Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation 

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## **Chinese Village, Global Market**

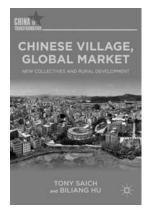
New Collectives and Rural Development

Co-authored by Ash Center Director Anthony Saich and Beijing Normal University Professor Biliang Hu, Chinese Village, Global Market charts the dramatic transformation of the once rural, farm village of Yantian in the 1970s to the booming industry hub it is today. The book was published October 31, 2012, by Palgrave Macmillan.

#### From Goose Field to High Rise

Sitting on the Pearl River Delta at the meeting point of the Dongshen and Shuibei rivers at the heart of southern China's grain

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.



basket, Yantian's subtropical monsoon climate with ample rainfall has contributed to its annual triple-crop production of two rice crops and one winter crop of small grains. Interestingly, the authors note that the fertile climate

became an attractive habitat for geese; as a result, the village was named Yantian, literally goose (yan) field (tian) in Chinese.

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Fast forward 30 years, and Yantian is almost unrecognizable from its former pastoral tranquility. "Returning in the latenineties, the rice paddy has been replaced by highways, the water buffaloes by lorries carrying products to the global market, and the land has disappeared under high rises and factories that are part of a booming export-led economy," the authors write. Yantian is part of Dongguan City in Guangdong Province, which is now one of the largest electronics processing and production sites in the world.

Through over 20 years of extensive field work, Saich and Hu offer an assessment of the factors that led to Yantian's growth, and explore how the next 30 years will shape the village. Among such changes that inspired development are the central government's emphasis on economic growth in part through foreign investment as well as through the rise of manufacturing and export

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investments fueled by global demand for affordable products. The authors also point to the strength of family lineage in Yantian and the unique village collective structure of land ownership and governance as reasons for the village's "remarkable economic and social transformation."

#### Location, Location, Location

Even before its industrial boom, Yantian has always been in a prime location for business and is well connected via all transportation routes. Downtown Shenzhen, southern China's major financial center, is less than 20 miles away, and Hong Kong is just four miles farther. The Guangzhou to Hong Kong rail line is nearby. Several highways run through the village, providing easy access to downtown Shenzhen and many neighboring towns. The Shenzhen airport is only an hour away and connects villagers to the rest of the country. Yet, under the Maoist era, much of southern China including Yantian was unable to take advantage of such close proximity to Hong Kong and surrounding towns.

All of that changed upon the creation of the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone (SEZ) in 1980, which was designed to attract foreign investment and enterprises. Because Shenzhen is just across the border from Hong Kong, foreign investors and manufacturing plants eager to save money on escalating land prices and costly labor shifted their operations to Shenzhen. Soon thereafter, Yantian began attracting its own set of investors from Hong Kong. At its peak, Yantian boasted over 400 foreign-invested enterprises; more recently it has around 200 foreign enterprises and an equal number of domestic enterprises. Hand in hand with such new industry came new jobs, and migrants from around the country flooded to the region. Yantian is now home to over 80,000 migrant workers and only 3,000 registered villagers.

#### Land Ownership and the Dengs

Integral to Yantian's ability to attract foreign enterprise is its ample, available land. Under China's household responsibility system first instituted in 1981, individual farmers were given land use rights in exchange for providing a certain quota of their harvest. Yet,



the farmers never owned the land, which allowed Yantian and other villages to legally recollectivize the land and rent out its use to foreign enterprises.

Despite lack of land ownership, farmers still had to release their land use rights back to the collective. Saich attributes the relative ease by which the farmers returned their rights to the strength of the Deng lineage in Yantian. Over 60 percent of registered villagers are part of the Deng family, and the family dominates all governing and economic powers of the village: the party secretary, head of the village, and head of the Shareholding Economic Cooperative are all Dengs. Even those registered villagers that are not Dengs are still eligible to receive the benefits of the Yantian Shareholding Economic Cooperative, but migrant workers are not.

In recent years, the Shareholding Economic Cooperative has solidified its membership and no longer accepts new members. "That means that whatever happens in terms of political changes at the local level, the economic wealth is still going to remain in the hands of the 3,000 registered villagers," explained Saich.

#### **Political Rumblings**

While economic wealth may stay with a small minority of the village, review is underway on the political and social rights of the large majority of migrant workers that now

call Yantian home. "If the number of migrants stays at a high level and they effectively become permanent residents, can you operate a system where huge numbers of your community are excluded from political voice?" said Saich. "I think this is a problem across a lot of southern China."

The central government is making progress in delivering social services like health care and education to migrant populations, and new regulations have passed that give migrant workers voting rights if they have lived in the village for a certain period of time. "In some ways, Yantian may see a future coming where the Dengs could be outvoted by migrant labor," said Saich. Yet, such regulations require the approval of the villagers' committee made up of officials unlikely to grant such voting privileges if it means losing status within their community.

#### The Economic Future of Yantian

In addition to the social and political challenges facing Yantian, the very economic model that led to its unprecedented transformation may be nearing its end. Across China, foreign-invested enterprises are relocating to lower-cost destinations like Bangladesh and Vietnam or merely shutting down due to the downturn in the global economy. Saich and Hu note that officials surveyed Taiwan and South Korea—countries that flourished under the same exportprocessing model—and found that such a model only had a 20- to 30-year lifespan.

As Yantian and its surrounding region near this expiration date, the authors argue that the village is faced with the threat of fewer and fewer foreign enterprises. Instead, finding new ways to expand their market through the production of more value-added exports or through increased demand within the domestic market might be keys to keeping Yantian's economy flourishing.

## Freedom and Responsibility: Different Sides of the Same Coin

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi Speaks About Shaping Myanmar at Harvard Kennedy School



On September 27, 2012, Harvard Kennedy School welcomed Daw Aung San Suu Kyi to the JFK Jr. Forum to deliver the Godkin Lecture, considered to be one of the most prestigious annual lecture series at the School. Daw Suu delivered an inspiring yet humble speech on how she and members of her National League for Democracy party are teaching the Burmese to be citizens of a free society. "The best way to be a truly responsible citizen in a free society is to act as though you are already a free citizen in a free society," she said.

Being a free citizen is a completely new concept for the Burmese, who until recently had been living under military rule for five decades. Nearly 25 years ago, Daw Suu returned to her country to fight for peace noting "this is not a time when anyone who cares can stay out." She formed the National League for Democracy party in 1988, but was placed under house arrest in 1989 for 15 out of the last 19 years.

"From that day in 1989, Daw Suu has maintained a serene tenacity that continues to be a defining feature of her leadership," said President Drew Faust at the lecture's opening remarks with HKS Dean David Ellwood. "Despite imprisonment and intimidation, confinement and surveillance, she has always stood for nonviolent opposition and in her own words 'the enervating miasma of fear."

In March of 2011, Myanmar established a new government and held its first elections

in 20 years. Though the elections were widely viewed as imperfect, newly elected President U Thein Sein has overseen a series of conciliatory political measures that many see as a positive departure from the repressive military dictatorship of his predecessor.

In April of this year, the country held its first parliamentary by-elections in which Daw Suu and other members of the National League for Democracy won 43 out of 44 contested seats, thereby securing a minority of seats in the lower house of the Burmese Parliament. During her lecture, Daw Suu described the six weeks leading up to the by-election as an opportunity not only to campaign for the National League of Democracy, but also to teach her people about the fundamental importance of voting as a right and responsibility of all free citizens.

She trained constituents in literally how to select their choices on ballots while combatting the pervasive culture of fear around voting: many worried of being imprisoned for voting and having their choices publicized to the authorities as had been the case during the previous military dictatorship. She explained to her constituents, "On the day of the elections, you will be equal to the president, because both of you have one vote." Voter turnout was over 70 percent and demonstrated a newfound eagerness on the part of the Burmese to participate in the civic process and perform their duty as citizens.

Beyond voter participation, Daw Suu described other steps she and her party are taking to prepare the Burmese to be citizens in a free society. The Rangoon District, which she represents, is made up of primarily small, poor, rural villages with a lack of portable water and roads all but unusable during the monsoon season. Daw Suu has started the process of constructing wells in the region as both a matter of necessity and as a means of teaching her constituency the basics of democratic governance. In order for villagers to receive a well, they must have a location centrally accessible to all and have to form a committee responsible for the maintenance of the well. Simple steps, Daw Suu explained, that can make a big difference in how citizens see themselves and the important role they can play in making a difference in the life of their communities. And it is already having an impact. "It's amazing what a small amount of responsibility can do for the self confidence of our people, who have never been treated as responsible, capable adults," said Daw Suu.

For the last half century, many Burmese have been treated, in Daw Suu's words, as "immature children." With their newfound freedom, Suu argued that they must take on responsibility because "freedom and responsibility are different sides of the same coin."

"We have just started out on the road of shaping our country into the kind of nation we want it to be," concluded Daw Suu. "And that means that our people have to be the kind of people capable of deciding their own destiny."



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## In the Fields of Myanmar

Ash Scholars Generate Policy Research to Build a Nation from the Ground Up

On a hot summer evening, Ash Center Economist David Dapice sits surrounded by a dozen poor farmers. They are in a soy bean field in the north of Naypyidaw, Myanmar's capital city. Except for the light from four small candles, it is pitch black, typical for many rural areas when only 25 percent of the country's residents have access to electricity.

This site visit was one of many that Dapice and the academic team led by Program Director Thomas Vallely have made over the last two years as part of the Center's Myanmar Program. "Since there is no real reliable data on Myanmar, we are trying to bring together a collaborative research team that includes Ash faculty and people from the government, civil society, and rural communities to truly understand the problems we are seeing on the ground," said Vallely.

The Myanmar Program team has visited with countless farmers, often right in their fields, to discuss diminishing crop prices, challenges to the harvest, and the arduous conditions of such work. Such direct engagement is a result of the Program's partnership with Proximity Designs, a Myanmar-based nonprofit and social enterprise. "We have to know the reality of the situation to speak knowledgably about policy options," said Dapice. "You can't give the best policy advice if you are just flying over the country."

#### Myanmar: A Path to Democratization?

Critics call for cautious optimism as Myanmar seemingly makes efforts to become a more open country. Democratization can be reversed, and according to the Program, poor management, insufficient infrastructure, and years of conflict with ethnic minorities living along its resource-rich borders have left the country inadequately prepared to plan for economic growth and development. Considering such challenges, the Myanmar Program is designed to enhance research on Myanmar's current state and provide educated policy guidance on different paths available to the nation's leadership. Its latest research explores agriculture, industry, energy, governance, and economic development issues.

#### The Impact of an Overvalued Exchange Rate on Farming

Farmers are struggling with lessening profitability of rice and other crops because wages, transport, and fertilizer costs continue to rise as a dollar's worth of rice yields fewer kyat. In the "Myanmar Agriculture in 2011" report, Program authors call for a stabilization of this overvalued exchange rate. While it has strengthened during the period of high inflation from 1200 kyat/\$1 to 800 kyat/\$1, the rate is now too strong. Through conversations with a number of stakeholders and farmers, Dapice and others have concluded that the currency must be adjusted by at least 20 to 30 percent more, so that farmers can escape this cycle of severe crop price depression.



#### Hydro Powers Peace

The Myanmar Program's research has explored hydroelectric power as a possible key to forging a more lasting peace with the country's ethnic minority states. Instead of mirroring the controversial and exclusionary dam building process of the past, the Myanmar Program has suggested a more inclusive process to establish a new Sino-Kachin Hydro Power Company which would potentially provide lasting benefits to the Chinese, Myanmar government, and residents of the ethnic Kachin state. The Program suggests launching the project with a full review of all potential dam sites by environmentalists and local residents. Once a dam is built, the established Sino-Kachin Hydro Power company would sell electricity to the Chinese at a price cheaper than wholesale rates, and pay a 25 percent sales tax to the Myanmar government and the Kachin state.

According to Dapice, "the central government needs to allow the Kachin state some amount of control to have budgetary authority to spend the tax revenues and their share of company profits."

#### A Coalition of Reformers

The Sino-Kachin Hydro Power company plan is just one aspect of the Myanmar Program's broader recommendations encouraging Myanmar to form a coalition of reformers if it is to truly undergo an economic and social transformation. Rather than regressing back into its previous practices of cronyism, the Program's scholars argue that the country's leadership must build even broader coalitions, educate the nation's people, expand access to public services, solidify property rights, and encourage political participation among citizens.

According to Thomas Vallely, such coalition building is already under way, and President U Thein Sein has started championing the participation of diverse political groups. "There seems to be an important coalition developing that includes Aung San Suu Kyi and the National League for Democracy, a growing number of leaders from ethnic states, and government officials who are trying to move the country in a direction towards serious economic and political reform."

# Ash Center Recognizes 111 Bright Ideas in Government

In September 2012, the Ash Center's Innovations in Government program recognized 111 innovative government initiatives as Bright Ideas. This year's cohort hails from all levels of government including school districts, county, city, state, and federal agencies as well as public-private partnerships—and demonstrates a creative range of solutions to issues such as urban and rural degradation, environmental problems, and the academic achievement of students. Programs were evaluated and selected by a team of policy experts from academic and public sectors.

"Government innovation does not require endless resources and generous budgets," said Stephen Goldsmith, director of the Innovations in Government Program at the Ash Center. "As exemplified by this year's Bright Ideas, some of our country's smartest innovations can in fact reduce government's size while serving our citizens more efficiently and effectively."

This is the third cohort recognized through the Bright Ideas program, an initiative of the broader Innovations in American Government Awards program. To be considered a Bright Idea, programs must currently be in operation or in the process of launching and have sufficient operational resources. In addition, programs must be administered by one or more governmental entities; nonprofit, private sector, and union initiatives are eligible if operating in partnership with a governmental organization. Bright Ideas will be showcased on the Ash Center's Government Innovators Network, an online platform for practitioners and policymakers to share innovative public policy solutions.

#### Preventing Crime Before It Happens & Reintegrating Offenders

A number of Bright Ideas use advanced technologies to proactively prevent crime and improve emergency response. Both Auburn, Alabama's Collective Knowledge for Better Public Safety and Illinois' Private Sector Integration Project consolidate data from disparate sources to provide a more accurate picture of daily and emergency operations and improve performance among responders. Baltimore County's Data-Driven Approaches to Crime and Traffic Safety and Pennsylvania's Payment Score move beyond data consolidation to employ predictive data analytics: Baltimore uses data to determine hot spots in high crime and traffic incidents to deploy high visibility officers in those areas and curb future crime, while Pennsylvania analyzes data to identify and offer increased support to non-custodial parents not likely to pay child support.

Other recognized programs help former criminal offenders to successfully reintegrate into their communities. Newark, New Jersey's Office of Reentry helps individuals find work and reunite with their families, and Kentucky's Reentry Hotline delivers similar customized support via its 24-hour toll free support line. Suffolk County, Massachusetts' Community Reentry for Women teaches gender-specific life skills to help female offenders rejoin their communities, while Oklahoma City's SHINE involves former offenders in

community service and neighborhood beautification projects.

#### **Economic Development**

Several Bright Ideas have created innovative programming to revitalize areas debilitated by blight, foreclosures, and abandoned properties. New Orleans' BlightStat is a tool that measures and tracks city performance towards Mayor Landrieu's goal of reducing the number of decaying, abandoned properties by 10,000 in 2014. Project Green House in Flint, Michigan, recycles upwards of 95 percent of abandoned home building materials, while the U.S. Department of Treasury's New Markets Tax Credit Program offers tax credits to encourage new economic and community development in distressed areas.

Other programs focus on job development and small business growth. Each year, Johnson County, Kansas' GovFest for Entrepreneurs convenes nearly 60 government agencies at all levels to showcase opportunities for collaboration, networking, and help in starting businesses, while San Clemente, California's Business Liaison/Facilitator Program offers entrepreneurs individualized support related to licenses, permits, and grants. In addition to small business support, several Bright Ideas address employment such as the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs' MyCareer@VA, an online career development program for Veterans Affairs (VA) employees and job seekers to develop a career path and find employment within the VA. Washington, DC's One City, One Hire links unemployed residents with local employers, while both Milwaukee County's Summer Youth Employment Program and Wisconsin's Youth Workforce Development Program teach job training skills to economically disadvantaged, urban youth.

#### **Energizing our Nation's Students**

Several Bright Ideas focus on reinvigorating school curricula and encouraging interest in science and mathematics. NASA's Explorer Schools provides teachers with interactive lesson plans and classroom activities around math, science, technology, and engineering, and Stark County, Ohio's Science and Math Moving On program provides its 17 school districts with the latest in 21st century, hightech learning tools to invigorate traditional lesson plans and enhance learning among students. Other programs move beyond traditional curricula: Nancy's Garden in Montana teaches elementary students the science of growing food; Allegheny County, Pennsylvania's Music Festival Fund provides vulnerable children life-enriching art opportunities; and Chesterfield County, Virginia's Build a House Program teaches technical students how to build homes for people with intellectual disabilities.

**BRIGHT IDEAS** 

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#### BRIGHT IDEAS

#### **Environmental Protection & Conservation**

Both Maryland and Lancaster, Pennsylvania, have created innovative programs to protect the Chesapeake Bay. Maryland's BayStat identifies and tracks farming, public land filtering, and waste water goals to restore the Bay, while Lancaster's Restoration with Green Infrastructure has found cost effective solutions for curbing stormwater runoff from emptying into the Bay. Indianapolis' Clean Water Initiative and Edmonston's Green Street have also addressed storm water challenges: through innovative engineering solutions, Indianapolis has prevented 3.5 million gallons of sewage from polluting waterways, and Edmonston has employed natural water filters during storms and dramatically reduced localized flooding. Other Bright Ideas protect local resources: Massachusetts' Mass-Grown & Fresher connects consumers to local agriculture, Hawaii's Maui Nui Seabird Colony Champions engages community in the protection of endangered seabird colonies, and Arizona's HabiMap and Wildlife Overpass uses GPS mapping technologies to prevent wildlife-vehicle collisions.

#### **Real-Time Data and Transparency**

Still other Bright Ideas demonstrate more efficient and effective delivery of government services. Through Washington, DC's Track DC, citizens can access real-time information about city agency performance, budgets, and spending while San Francisco's Property Information Map offers an easy-to-use portal of real-time data on available properties, as well as information on zoning, permits, and previous sales prices. Programs like Washington's Connection Benefit Portal and St. Louis, Missouri's Special Needs Registry share this same model of real-time data in one, easy-to-use portal: the Special Needs Registry provides city agencies up-to-date information about special needs residents so that they can be quickly served during emergencies, and the Connection Benefit Portal allows low-income families easy access to information on available benefits and services.



Accelerated Payments United States Department of Defense Affordable Downtown Wi-Fi City of Newton, NC All Dads Matter Merced County, CA Animal Euthanasia Reductions Lee County, FL BayStat State of Maryland Blight Reduction Strategy City of New Orleans, LA Build A House Program Chesterfield County, VA Building Cyber Safety through Community Partnerships City of Madison, WI Business Liaison/Facilitator Program City of San Clemente, CA Business QuickStart State of Rhode Island Case Update Tracking and Eligibility County of Sacramento, CA Changing Actions to Change Habits City of Columbus, OH Charter School System City of Pembroke Pines, FL Chesapeake Bay Restoration with Green Infrastructure City of Lancaster, PA Circles of Peace Pretrial Services Program Santa Cruz County, AZ Clean Energy Works Portland City of Portland, OR Clean Water Initiative City of Indianapolis, IN Collective Knowledge for Better Public Safety City of Auburn, AL Combined Sewer Overflow Control Technology City of South Bend, IN Community Choice Aggregation Village of Oak Park, IL Community Reentry for Women Suffolk County, MA Compliance Checks: A Community Approach Chesterfield County, VA Compressed Natural Gas Program City of Nashua, NH **Connection Benefit Portal State of Washington** Data-Driven Approaches to Crime and Traffic Safety Baltimore County, MD e2 Business Program Salt Lake City, UT Electronic Plans City of Charlotte, NC Environmentally Responsible Redevelopment and Reuse United States **Environmental Protection Agency** Explorer Schools National Aeronautics and Space Administration Express Insurance Export-Import Bank of the United States Family Impact Seminars for State Policymakers 21 States and the District of Columbia

Federal Register 2.0 National Archives and Records Administration Forensic Practitioner Training State of Tennessee Fuel Cleaning System Navy Region Hawaii Port Operations, United States **Department of Navy GovFest for Entrepreneurs: What Government Information Can Do for** Your Business Johnson County, KS Green Communities State of Michigan Green Street Town of Edmonston, MD GreenTools Sustainable Cities King County, WA Guests First Lee County, FL HabiMap and Wildlife Overpass State of Arizona Health and Human Services Video Interviewing San Diego County, CA Innovative Readiness Training Program United States Department of Defense Investing in Innovation United States Department of Education JeffClerk Alert and Mobile Apps Jefferson Parish Clerk of Court, LA Kids' Court School State of Nevada Limitless Libraries Nashville Davidson County, TN MassGrown & Fresher Commonwealth of Massachusetts Maui Nui Seabird Colony Champions State of Hawaii Mobile Inmate Video Visitation Bus Pinellas County, FL Mosaic Parcel Map Project State of New Hampshire Music Festival Fund Allegheny County, Pennsylvania MyCareer@VA United States Department of Veterans Affairs Nancy's Garden State of Montana National Expansion of the Parent/Teacher Home Visit Project Sacramento City **Unified School District** Neighborhood Partnering Program City of Austin, TX Neighborhood Resource Center Allen County, IN New Markets Tax Credit Program United States Department of the Treasury Office of Reentry City of Newark, NJ One City, One Hire City of Washington, DC Open-Source Software for Public Health Agencies Larimer County, CO Outcome Budgeting City of Baltimore, MD Outrageous Communication and Public Health Oklahoma City, OK Partnering with Skateboarders City of Seattle, WA Pawsitive Adoptions with Success City of Pasadena, TX Payment Score Calculator Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Performance Audit Orange County, CA Permanent Electronics Recycling Program Broome County, NY Phoenix Rising Program City of Ocala, FL Play and Learn Islands City of Rancho Cucamonga, CA Police Peer Helper Program City of New Bedford, MA Police Portal New Castle County, DE Private Sector Integration Project State of Illinois Program Integrity Group State of Ohio Project Green House City of Flint, Michigan Property Information Map City and County of San Francisco, CA Public Access Defibrillator Program City of Sioux Falls, SD Public Health Emergency Community Notification Clark County, WA



Public Health Information System Otter Tail County in Partnership with 26 Counties, MN Redemption Youth Community Council City of Brooklyn, NY Reentry Hotline State of Kentucky Replicating the Blueprint for Safety City of Saint Paul, MN Residential Life-Safety Inspection Program City of Saint Paul, MN Results Only Work Environment Hennepin County, MN Right Sizing Juvenile Justice State of Alabama Safe Routes to School United States Department of Transportation School Emergency Contact Cards and Foster Care Placements City of Baltimore, MD School Threat Assessment Response Team Los Angeles County, CA Science and Math Moving On Stark County, OH Security Integration Initiative State of Maryland Service Coordination Model State of Louisiana SHINE Oklahoma County, OK SmartWay Transport United States Environmental Protection Agency Solar Decathion United States Department of Energy Special Needs Registry City of St. Louis, MO Street Light Efficiency Program City of Los Angeles, CA Summer Youth Employment Program Milwaukee County, WI Supervisory Leadership Training Program City of Olathe, KS Technology Initiatives for Building Placards City of Roanoke, VA Temporary and Medical Assignment Program Riverside County, California The Portland Loo City of Portland, OR Track DC City of Washington, DC Transitional Education Program Racine County, WI Tree Voucher Program City of Paducah, KY Truancy Court Program State of Maryland Virtual Interactive Planner Town of Cary, NC Virtual Interns "Moove" Leaders Up! United States Department of Agriculture Work Hard—Work Smart City of Wichita Falls, TX Workers' Compensation Management System State of Montana Youth Achievement Program DeKalb County, GA Youth-Police Unity Project City of Rochester, NY Youth Workforce Development Program Racine County, WI

BRIGHT IDEAS

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# Leading Academics and Practitioners Convene at Harvard to Discuss U.S.-China Relations







Designed to encourage candid conversation and meaningful collaboration on key topics related to United States-China relations, the fourth Globalization Forum convened leading academics, advisors, and policymakers for a closed conference held June 18–20, 2012, at Harvard Kennedy School. Through both public addresses and panel discussions, participants explored a range of pertinent issues including international security and soft power, economic globalization, management of environmental resources, and the future of global governance.

David Ellwood, Dean of Harvard Kennedy School (HKS); Sun Fang, Chairman of the Foundation for Globalization Cooperation; Li Xiaolin, President of The Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries and head of the Chinese delegation; and Joseph Nye, Harvard University Distinguished Service Professor at HKS made remarks at the event's opening dinner.

Lawrence Summers, President Emeritus of Harvard University and former director of the National Economic Council for the Obama Administration, delivered the Forum's keynote address stressing the importance of a harmonious economic relationship between the United States and China and cautioned against the tendency of both countries to blame each other for their own domestic problems. "As we think about the relationship between the U.S. and China, we need to be open to the possibility of significantly more discontinuity between the economic performance of the last decade and the performance of the next than is common in most geopolitical discussions," said Summers. He explained that the precise parameters of the current U.S.-China economic relationship may not necessarily predetermine the future economic success of one country over the other—a fact Summers noted is frequently misunderstood among those that stress U.S.-China interdependence.

Citing Japan's fall in the late 1980s and Russia after the launch of Sputnik, Summers countered the pervasive assumption that high-growth countries like China will continue their rapid pace in the future. "If a country is declared to be a miracle and enjoying miraculous economic growth, its performance is likely to subsequently deteriorate." Moreover, with the world's shrinking ability to absorb China's increasing exports and China's own potential slowing growth, its infrastructure investments and other excess capacity could prove problematic.

Summers also discussed the implications of moving beyond the industrial era. "Conventional capitalism has been remarkably good at growing food and producing widgets, but those are going to be less important for either of our societies over the next generation." Instead, Summers argued that government will play a more central role in the delivery of increasingly costly social services such as health care and education.

"These perspectives on the economic challenges discussed at the Globalization Forum set a backdrop for what is a profoundly important conversation which I hope will continue in economic fora for many years into the future," concluded Summers.

"In the era of globalization, only when we try to understand and respect different countries and cultures through communications and exchanges, learn from each other, and seek common ground while reserving differences, can we truly promote the prosperity and progress of human civilization," said Li Xiaolin. "I sincerely hope that countries around the world can realize the prosperity and progress of mankind through mutual respect and win-win cooperation."

The Globalization Forum was organized by the Rajawali Foundation Institute for Asia at the Ash Center and the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, both at Harvard Kennedy School; the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries; and the Foundation for Globalization Cooperation.

### The Bold Pace of China's Globalization Ash Center Hosts Wanda Group and Sixth Annual China *Goes* Global Conference

Wanda Group Founder and Chairman Jianlin Wang spoke to a standing-room only crowd of students, faculty, and members of the Boston community in early September on the bold pace of China's globalization. As a leading private enterprise in China with over \$40 billion in assets in commercial real estate ventures, the Wanda Group most recently announced plans to invest over \$10 billion in American enterprises over the next decade. This announcement comes on the heels of the Group's already successful \$2.6 billion acquisition of AMC Entertainment Holdings, creating the world's largest cinema chain and marking the biggest cross-border acquisition by a privately-held Chinese company in history. "I think for the world, this is a landmark," said Wang. "And for China, this acquisition means that the 'go out' strategy called for by the Chinese government is being reflected in private enterprises."

Founded in 1988, the Wanda Group's rise to become a leading player in commercial real estate and information management has not always been easy. "I think the company's expansion over the last 25 years is even more incredible given the suspicion with which the private sector has been viewed in China historically and even today in some quarters," said Anthony Saich in his introductory remarks.

Under the Chinese Communist Party, private enterprises were monitored closely and restricted to having less than 10 employees up until the reform period of the 1980s. Since then, private sector companies have slowly and steadily been allowed to grow, but were blamed for funding the Tiananmen Square student protests in 1989. While far from a golden child today, private enterprises have come to be viewed as an important sector for increasing the country's GDP, even though many complain that state-owned firms continue to be favored in bank lending and stock exchange listings. But the tide may be turning in favor of the private sector. In February of this year, China's National **Development and Reform Commission** announced new guidelines to make it easier for private enterprises to invest abroad

including tax incentives and credit support.

Companies like the Wanda Group have established a strategy of working "close to government, distant from politics" according to Wang. As the Wanda Group continues to enlarge its global footprint, working within the more secure legal structure and more mature market economy of the U.S. may prove a welcome respite. Chairman Wang notes that in the AMC Theaters acquisition, "we have used existing local talents, information management, advanced technologies, and our own capital advantage while not imposing our own culture or talents." And the strategy seems to be working: while AMC reported a loss of \$100 million last year, this year it projects upwards of \$20 million in profits all while only bringing over one Chinese employee to the U.S.

"There are plenty of investment opportunities from China which we should be encouraging, such as the latest Wanda Group acquisition" said Saich. "Many states are already courting Chinese investment irrespective of whatever the federal government says or does."

#### China Goes Global

Encouraging such outward direct investment of globalized Chinese companies like the Wanda Group was a key topic at the sixth annual China Goes Global conference, held in early October. Convening leading thinkers from government, academic, nonprofit, and business sectors, the two-day conference included 16 panel discussions on a range of pertinent topics related to China's globalization and its impact on the world such as Chinese global competitiveness, the impact of Chinese firms on global politics, and the role of the state in the globalization of Chinese companies.

China Goes Global was co-sponsored by the Ash Center, Harvard Kennedy School; the Center for International Business Education and Research, Georgia Institute of Technology; Jacobs University, Bremen, Germany; and the Crummer Graduate School of Business and Rollins China Center, Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida.





Karl P. Sauvant, Columbia Law School, speaks at China *Goes* Global



The annual conference is part of a larger multidisciplinary initiative supporting transnational research on China's globalization which has already resulted in the publication of *China Rules: Globalization and Political Transformation* (Palgrave McMillan, 2009) and special issues in the *Chinese Management Studies Journal* and the

## Protecting the Vote: Suppression, Fraud, and the Future of Voter ID Laws

#### September 13, 2012

The Ash Center kicked off its Democracy Seminar Series with a spirited debate assessing the increasing number of voter laws in the 2011-2012 election cycle and the implications of the politicization of election administration by state legislatures. Held at the JFK Jr. Forum and cosponsored by the Harvard Institute of Politics as part of its election series, the event featured Jennie Bowser, senior fellow at the National Conference of State Legislatures; John Fund, senior editor of *The American Spectator*; Alex Keyssar, Matthew W. Stirling Jr. Professor of History and Social Policy, HKS; and Tova Wang, senior democracy fellow of Demos and fellow at The Century Foundation.

Bowser set the context for the event by explaining trends around three notable areas in voter registration: increased state regulation of voter registration drives; shortened and more restricted periods for early voting; and an increase in voter ID laws. Wang argued that states are "cherry picking who they will allow to vote by requiring certain types of identification that certain populations just don't have," thus deterring groups of voters that typically vote Democratic. Fund took the counter position citing a recent Pew Research Report that found one out of every eight U.S. voter registrations was invalid or contained serious errors and noting a number of incidents where voters had cast ballots under names of the deceased. "I think we are seeing a set of changes in the social composition of the electorate which in current circumstances one major party has found to be threatening," explained Professor Keyssar, "because most of those people, to the extent that they are voting, are voting for Democrats."

During the fall semester, the Ash Center held the following additional seminars and screenings:

- Communication in a Post Truth Age of Politics, October 10, 2012 Christopher Robichaud, Harvard Kennedy School and Jason Stanley, Rutgers University
- We're Not Broke: Film Screening & Panel Discussion, October 18, 2012

   Phineas Baxandall, MASSPIRG; Chuck Collins, Institute for Policy Studies; Archon Fung, Harvard Kennedy School Co-sponsored by MASSPIRG
- Grassroots Democracy: How Would It Work?, November 9, 2012—Congressman John Sarbanes, Maryland's 3rd Congressional District; Stephen Ansolabehere, Harvard University; Archon Fung, Harvard Kennedy School; Lawrence Lessig, Harvard Law School; and Spencer Overton, George Washington University Law School *Co-sponsored by the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, Harvard University*
- Taking Our Country Back: The Crafting of Networked Politics from Howard Dean to Barack Obama, November 14, 2012—Daniel Kreiss, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill
- The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy, December 5, 2012—Kay Schlozman, Boston College

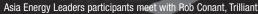














#### Making the American City Work Again

Urban Policy Advisory Group Session August 2–4, 2012

Can today's American cities continue to be our country's source for growth and opportunity in a climate of global economic uncertainty, mounting international competition, and ever-increasing demand for government services? This was of key concern at the eighth meeting of the Urban Policy Advisory Group (UPAG), which convened senior mayoral advisors from 26 innovative cities from around the country. Harvard Business Professor Clayton Christensen kicked off the event with a keynote address drawing from his bestselling book *The Innovator's Dilemma* to present key lessons on how city leaders can abandon business-as-usual practices in favor of more "disruptive," innovative methods.

Throughout the three-day session led by Innovations in Government Director Stephen Goldsmith and Living Cities President and CEO Ben Hecht, members shared unique and creative programs that their cities have piloted to address the skills and training gap in the country and the advances their cities have made in infrastructure design and finance, digital innovation, and private capital investment. UPAG members presented their city's impediments to both generating and scaling up innovative ideas and identified a host of pilot programs that have resulted in improved service delivery and government efficiency. A later session explored how new social networking tools and digital technologies are enhancing government's responsiveness to citizens and encouraging a more engaged citizenry.

#### Asia Energy Leaders Training Program

August 20-September 2, 2012

The Asia Energy Leaders Program convenes premier faculty and senior energy executives of the Asian region to analyze emerging trends in energy technology, policy, and markets. In its first iteration, the Program designed a tailored curriculum for executives of the China Southern Grid Corporation, the second largest electricity provider in China. This three-week training program-held both in San Francisco and at Harvard Kennedy School-gave executives new frameworks and innovative approaches to understanding five key issues: globalization; energy governance and energy security; competitiveness and corporate strategy; low carbon technologies in the face of climate change; and sustainable development. In the final week of the program, lectures extended beyond energy policy to overviews of U.S. politics, institutions, and the upcoming election, as well as the U.S.-China relationship. In addition to classroom lecture and discussion, participants met with leading technology practitioners from IBM Technology and Solutions and General Electric, witnessed firsthand how solar energy can power businesses in the Sonoma Valley, and talked with energy regulators at the federal and state levels.

## Luncheon with His Excellency Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj, President of Mongolia

#### September 21, 2012

This fall, the Ash Center sponsored a private luncheon with Mongolian President Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj and a number of Kennedy School faculty including Graham Allison, Elaine Kamarck, Ronald Heifetz, and Anthony Saich along with several New World and Democracy Fellows. Elbegdorj, a 2002 master's in public administration graduate, spoke fondly of his time at Harvard Kennedy School and the courses he took with the HKS faculty. He also discussed his priorities for defeating corrupt practices and developing Mongolia's natural resources-a blessing and a curse as Mongolia attempts to reap the economic and environmental benefits such resources provide. At a JFK Jr. Forum later that day, Elbegdorj elaborated on his plans to fight corruption through a policy of "human rights, openness, and justice" and discussed Mongolia's free-market enterprise practices that have led to the country's unprecedented 17 percent annual economic growth. For Elebegdorj, "democracy is a learned process," and in his capacity as the country's fourth elected president, he shared his goal that Mongolia remain a "democratic anchor of the East," and a leader of world freedom. "We need to make sure that people have the power and that there is transparency and accountability in government," he said. The audience included several notable political figures: former Prime Minister of Greece Georgios A. Papandreau, former President of Ecuador J. Jamil Mahuad, and former Governor of Massachusetts William F. Weld.

#### Leadership Transformation in Indonesia

September 10–October 5, 2012

Nearly 40 newly elected Indonesian district heads and mayors (Bupati and Walikota) along with their heads of regional development and planning (Ketua Bappeda) attended the second iteration of the Leadership Transformation in Indonesia executive education program this fall. This four-week course is designed to provide newly elected officials with key technical skills and broader multinational perspectives on issues of sustainable development, strategic leadership, and new public management. "We want to equip these local government leaders with both a stronger conceptual foundation as well as enhanced practical leadership and management skills so that when they return to Indonesia, they are better prepared to govern during Indonesia's period of decentralization-led public sector reform," said Jay Rosengard, a faculty co-chair with Anthony Saich. The course included one week of lectures in Jakarta, Indonesia, and three weeks of classroom sessions at Harvard Kennedy School taught by over 20 distinguished Harvard faculty and facilitators from several Indonesian universities. In addition to classroom lecture and discussion, participants visited with local government officials in the Boston area to reinforce key classroom lessons and develop important connections with their peers in similar positions.



HKS Professor Gary Orren speaks at Leadership Transformation in Indonesia class





## Ash Center Funds Experiential Learning Projects

This past summer, the Ash Center supported 23 students through experiential learning projects. Students were selected as Summer Fellows in Innovation, HKS Indonesia Student Research Grantees, and Vietnam Program Interns and collectively received \$106 thousand in support to defray research, travel, and living costs.

"The Ash Center is committed to supporting students throughout their time at HKS and best equipping them with the tools to succeed in the world of practice upon graduation," said Anthony Saich, director of the Ash Center. "These summer immersive experiences are an important component of the HKS curriculum, and allow students to actively apply the theory, ideas, and scholarship they have learned in the classroom while gaining real world career experience."

#### **Summer Fellows in Innovation**

Now in its fourth year, the Summer Fellowship in Innovation prepares HKS students for public sector careers by giving them the opportunity to apply classroom lessons to real world policy challenges faced by U.S. public sector agencies. The following nine students were selected as 2012 Summer Fellows in Innovation:

Victor Cedeño, MPP 2013: Cedeño researched policy and leadership strategies to help spur business ownership and employment among immigrant communities for Minneapolis Mayor R.T. Rybak.

**Will Cook**, MPA 2013: Cook helped the Department of Labor expand its Open Government Agenda and assisted in the modernization of its customer service operations.

**Roniesha Copeland**, MBA/MPP 2014: Copeland developed strategies for advancing educational reform and innovation for Sacramento Mayor Kevin Johnson.

Nikhil Gahlawat, MPP 2013: Gahlawat worked with New York City's Center for Economic Opportunity—the 2011 Innovations in American Government Award winner—to develop multimedia platforms to effectively communicate the program's policy goals and models and enhance stakeholders' understanding.

**Tyler Jaeckel**, MPP/JD 2013: Jaeckel cultivated high-impact ideas that simplify federal processes to benefit state and local governments for the U.S. Office of Management and Budget.

**Rohit Malhotra**, MPP 2013: Malhotra studied best practices and financial innovations in social services, in particular on the potential of Pay for Success and Big Society Bank models.

**Kristina Redgrave**, MPP 2013: Redgrave wrote technology policy legislation around open data and collaborative consumption and constructed new initiatives that integrate technology into governance for San Francisco Mayor Edwin Lee.

**Iain Watt**, MPP 2013: Watt analyzed the local commercial waste regulatory environment and explored possible internal operational improvements for the New York City Business Integrity Commission. **Benjamin Weinryb Grohsgal**, MUP/MMP 2014: Weinryb Grohsgal identified and evaluated the best information technologies and other tools available for listening to customer chatter, competitor intelligence, and industry trends for Littleton, Colorado. This city's Economic Gardening program was an Innovations in American Government Award finalist.

#### **HKS Indonesia Student Research Grantees**

The Ash Center's HKS Indonesia Program encourages students with an interest in Indonesia from HKS and across Harvard University by supporting their research internships, independent research, and other forms of study conducted in Indonesia. The following 10 students were selected as HKS Indonesia Student Research Grantees this summer:

**Paula Escobar**, HKS MPA/ID 2013: Escobar interned at Indonesia's Vice Presidential Office on the National Team for Accelerating Poverty Reduction (TNP2K) in Jakarta, Indonesia.

**Philips Loh**, HSPH MS 2013: With the local Indonesian Ministry of Health and Summit Institute of Development (SID) in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia, Loh worked on his independent research project, "Governance Structures and Policies and the Implementation, Management, and Quality of Tuberculosis Services in West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) Province, Indonesia."

**Odette Maciel**, HKS MPA/ID 2013: Maciel interned at Indonesia's Vice Presidential Office on the National Team for Accelerating Poverty Reduction (TNP2K) in Jakarta, Indonesia.

**Izhari Mawardi**, HKS MPP 2013: Mawardi researched, "The Separation of Power and Political Strategy for the BPK-RI Post Constitutional Amendment."

**Paloma Merodio**, HKS MPA/ID 2013: Merodio interned at the Water and Sanitation Program of the World Bank Office in Jakarta, Indonesia.

**Alykhan Mohamed**, GSD MUP 2013: With Solo Kota Kita, Mohamed performed independent research titled, "Identity vs. Development: Case Studies of Waterfront Communities in Banjarmasin and Solo, Indonesia" in Solo and Banjarmasin, Indonesia.

**Fuadi Pitsuwan**, HKS MPP 2013 – While in Jakarta, Indonesia, Pitsuwan performed the independent research project titled, "Why Indonesia is Punching Below its Weight in the International Politics of the Islamic World."

Imran Sarwar, HKS MPP 2013: With the International Labour Organization Office in Jakarta, Indonesia, Sarwar worked on his independent research project titled, "Better Work Indonesia: Private Sector Compliance with Mandatory Health Care in Indonesia."

**Diego Solares**, HKS MPP 2013: Solares interned for the Southeast Asian Minister of Education Organization Regional Center for Food and Nutrition (SEAMEO RECFON) office in Jakarta, Indonesia. **Paola Vargas**, HKS MPA/ID 2013: Vargas interned at Indonesia's Vice Presidential Office on the National Team for Accelerating Poverty Reduction (TNP2K) in Jakarta, Indonesia.

#### **Vietnam Program Internships**

Through its summer internship program, the Ash Center's Vietnam Program supports students both at Harvard and throughout the country to participate in intensive faculty-directed research at the Fulbright School in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam. These eight-week internships allow students to explore a wide range of pertinent policy issues affecting Vietnam including land policy, rural poverty, environmental issues, industrial policy, infrastructure, urbanization, and

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## Student Focus

2012–2013 New Fellows

#### **HKS Degree Student Fellowships**

#### Ford Foundation Mason Fellows

The Ford Foundation Mason Fellowship is an annual fellowship supporting mid-career students from lower-income countries to study at Harvard Kennedy School for an intensive, one-year master's degree in public administration. The Ash Center is sponsoring the following students for this academic year:

**Gupta, Suparna**, Mason Fellow '13, is the founder and director of a nonprofit that seeks to influence India's child welfare policy.

**Ohanyan, Lilit**, Mason Fellow '13, serves as a political specialist at the U.S. Embassy in Armenia, working on democracy, good governance, and conflict resolution issues.

**Ranivohariniony, Holy**, Mason Fellow '13, worked in environmental education at a nonprofit before joining the president's Good Governance Directorate in Madagascar.

**Saez, Gabriel**, Mason Fellow '13, is a former journalist and congressional staffer who is currently working for the South American Initiative at FLACSO Argentina.

#### **Roy and Lila Ash Fellows**

The Roy and Lila Ash Fellowship in Democracy supports students with a strong interest in the broad questions of democratic governance, a capacity for leadership, a commitment to search and inquiry, and a dedication to advancements in social justice and service to citizens around the world. The following student was selected as this year's Roy and Lila Ash Fellow in Democracy: **Lee, Shwai-May**, MC/MPA '13, most recently was a humanitarian development officer in Myanmar who has worked with international NGOs including Christian Aid UK and World Vision.

#### Lee Kuan Yew Fellowship

The Lee Kuan Yew Fellows Program brings mid-career students to HKS for one semester each year. From every country in Asia, these students are candidates for the Master in Public Management degree at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore. For a complete listing of this year's 20 LKY fellows, please visit http://bit.ly/lkyfellows.

#### **Democracy Fellowships**

The Ash Center's Democracy Fellowships program aims to support doctoral and post-doctoral scholars in research related to democratic governance. This year, the following fellows join the Ash Center: **Mayka, Lindsay**, Ph.D. Candidate, University of California, Berkeley **Moore, Alfred**, Assistant Professor, University College, Ireland **Roth, Laura**, Ph.D. Candidate, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, Spain

Saunders-Hastings, Emma, Ph.D. Candidate, Harvard University Shames, Shauna, Ph.D. Candidate, Harvard University Ulusoy, Kivanc, Associate Professor of Political Science, Istanbul University, Turkey

### Free and Fair Elections in Post-Soviet Armenia

Mason Fellow Researches Solutions for Sustainable Democracy

"Elections are my passion—I believe that they are the basis for a sustainable democracy," said Lilit Ohanyan, one of the Ash Center's four Ford Foundation Mason Fellows for the 2012-2013 academic year. "However, free and fair elections on their own are not enough of a guarantee for a country to move in the right direction, and at HKS, I am trying to explore ways of ensuring that liberal democracy flourishes." With both the American presidential election and the sixth-ever presidential election in Armenia this February, Ohanyan has much material to study.

Ohanyan, a HKS Mid-Career MPA student, is on leave from the U.S. Embassy in Armenia, where she served as a political specialist focusing on improving democratic processes in Armenia. Throughout her career, she spearheaded USAID-funded training programs for the country's parliamentarians, political parties, civil society leaders, and journalists to expose them to new models for improving the electoral process in Armenia. "We hoped to demonstrate to all stakeholders that it is possible to win an election in fair competition," said Ohanyan. "It requires more work and a lot more strategic planning, but the result is much more sustainable."

She also advised local NGOs on methods for enhancing government accountability and transparency, and counseled the media on ways to deliver objective, balanced campaign coverage to allow voters to make more informed choices. Much of her counsel drew upon Western models for electoral campaigning, knowledge she gained through her former role with the U.S. National Democratic Institute in Armenia.

#### **Research Fellowships**

#### Indonesia Research Fellowship

The Harvard Kennedy School Indonesia Program offers fellowships to support Indonesian students and scholars participating in degree courses and executive education programs at Harvard or conducting research on public policy in Indonesia. Six fellows join the Ash Center: **Darwin, Muhadjir**, Professor, Department of Public Policy and Management, Universitas Gadjah Mada

Hanan, Djayadi, Lecturer, University of Paramadina, Jakarta Nugroho, Hanan, Senior Planner, National Development Planning Board (BAPPENAS) of Indonesia

Pambudhi, P. Agung, Advisor, Regional Autonomy Watch (KPPOD) Toha, Risa J., Ph.D. in Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles

Triyana, Margaret, Ph.D. Candidate, University of Chicago

#### **New World Fellows**

The New World Fellows Program encourages the next generation of prominent Chinese leaders to develop their professional skills and interact with international leaders of similar seniority and experience, as well as distinguished Harvard faculty, before returning to their positions of responsibility in the Chinese government. The Ash Center welcomes the following government officials as New World Fellows for the fall academic semester:

Liu, Shijin, Vice Minister, Development Research Center of State Council (DRC)

Wang, Lanmin, Director, Earthquake Administration of Gansu Province Wang, Weizhong, Vice Minister, Ministry of Science and Technology

#### **Rajawali Fellows**

The Rajawali Fellows program allows individuals the freedom to pursue independent research projects, with the help of the Center's Rajawali Foundation Institute for Asia, along with Harvard resources. Visit http://bit.ly/rajawalifellows for more information about this year's 24 fellows.

#### continued from page 13

macroeconomics/trade issues. Five students were selected as 2012 Vietnam Program Interns this summer:

**Gavin Feng**, HKS MPA 2013: Feng researched the macroeconomic challenges confronting Vietnam, with a particular focus on monetary and fiscal policies.

**Dominik Peschel**, HKS MPA 2013: Peschel researched banking sector reform and monetary policy for a broader study on the macroeco-nomic challenges confronting Vietnam.

**Rafael Puyana**, HKS MPAID 2013: Puyana participated in team research on the macroeconomic challenges confronting Vietnam, with a particular focus on Vietnam's evolving growth strategy. **Nga Than**, Agnes Scott College 2013: Than explored policy challenges associated with Vietnam's development.

**Minh H. Vo**, Swarthmore College 2014: Vo studied policy challenges associated with Vietnam's development as part of a team of researchers.





Lilit Ohanyan (center) plants a tree in the yard of the U.S. Embassy of Armenia

## Voter Apathy, Youth Activism, and a More Open Administration

While Armenia became an independent democratic republic upon the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, voter apathy is widespread: according to a March 2012 poll commissioned by the U.S. National Democratic Institute, only 12 percent of voters expected last May's parliamentarian elections to be democratic. "The frustration with the electoral process is a huge issue," said Ohanyan. "You hear more and more, 'I will not vote because it doesn't matter, and it's not going to be counted correctly.'"

Yet, Ohanyan is seeing positive signs of gradual change both in the new administration and among young voters. "Instead of more aggressive tactics, President Sargsyan strategizes and is more willing to enter into a dialogue with parties holding different viewpoints," said Ohanyan.

Ohanyan is also witnessing a new wave of community engagement among the country's youth, specifically around environmental and historic preservation issues. In 2010, the Armenian government granted a contract to Robshin Ltd. to build a hydroelectric plant over the Trchkan waterfall, a tourist-destination and natural landmark in Northern Armenia. Outraged youth created the successful "Save Trchkan Waterfall" Facebook campaign, and as their cause swelled to 4,500 members, groups of activists peacefully camped out by the waterfall for months, attracting attention for their innocent campfire sing-alongs while supporters in government lobbied their cause.

"Their campaign was not in the face of the authorities nor conducted in an aggressive manner," said Ohanyan. "Instead they were there to voice their concerns and encourage the government to work with them." In November of 2011, the government cancelled all construction of the hydroelectric plant. Over the last few years, these youth groups have had several other successes preserving green spaces and protecting historic buildings from demolishment.

Such youth activism and a more responsive government bode well for the future of Ohanyan's country. "My hope is that we will find new ways to work together towards the goal of liberal, sustainable democracy. These young people and certain reformers holding government positions have the potential of working together towards the goal of making meaningful change. They embody that hope." HARVARD Kennedy School

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

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### In Focus: Yantian Village By the Numbers

24 square kilometers

Annual average rainfall: 1,800 millimeters

Part of Donguan City—the largest global site for electronics industry production and processing

Land Use: 30 percent construction; 60 percent ecological protection; 10 percent agriculture

Migrant Workers Xin Guaner: 80,000

Registered Yantian Villagers Yantianer: 3,489 (2008)

Source: Chinese Village, Global Market, 2012

**Communiqué** Fall 2012, Volume 11

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

617-495-0557 www.ash.harvard.edu

Director Anthony Saich

Director of the Innovations in Government Program Stephen Goldsmith

Executive Directors Julian Chang, Arnold Howitt, Marty Mauzy

Editor Kate Hoagland

Design forminform

Yantian 💿

Photography Tom Fitzsimmons, Cory Maxwell-Coghlan, Martha Stewart, Min Tang, Isabella Zaratyan, Fang Zhiyi