanghai Expo 2010—support predictions that the country is here to stay as a major world power. In the recently published third edition of *Governance and Politics of China*, Ash Center Director and Daewoo Professor of International Affairs Anthony Saich offers an assessment of contemporary politics of the People's Republic of China. He

explores how China has become an emerging power, analyzing particular policy choices and aspects of the country's history and structures of state socialism that have hindered or facilitated its reform program.

The book explores questions of governance in post-Mao China, addressing the relationships between different levels of government and demystifying the power structure between central and local governments including cities and provinces. Saich contends that many in the West hold a common misconception that central government is able to seamlessly dictate policy to outside provinces; in fact, most local governments operate independently and often implement policies that run counter to the central government's agenda.

The book also delves into specific policy areas that have proven challenging to China's government in the modern era. Despite China's rapid economic growth as the world's third largest economy, moves toward a market-based economy and the global recession have aggravated tensions between communist and capitalist identities. In addition to economic policy, the country is grappling with new social policies. The book looks at the country's work on health care reform and new plans to move away from a debatably inegalitarian welfare and benefits system to one that is more citizen-based. Environmental policies are also addressed, including the global impact of China's energy demand and the environmental sustainability of the country's busi-



ness model.

"Will China's political system as it is currently structured be durable over the next 10 to 20 years? Eventually, I think this vibrant growing economy will become more open and pluralistic in response to

social pressures and massive urbanization, but the question is what form will it take," said Saich.

"Delving deep beneath the institutional façade of China's formal political structures and processes, Anthony Saich describes how China is actually governed on the ground," said Richard Baum, University of California. "Combining scholarly analysis with personal insights he has produced a lively, readable study of China's profound—and profoundly painful—transition from Mao to Market. Its title alone suggests that this is a textbook of a different stripe."

Fellows Focus



Spring 2011 Rajawali Fellows Announced

While residing at the Ash Center, this semester's Rajawali Fellows will pursue independent research on a host of policy areas focused on Asia. This year's fellows include representatives from the academic, government, and business sectors.

Chen, Zheng

Ph.D. Candidate, Beijing Foreign Studies University

Ding, Ding

Energy Research Institute, Chinese Academy of Sciences

Guo, Hao

President & Managing Partner, ArtM Communication Group

Liu, Shu Yan

Associate Professor, Tongji University, China

Tan, Kenneth Paul

Associate Professor, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, Singapore

Wang, Huiyao

Vice Chairman, China's Western Educated Returnees Association

Yin, Jun

Ph.D. Candidate, Guanghua School of Management, Peking University, China

Zhan, Chengyu

Lecturer, School of Political Science and Public Management, China University of Political Science and Law

Zhao, Xuemin

Researcher, Research Centre of National Account and Economic Growth of China

Back to Work

Thackston Lundy Researches Workforce Development in the Big Easy

Despite the city's widespread efforts to rebuild, reinvest, and reform, New Orleans continues to be a city in crisis. At 24 percent, its poverty rate is well above the national average, and 37 percent of the city's children under the age of 18 live below the poverty line. As of September 2009, the city's unemployment rate was at 10.6 percent.

"I think the challenges that New Orleans faces are unlike those of any other city," said Thackston Lundy, HKS MPP 2011. "While Hurricane Katrina itself caused widespread suffering for nearly all New Orleanians, many of the obstacles the city faced in 2005 existed well before the hurricane made landfall."

For his Spring 2011 Policy Analysis Exercise (PAE) with the Office of New Orleans Mayor Mitchell Landrieu, Lundy explored workforce development initiatives cropping up around the city and spearheaded by social innovators. Lundy identified and met with the top 20 leading organizations providing workforce training and skill building to at-risk, economically disadvantaged populations aged 16–30.

In interviewing them and doing outside research, Lundy hoped to identify the common barriers faced by such organizations and to assess how the city can realign its service offerings to better support efforts to get city residents to work. Such challenges include transportation—residents without cars or easy access to public transportation have huge difficulty getting to work on time and staying in their positions. "It may seem basic, but when you start talking to organizations, it frames what ways the system can be rethought to address these issues," said Lundy.



Common Ground Relief, a nonprofit organization in the Lower 9th Ward, New Orleans



Employees work at a local cafeteria in New Orleans

Thackston Lundy's Ash Center-funded PAE research fits into the Center's larger focus on social innovation and in New Orleans in particular. With new support from Bloomberg Philanthropies, Center staff will engage in a year-long, hands-on effort to help a handful of mayors become effective catalysts for social innovation. The vision is to help cities expand their cohorts of civic leaders committed to advancing innovation and reform, plan a series of policy and structural shifts to break down barriers to innovation, and organize a campaign plan to mobilize citizen and community support around innovation and reform. In New Orleans, such efforts will be directed toward helping the mayor's office address the challenge of homelessness.

Ash Supports 22 Students with PAE Research Grants

This year the Ash Center provided travel grants to the following Harvard Kennedy School students working on their Policy Analysis Exercises (PAE) or Second Year Policy Analysis (SYPA):

Cardenas Mendoza, Maria* *Assessing the Effectiveness of the Mixed Method Targeting of Social Programs in Indonesia*

Didow, Katherine *Ten Years After September 11th: An Analysis of Attitudes on the Muslim World*

Fernandes, Pedro Henrique *Education and Public Safety in the Favelas of Rio de Janeiro*

Geh, Zekebweliwai *Service Delivery in Fragile States: The Case of Health Care in Sierra Leone*

Gordon, Phil *Analysis of the Social Security Administration Ticket to Work Program*

Haji Mkanga, Sharon M. *The Future of Memphis*

Ho, Sui-Jade* *Enhancing Financial Access in East Malaysia: Potential Lessons from Kalimantan, Indonesia*

Jacob, Jinnyn *Ten Years After September 11th: An Analysis of Attitudes on the Muslim World*

Jennison, Meaghan *Transportation Facility Pricing in New York City*
Kesavan, Anand *Asset, Liability, and Regulatory Policymaking for Government Finance*

Kim, Yoojin* *Implementation of the ILO Convention on Domestic Workers: Analysis of Women Migrant Workers and Their Organizations in Hong Kong and Singapore*

Kramer, Mattea *Improving Nutrition for SNAP Recipients: A Policy Platform for the 2012 Farm Bill*

Lundy, Thackston *Mayor's Office Strategic Plan to Support Social Entrepreneurship in New Orleans*

O'Leary, Rachel *The Future of Memphis*

Proulx, Julie *Ensuring a Future for Hawaii's Parkland*

Prydz, Espen Beer* *Assessing the Effectiveness of Mixed Method Targeting of Social Programs in Indonesia*

Raifman, Matthew *Transportation Facility Pricing in New York City*

Robinson, Lindsey *ICT Applications for Military Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief Operations*

Sinha, Priyanka *Service Delivery in Fragile States: The Case of Health Care in Sierra Leone*

Stillwell-Parvensky, Michele *School District Innovation with Title I Funds*

Yoon, Chenie *Increasing Women's Political Representation in the Republic of Korea*

Zakaras, Michael *Improving Nutrition for SNAP Recipients: A Policy Platform for the 2012 Farm Bill*

* These students received travel grants through the Ash Center's HKS Indonesia Program

Fellows Focus

Trouble in Paradise: Hawaii's Affordable Housing Conundrum

HKS Student Helps Honolulu Secure Grant in Transit-Oriented Development

With its picturesque island beaches, festive and colorful luaus, and a summery climate year round, many view Hawaii as the ultimate tropical paradise. "There is no question that Hawaii is a beautiful place," said Jim Secreto, HKS MPP 2011. "But the experience that tourists have while visiting Hawaii masks the very real, day-to-day struggles of the people that live there."

Secreto explored issues of affordable housing and transit-oriented development for the city of Honolulu this past summer as an Ash Center Summer Fellow in Innovation. His work with a team of dedicated staff resulted in the city securing a \$2.3 million joint grant from the U.S. Departments of Transportation and Housing and Urban Development to further improve transit-oriented development in the region.

"This is wonderful news for our community, and it reflects the hard work and cooperation of many people," said Honolulu Mayor Peter Carlisle in a press release. "We are committed to making sure rail transit and transit-oriented development projects are done right, and this grant will be a big help."

According to Secreto, living the American dream in Hawaii's tourist-driven economy is often much more difficult for the average

Hawaiian. The state has the third most expensive home ownership market in the U.S., just below the New York City neighborhoods of Manhattan and Brooklyn.¹ Land is at a premium in Hawaii—over 900,000 residents live on the Island of Oahu where Honolulu is located, an area half the size of the full state of Rhode Island. Median home prices far exceed the necessary salaries to pay such prices, forcing many area residents to find more affordable options far outside of the city with long commute times to work.²

According to the city's 2008 High-Capacity Transit Corridor Environmental Statement, residents struggle with some of the worst commute times in the country—peak-travel can take up to 47 percent longer than most cities due to high traffic congestion. Moreover, housing and transportation costs make up nearly half (45 percent) of the living expenses of most Honolulu residents.³

"How is the person that is cleaning your hotel bedroom or serving you drinks at the Waikiki bar going to live the American Dream?" said Secreto. "That's where the rail corridor can provide opportunities."

Honolulu has recently broken ground on a high-capacity rail corridor transit project to be completed in 2019 which would build 20 miles of rail lines connecting the western side of the island to the city center. By 2030, the majority of Honolulu's jobs and population are expected to be along this

corridor. With the rail project underway, Honolulu has taken this opportunity to evaluate ways to make the city more livable for its residents. As part of this effort, Secreto and his colleagues' winning grant application requests funding to improve Honolulu's economic competitiveness by increasing opportunities for affordable housing and public transport.

For Secreto, his Summer Fellowship in Innovation taught him much about how to innovate at a local level and how possible it is for cities to improve the lives of their citizens. "I think my overlying takeaway was that you can make an impact in your community and that can be transferable anywhere," said Secreto. "I would not have had this experience without Ash. Not only is the grant going to have amazing consequences for the people of Honolulu, the experience is also shaping my own career path."

1 The Council for Community and Economic Research's ACCRA Cost of Living Index, First Quarter 2010

2 Center for Housing Policy's 2009 Paycheck to Paycheck Report: Wages and the Cost of Housing in America

3 The Center for Transit-Oriented Development and the Center for Neighborhood Technology



Kauai Island, Hawaii



Jim Secreto with the Director and Deputy Director of Honolulu's Department of Planning and Permitting

Holy Rollers

Exploring the Formation of Non-Violent Islam on Wheels

On a hot, bustling evening in southern Jakarta, several hundred young, working-class Muslims in traditional white, rounded caps and long-sleeved shirts riding motorcycles stopped traffic. Their numbers swelled to over 500 as they traveled through a main thoroughfare in Indonesia's capital city.

Upon reaching a blocked off street, the riders joined an eagerly awaiting congregation of over 15 thousand young followers for a weekly celebration of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad. Late into the evening, participants praised Allah amidst a rock concert-like back drop complete with a stage, six digital projectors flashing colorful images, and speakers blasting holy music.

"It was huge and astonishing. By making other people immobile, they are making themselves mobile," explained Aryo Danusiri, a renowned Indonesian filmmaker and Harvard doctoral candidate in anthropology, who witnessed this multimedia motorcade event in the summer of 2009.

These weekly celebrations are part of an emerging religious movement of voluntary study groups, called Majelis Mawlid, that have continued to gain popularity since 2000. Majelis Mawlid commonly start with a dramatic traffic-halting motorcade that converges on a much larger congregation of followers celebrating on a blocked off street. Through a research grant from the Center's HKS Indonesia Program, Danusiri explored the Majelis Mawlid movement's paradoxes and implications for democracy as part of his dissertation work which will culminate in a feature-length documentary.

As Danusiri explains, Majelis Mawlid is made up of young, working-class urban males that follow the more traditionalist sect of Islam. Yet, most traditionalists are typically middle or upper class and reside in rural areas. Opting for urban Jakarta, the movement is repurposing the city's secular landscape of malls, office buildings, and public streets into holy areas. "I was interested in the continuum between what is



Majelis Mawlid motorcade in Indonesia

profane and sacred, and how Majelis Mawlid is reconstituting their religion in urban spaces," said Danusiri.

By promoting peaceful ideas and broadcasting three-story multimedia images of non-violent Islam, the movement is literally fighting images with images—countering peaceful images against the predominantly violent images of Islam that pervade the West.

"But Majelis Mawlid is conducting its congregations in a very aggressive way," says Danusiri. "By occupying the streets, they are really making people angry." Experts estimate that such events cost an annual \$3.5 billion in wasted productivity and fuel costs (*TIME Magazine*, 2009).

Blocking traffic is not a new phenomenon for Indonesia: during the election season, many political groups have brought the city's buses and cars to a halt with parades and rallies both now and during the country's New Order (1966–1998) periods. Danusiri argues that the Majelis Mawlid movement is indicative of the types of experimentation going on in Indonesia's fledgling democracy, whereby groups across sectors are taking inspiration from each other and adapting ideas to promote visibility and encourage change.

"Given the recent dramatic surge of public mobilization via new media across much of the Muslim world, Aryo Danusiri's project promises to open a new and important window into the life and vision of a global Islamic public sphere," said Professor Mary Steedly, director of Undergraduate Studies and professor of the Social Anthropology Program at Harvard University.

Winter Indonesia Research Grantees Announced

The HKS Indonesia Program offers grants to HKS and students across Harvard to support independent research or other forms of study conducted in Indonesia. Such support enables students to engage with contemporary issues in Indonesia through internships, independent research, and other forms of study conducted in Indonesia. The following students received grants for the 2011 January Term:

Eryastha, Donny

The Political Economy of Indonesia's Conditional Cash Transfer Program: Case Study of Program Keluarga Harapan in Pesisir Selatan, West Sumatera

Grayman, Jesse Hession

Humanitarian Encounters in Post-Conflict Aceh, Indonesia

Jannat, Shayma

The Intersection of Microfinance and Islamic Finance: Shari'ah Compliant Models of Microinsurance in Indonesia

Sheetz, Julie

The Impact of Domestic Policy Towards Chinese-Indonesians on Indonesia's Foreign Relations



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In Focus: Egypt

2009 GDP (current US\$) (billions): **\$188.4**

2009 Population, total (millions): **82.9**

2006 Literacy Rate (% of people 15 and above): **66%**

2008 Unemployment, total (% of total labor force): **8.7%**

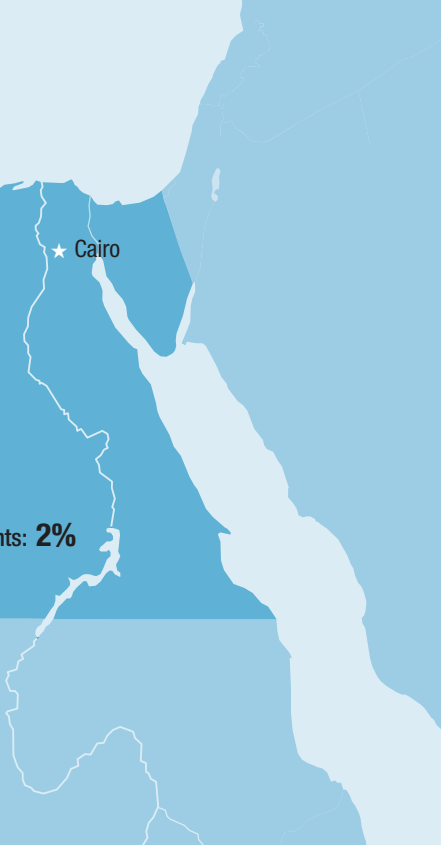
2005 Unemployment, young males (ages 15-24): **23.3%**

2009 Proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments: **2%**

2008 Public spending on education, total (% of GDP): **3.8%**

2008 Internet users (per 100 people): **16.6**

Source: World Development Indicators Database



Communiqué

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